

THE
SLAVONIC
(AND EAST EUROPEAN)
REVIEW

A Survey of the Slavonic Peoples,
Their History, Economics, Philology and Literature

VOLUME SIXTEEN

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EVGENY ONEGIN

Translated from the Russian of ALEXANDER PUSHKIN by
OLIVER ETON

CANTO SIX

Là sotto giorni nubilosi e brevi
Nasce una gente a cui l'morir non dole.
Petrarch.

I

And now, no sign of Lensky seeing,
Onegin, still by Olga's side,
Was plunged in thought, from boredom fleeing,
And with his vengeance satisfied.
And Olga yawned, like him ; unresting,
Her eyes for Lensky still were questing,
And that cotillion could but seem
Endless—a leaden, wearying dream.
—'Tis ended ! All to sup are speeding.
Beds for the night are made ; and all
The guests are shifted from the hall
Far as the servants' quarters,—needing
Quiet and sleep ; and to his own
Lodging Onegin goes, alone.

II

All quiet ! in the parlour snorting
Was heard the ponderous Pustyakov,
With ponderous better-half consorting ;
Gvozdin, Buyanov, Petushkov,

And Flyanov (seedy), were reclining
 On chairs, where lately they were dining ;
 And on the floor Monsieur Triquet
 In vest and ancient night-cap lay.
 The rooms of Olga and Tatyana
 Held all the girls, in sleep's embrace.
 Sole, by the window, sad, her face
 Full in the radiance of Diana,
 Poor Tanya tries to sleep, in vain,
 And gazes on the darkened plain.

III

He, unexpectedly appearing ;
 The spark of kindness in his eye ,
 And then, the strangeness* of his bearing
 To Olga :—all have inwardly
 Pierced to her soul ; she is unable
 To fathom him ; inexplicable !
 Sick, jealous pangs perturb her breast,
 As though an icy hand comprest
 Her heart ; as though beneath her lying
 Were some tumultuous, dark abyss . . .
 Says Tanya, “ I shall die of this,
 But welcome, at his hand, were dying.
 Why murmur ? nay, I do not ; he
 Can bring no happiness to me.”

IV

But now, attention ! march, my story,
 Claimed by a novel personage !
 Five versts away from Krasnogore,
 Lensky's own village, lives in sage
 And philosophic rumination
 And in rude health, in isolation,
 Even now, Zaretsky :—ruffian,
 Of gambling gangs once ataman,
 A pothouse tribune, lord of riot ;
 But now the kindly, simple head
 And sire of children (though unwed) :
 A trusted friend, a landlord quiet ;
 Nay, man of honour ! Thus, in brief,
 Our age turns over a new leaf !

V

Time was, the world would loudly flatter
 And laud his bitter courage : true,
 He with a pistol-ball could shatter
 An ace, twelve yards away, clean through.
 And true it is that once, while fighting
 He won his honours by delighting
 Fairly in battle . he was bold
 When from his Kalmyk steed he rolled,
 Sotlike, in mud :—the French had seized him
 (Rare prize !), this latest Regulus,
 In honour like a god ; for thus
 To re-surrender greatly pleased him,
 —If every morn, at Verrey's,¹ he
 Might drain (on credit) bottles three.

VI

His banter—once it was amusing .
 For publicly, or on the sly,
 Fools he loved duping and confusing,
 And fooled the clever, splendidly.
 Some tricks, no doubt, had not succeeded,
 But taught him lessons badly needed,
 And sometimes he would slip into
 A scrape, as common noodles do.
 And he could gaily spar and brangle ;
 Give answer blunt, or one that stung ;
 By calculation, hold his tongue ;
 By calculation, breed a wrangle
 Between his younger friends, and bring
 Them on the ground, for duelling.

VII

Or, to make friends he would induce them ;
 Then they would breakfast, all the three ;
 Next, he would stealthily traduce them
 With gay, mendacious pleasantry.
Sed alia tempora ! such daring
 Frolics, like love's young dream, are wearing
 Away, with lively youth, and fade.
 My friend Zaretsky, as I said,

¹ " A Parisian restaurant-keeper " (*Pushkin's note*).

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Beneath his cherries and acacias
At last from storms and tempests hides
And like a true wise man abides
And plants his cabbage, like Horatius,
Content his ducks and geese to breed,
Teaching his children how to read.

VIII

No fool was he : Evgeny, rating
Meanly his qualities of heart,
Yet liked his tone in estimating,
And good sound sense he would impart
On this and that ; was wont to meet him,
Till now, with pleasure, and to greet him
In morning hour felt no surprise
Now, when Zaretsky met his eyes ;
—Who, once the words of welcome over,
Broke off the talk, and with a grim
Smirk on his face, delivered him
A missive from the poet-lover.
Onegin to the window flew,
And to himself he read it through.

IX

It was an honourable, pleasing
Cartel, or challenge ; brief, polite,
And unmistakeable, and freezing :
Lensky called out his friend—to fight.
To him who brought this dire proposal
Onegin turning, *At disposal*
Always, on impulse then declared,
Saying no word that might be spared.
Zaretsky rose, without explaining ;
To tarry longer he declined ;
Had many things at home to mind ;
And sped. Evgeny now remaining
Alone, with his own soul must bide,
Still with himself dissatisfied ;

X

—And justly : strict examination
By conscience, in her private dock,
Showed many a cause of accusation.

First, he was in the wrong to mock,
 Last evening, in his heedless fashion,
 So shy and delicate a passion;
 And next :—the poet might have been
 Too foolish; still, at just eighteen,
 'Twas venial; and Evgeny, loving
 That youth with all his heart, should show
 He was no ball tost to and fro
 By prejudice, but should be proving
 A man of honour, one who had
 Wisdom—no hot, pugnacious lad.

XI

He could have well disclosed his feeling,
 Not bristled like a beast at bay;
 And to that young, soft heart appealing,
 Should have disarmed it. But today
 The time is past, and he belated;
 Besides, Evgeny meditated,
 That bad, old, loose-tongued, gossiping
 Swordsman had meddled with the thing.
 His funny talk—no doubt we'd hold it
 Worth only our despising—pshaw!
 —Still, blockheads whisper, and hee-haw;
 Public opinion, you behold it,²—
 Our idol—honour's mainspring! lo,
 The axis of this world below!

XII

The poet, for his answer staying
 At home, is chafing—seethes with hate.
 Behold, the answer now conveying,
 His garrulous neighbour comes, in state!
 Great feast-day for the jealous lover!
 That trickster could not now discover
 A loophole, or by some shrewd jest
 Avert the pistol from his breast,
 As Lensky all the while was fearing.
 For now all doubts are laid, and they
 Must by the mill at break of day

² " A line of Griboyedov " (*Pushkin's note*).

Upon the morrow be appearing,
And then, with pistols cocked, let fly
Each at the other's brow, or thigh.

XIII

Lensky,—still boiling—had intended
To loathe his Olga, that coquette;
Would shun her, till the fray was ended,
Scanned watch, observed the sun, and yet
Waved hand at last, and soon was quitting,
And there, amidst his neighbours, sitting!
He thought that Olga, when he came,
Would be confused, and sink for shame;
But no such thing: dear Olga, greeting
Our luckless bard as usual, there
Skipt, in high spirits, down the stair,
Like Hope on airy pinion fleeting;
Was gay, carefree; in truth, I mean,
Was just what always she had been.

XIV

“And why, last night, were you concealing
Yourself so early?” Olga said
Forthwith. Distaught with many a feeling,
Lensky was silent, hung his head.
That clear and candid gaze had banisht
All jealousy; chagrin had vanisht
Before that simple, tender mien,
That soul, so sprightly and so keen . . .
And he, with sweet emotion thrilling,
Looked, saw that he was loved; and hence,
Now pining in deep penitence,
To crave her pardon he was willing;
Yet, trembling, found no words, assured
That he was happy—all but cured . . .

(XV, XVI)³ XVII

Downcast, and in dejection falling
Once more,—with darling Olga there,
His tongue refused to be recalling
Her thoughts to yesterday's affair;

³ Stanzas discarded by Pushkin.

And he reflected, "I shall save her;
 I will not let that wretch deprave her;
 He shall not tempt her youthful heart
 With sighs and flames, and flattering art!
 The poison-worm that I am scorning
 My lily's stem shall not gnaw through,
 Nor that half-budded floweret new
 Fade, ere it twice has seen the morning."
 —And, sirs, all this but meant one thing:
 "My friend, and I, go pistolling."

"

XVIII

Had he but known the wound, the fever
 Consuming Tanya's heart away;
 Had Tanya known, or could she ever
 Have had the power to know,—how they,
 Those friends, tomorrow would be spending,
 To win a shadowy grave contending,
 Her love for her Evgeny might
 Have brought those friends to reunite!
 But none by chance had yet detected
 The passion that within her stirred;
 Onegin uttered never a word;
 Tanya in secret pined, dejected;
 And no one but the nurse could know;
 And she was dull of brain, and slow.

XIX

And Lensky, he was absent-minded,
 —First mute, then gay—the evening through.
 These Muses' nurslings, so I find it,
 Are all alike! At times he drew
 Up to the harpsichord, and sitting,
 Struck casual chords, his eyebrows knitting;
 Or gazed on Olga, murmuring "This
 Is surely true, is surely bliss?"
 But now 'twas late, and time for taking
 Departure. While farewell he bade
 To that young girl, his heart was sad,
 Full-charged, and pent, and felt like breaking.
 She scans his face: "What ails you, say?"
 "Nothing!" And so downstairs,—away!

XX

Then Lensky, to his home proceeding,
 Saw to his pistols, put them back
 Next, in the case; undressed, tried reading
 Schiller by candle-light. Alack,
 One, one beleaguering thought assails him;
 His heart is sore, and slumber fails him,
 And still, unutterably fair,
 He seems to see his Olga there.
 Vladimir then, the volume closing,
 Takes up his pen—his verses teem
 With lovers' babble—in a stream
 They flow, they ring; and he, composing,
 With lyric fire declaims the lines,
 Like drunken D[elvig] when he dines.

XXI⁴

I have his poem, you shall read it,
 For, as it chanced, they saved the thing :
 —“ Ah, whither have ye now receded,
 Whither, my golden days of spring ?
 For me, what is the morrow storing ?
 How vainly is my gaze exploring !
 All, all is wrapt in misty night.
 No need; for Fate will judge aright.
 Whether I fall, a bullet through me,
 Whether it miss,—I still am blest.
 The hour to wake, or hour to rest,
 Will come—the hour allotted to me.
 Blest, if the day to labour calls;
 Blest also, if the darkness falls.

XXII

“ Yes, though the morning ray is sparkling
 And day dawns brilliant, yet shall I
 Be entering, perhaps, the darkling
 Grave, with its shadowy mystery;
 And tardy Lethe soon shall cover
 The name of the young poet-lover.
 The world will not remember me.

⁴ Stanzas XXI to XXXII, and XXXV, were printed in this *Review* for Jan., 1935.

—But thou, fair maiden, thou wilt be
 By my untimely urn, and by it
 Wilt weep, and muse, ‘ His love was great ;
 To me alone was consecrate
 The sad morn of a life unquiet ’.
 —Friend of my heart, for whom I sigh,
 Come to me, come ! thy spouse am I.”

XXIII

This penned he, in the *dark, faint* fashion
 We style “ romantic ”—though I see
 No feature of romantic passion
 Therein—but it concerns not me.
 At last, before the dawn was gleaming,
 Upon the word *ideal* dreaming
 (The word in vogue) he drooped his head
 For weariness, and drowsed in bed.
 Scarce in oblivion was he falling
 Of blissful sleep—his neighbour broke
 Into the silent room, and woke
 Our Lensky from his slumbers, calling
 “ Time to be up ! by now, be sure,
 Onegin waits ; ’tis seven, and more.”

XXIV

But he mistook : Evgeny’s sleeping
 As sleep the dead ; already far
 The thinner shades of night are creeping,
 And cocks salute the morning star.
 The sun wheels high in heaven ; yet soundly
 Evgeny sleeps,—and more profoundly.
 A storm of snow is fleeting past
 And glitters in the whirling blast.
 Still, sleep above Evgeny hovers,
 Still he’s abed. But in the end
 He wakes, the curtained panes uncovers,
 And glances—sees that past a doubt
 It is high time to sally out.

XXV

He rings in haste ; and in comes flying
 Guillot, his lackey and a Gaul,
 Slippers and dressing-gown supplying,

And change of linen brings withal.
 Onegin swiftly then attires him,
 And bids the man prepare; requires him
 To share his drive, and bring away
 The case of weapons for the fray.
 The sledge stands ready, off he courses,
 And in it to the mill they tear.
 Behind him must the lackey bear
 Lepage's⁵ deadly arms; the horses
 Are driven to a plot of land
 Apart, where two oak saplings stand.

XXVI

Lensky impatiently had waited
 Long, as he leaned upon the weir.
 Zaretsky low the millstones rated
 (He was a rustic engineer).
 Onegin comes, and brings excuses,
 "But," cries Zaretsky, "where the deuce is
 Your second?"—As a duellist
 He was a pedant, would insist
 On classic forms; of all things dearest
 To him was method; he'd allow
 Your man to drop—not anyhow.
 But on the principles severest
 Of art, in old tradition's ways
 (Which, in Zaretsky, we must praise).

XXVII

"Where," says Onegin, "is my second?
 Monsieur Guillot, my friend, is here,
 Whom I present. I had not reckoned
 Upon demurs. He is, I'm clear,
 —Though not a man of note, I grant it—
 An honest soul. What more is wanted?"
 Zaretsky bit his lip, and heard;
 And then Onegin spoke a word
 To Lensky: "Well, and what of starting?"
 "Start," said Vladimir, "if you will."
 And so they stept behind the mill.

⁵ "A famous gunsmith" (*Pushkin's note*.)

The "honest soul," aloof departing,
Talked gravely with Zaretsky; fast
The foes now stand, with gaze down cast.

XXVIII

—Foes! and how long had this estranging
Bloodthirstiness between them flared?
How long since, all their thoughts exchanging,
Their leisure hours as friends they shared,
Their meals, their doings? Evil-hearted,
As though by hate ancestral parted,
In calm cold blood, they now prepare
To kill each other, as it were
In some insensate, dreadful vision.
And why not part in friendship, ere
Their hands are red—and only care
To laugh the matter to derision?
—But false and foolish shame intrudes
Its terrors, in our worldly feuds.

XXIX

Behold, the pistols now are gleaming;
The hammer on the ramrod knocks;
Down the cut barrels now are streaming
The bullets; once, have snapt the cocks;
And now the greyish powder scatters
Into the pan, as down it spatters.
The jagged flints, screwed safe below,
Are lifted still.—There stands Guillot
Behind a stump, in consternation.
The fighters cast their cloaks; the due
Paces, in number thirty-two,
Zaretsky, with nice mensuration,
Has taken. At the further ends
With pistols drawn he plants the friends.

XXX

"Approach!"

—And regularly coldly,
Not aiming yet, the combatants
Without a sound, and stepping boldly,
March on; four paces they advance;

Four fatal paces, those ! Not waiting,
 And never his advance abating,
 Evgeny is the first to lift
 His pistol, quietly - they shift
 Five paces nearer, Lensky closes
 An eye, the left - begins to aim
 Also; Onegin at the same
 Instant has fired—thus fate disposes,
 And strikes the hour. The poet lets
 His pistol drop—his hand he sets

XXXI

Hard to his bosom, never saying
 One word, and falls -- his clouded eye
 No pang, but death itself portraying.
 So on a mountain, from on high
 A heap of snow we see declining
 Slowly, with sunny sparkles shining.
 Then, on a sudden stricken cold,
 Onegin rushes to behold
 The youth—all vainly on him calling.
 But he is gone; and he who sung
 Has ended all too soon, too young.
 One blast—and the fair blossom falling
 All withered now, at daybreak, lies;
 The flame upon the altar dies !

XXXII

He lay, he stirred not ;—what strange reading,
 That peace and languor on his brow !
 The wound, that still was steaming, bleeding,
 Pierced clean below the breast. Even now,
 A moment since, with inspiration
 That heart had throbbed, with animation
 Of hope, of love, of enmity.
 The blood seethed hot, the life beat high.
 And now, just like a house deserted,
 All dark and still it had become,
 Had fallen for ever mute and dumb,
 The shutters up, the windows dirtied
 With spots of chalk. No host is there,
 His traces vanished—God knows where ! . . .

XXXIII

'Tis sweet to drive your foe unwary
Wild, with a jaunty epigram ;
To watch that stubborn adversary
Just lowering his horns to ram ;
He sees his face—for shame he knows it ;
Too surely now that mirror shows it !
And sweeter still, my friends, if he,
The fool, be howling, “ Why, that’s me ! ”
Nay, sweeter yet to make him ready
A grave of honour—decent space
Allowing, at his blanching face
Taking a quiet aim and steady.
And yet—to send the man to meet
His fathers—*that* you’ll scarce find sweet.

XXXIV

What if your bullet has been hitting
And slain, in flower of youth, your friend,
Who by some trifle, some unfitting
Answer, or look, must needs offend
Over the wine? If by vexation
Stirred, or in fiery agitation,
Himself the challenge proudly threw?
What feeling, say, o’ermastering you,
Will fill your soul, when that still figure
Moveless, on earth, before your eyes
With death upon its forehead lies,
While slow creeps on the mortal rigour?
While he is tarrying silent there,
Deaf to your summons of despair?

XXXV

Evgeny, gripping pistol tightly,
With pangs of sick compunction filled,
On Lensky looks. His neighbour lightly
Pronounces, “ Well, the man is killed.”
“ Killed ! ” as that hideous word is sounded,
Evgeny shudders, welmed, confounded ;
Goes off, and calls the men, while there
The ice-cold body, with due care,
Zaretsky in the sledge is setting.

He drives the ghastly burden home ;
 The horses scent the dead ; the foam
 The steely mouthpiece now is wetting ;
 They rear and struggle, snort and blow,
 Then fly, like arrows from the bow

XXXVI

Friends, for our poet you are grieving .
 For in the bloom of hope and joy,
 Nor yet, before the world, achieving,
 Nay, scarce unswaddled still, the boy
 Has droopt and died. That warm emotion,
 That young and nobly-tought devotion
 To lofty thoughts, to feelings fair,
 Gallant, and tender, these are—where ?
 Where are love's stormy aspirations,
 The thirst for knowledge and for toil,
 The dread of shame, of deeds that soil,
 And you, ye hallowed meditations ?
 Wraiths of no life on earth are ye,
 Visions of sacred Poesy !

XXXVII

And he, perhaps, was born to better
 And bless the world ;—to fame, at worst ?
 Might that mute lyre have been begetter
 Of some unbroken, thunderous burst
 Of timeless song ? A poet fated
 To be on some high stair awaited
 Of the world's stairway ? Has his shade,
 That suffered much, away conveyed
 Some holy secret ? Quencht for ever,
 That voice life-giving, in our ears ?
 His shade no psalm of ages hears ;
 The blessings of mankind shall never
 Now reach him in their flight, or come
 Beyond the borders of the tomb.

XXXVIII⁶, XXXIX

Yet ah ! our poet—I admit it—
 Might have some common lot fulfilled.
 His years of youth might soon have flitted ;

⁶ Stanza discarded by Pushkin.

The soul within him might be chilled;
 He might have greatly changed, and married;
 No longer with the Muses tarried;
 And, happy in the country, worn
 His quilted dressing-gown—and horn;
 He would have known what life is truly;
 At forty, would have had the gout,
 Drunk, fed, moped, pined, with fat swelled out;
 At last, and in his bed, would duly,
 While doctors gazed, and women cried
 With all his children round,—have died.

XL

Reader, howe'er it be, we know it,
 Alas!—that lover young lies low,
 That pensive, visionary poet,
 Whose friend had dealt the murderous blow.
 —Left of the village—habitation
 Once of that child of inspiration,—
 There is a spot, where firs have twined
 Their roots; beneath them runlets flow,
 Down from a neighbour valley lipping;
 And there the ploughman loves to rest,
 And women-reapers come in quest
 Of water, resonant pitchers dipping;
 And by that streamlet, in deep shade,
 A simple monument is laid.

XLI

Below (when on the meadow-grasses
 The earliest showers of springtime ooze)
 Singing of Volga fishers, passes
 The shepherd—plaits his motley shoes⁷;
 And the young city girl, abiding
 A summer in the country, riding
 And starting, all alone, to fly
 Along the plain impetuously,
 Will pull her leathern bridle tightly,
 And halt her horse before the place,
 And from her hat the veil unlace,

⁷ The bast shoe of the peasant, *lapot'*.

And read the simple legend, lightly
 Skimming the words; and tears will rise,
 And cloud the lady's gentle eyes.

XLII

Then on the open plain, and slowly,
 Plunged in long reverie, she goes,
 And Lensky's destiny must wholly,
 Do what she will, her soul engross.
 She muses : " What of Olga, surely ?
 Did her heart suffer long and sorely,
 Or dried her tears too rapidly ?
 And where may now her sister be ?
 And where that man of mode, who fleeing
 The world of men, detested too
 Fair modish women, and who slew
 The youthful poet ? Strange, grim being ! "
 —Well, in good time I shall not fail
 All this to answer in detail ;

XLIII

—Not here ! I hold in warm affection
 My hero ; and I shall, I vow,
 To him return ; but on reflection,
 He is not just my business now.
 The years, to rigorous prose inciting,
 Are frolic rhyme away affrighting,
 And I—to own it with a sigh—
 Am courting rhyme more sluggishly.
 No more my pen is bent on soiling
 Ephemeral folios, as of old ;
 For other dreams—alas, too cold,—
 Find me at sterner labours toiling ;
 In the world's din, or silence deep,
 They trouble still my soul, in sleep.

XLIV

I've found a newer way of grieving,
 But still the ancient grief regret ;
 My first desires I've found deceiving ;
 But others called ; I hear them yet.

Where is your sweetness, dreams untruthful?
 (Where your eternal rhyme, of *youthful* ?)
 And has youth's garland now at last
 Faded, ay faded, in the past ?
 And has, in sober fact and quitting
 Mere mournful fancies—as, till now,
 In jest I often would avow—
 The springtide of my days been flitting ?
 And is it truly past recall ?
 Am I soon thirty, after all ?

XLV

My noontide, yes, has come, I find it
 Must be confessed ; I see it well.
 But be it so : my youth light-minded,
 Now take we, like good friends, farewell !
 I thank thee for delights and gladness,
 For all sweet torments, and for sadness,
 For storms and clamours, banquetings,
 All, all the gifts thy season brings,
 I thank thee ; both in agitation
 And in calm hours, I have enjoyed
 Thee to the full—and have been cloyed.
 Enough ! today, for relaxation,
 Clear-souled, I start on courses new,
 Bidding that former life adieu.

XLVI

One farewell look, my house ! where gently,
 Remotely, once my days flowed on,
 Crowded with passions, indolently,
 And dreams the spirit broods upon.
 And thou, my younger inspiration,
 Come, stir my dull imagination,
 Quicken my slumbering heart, and fleet
 More frequently to my retreat ;
 Nor let my poet's soul, soon chilling,
 Grow harder, staler every day,
 And petrify at last, a prey
 To the world's raptures, which are killing
 The soul, my friends, in that mean slough
 Where you and I are bathing now !

CANTO SEVEN

Moscow, beloved daughter of Russia,
Where find thy equal?

(*Dmitrie*)

How not love Moscow, our own ? (*Baratynsky*.)

" You run down Moscow ! Why of travel make such fuss ?
Where better ? "

" —Where there's none of us." (*Gribovedov*.)

I

The radiance of spring is chasing
The snows from the surrounding hills ;
Snow to the flooded leas is racing
Down through a hundred turbid rills.
Bright-smiling nature dreams, and meeting
The year's new morning, gives her greeting
And bluer now the heavens gleam ;
The woodlands, still transparent, seem
A down of greenery to be wearing ;
The bees wing from their waxen comb
And levy from the meads bring home :
The drying dales new tints are wearing ;
The herds are loud ; the nightingale
Warbles, at dead of night, her tale.

II

Spring, spring, love's season ! yet how dreary
For me, to see thee round again !
Thou dost but leave me sick and weary
In spirit, and in every vein.
And what a soft oppressive feeling
Delights me now, when softly stealing
The airs of springtime fan my face,
Lapt in this quiet country place !
Is it that all delights forsake me,
And that each bright, exultant thing,
All life, all joyance, can but bring
Ennui, and only weary make me,
Because my soul died long ago
And finds that all is dark—even so ?

III

Or that we only think of sadness
 And loss, when perished leaves revive
 From autumn, and we feel no gladness
 At woodland sounds, once more alive?
 Or doth our troubled spirit, viewing
 Great Nature, still her youth renewing,
 Contrast her with *our* years, that fast
 Fade in the unreturning past?
 Perhaps poetic meditation
 Brings fresh into our memory
 Some other spring of days gone by
 And fills our hearts with agitation
 And dreams of some far land—a night
 Miraculous, in deep moonlight.

IV

Tis time! ye idlers easy-going,
 Wise sons of Epicurus, cool
 And lucky, careless fellows, owing
 Your fledging unto Levshin's school,¹
 Ye rural Priams, and ye gentle
 Ladies, now feeling sentimental,
 The spring invites you all to hours
 Of country labour, and to flowers,
 Inspiring strolls, and warmer weather,
 And the allurements of the night . . .
 So hasten, friends, with all your might
 To fields, in chaises packed together;
 Go post, or hire your nags, nor wait,
 But speed you from the city gate.

V

And you, kind reader, now forsaking
 The town and all its turbulence,
 The scene of winter's merrymaking,
 Bespeak your coach, and hurry hence,
 And go, my wayward Muse attending,
 To hear the oak trees murmur, bending

¹ "Levshin, author of many works on domestic economy" (*Pushkin's note.*)

Over some stream without a name,
 Where, for a country winter, came
 Of late Evgeny, a sick-hearted
 And idle hermit; and a near
 Neighbour as well to her, my dear,
 Young, dreaming Tanya!—He, departed,
 Although they see no more his face,
 Has left his melancholy trace.

VI²

Come, where a brook is swiftly winding
 Through half-encircling hills, and past
 A lime-tree thicket, and is finding
 A river by green fields at last;
 Where chants the nightingale, spring's lover,
 All night, and where the blossoms cover
 The briar, and bubbling waters call.
 Here stands a stone funereal
 Beneath two pine-trees antiquated.
 The legend tells the passer-by,
 "Vladimir Lensky here doth lie";
 (The year, his age, are duly dated.)
 "Too soon he died, as die the brave;
 Have pcease, young poet, in thy grave."

VII

Of old, above that urn so quiet,
 Once a mysterious garland hung
 Upon the sagging pine-tree by it
 And in the morning breezes swung.
 Of old two friends, two women, thither
 Would come, at leisure late, together
 And in the moonlight vigil keep
 And by the tomb embrace, and weep.
 Now is that stone, forlorn and lonely,
 Forgot; the trodden track is now
 O'ergrown; no wreath is on the bough;
 And, singing his old ditty, only
 The frail, gray-headed shepherd near
 Plaits shoes—his miserable gear.

² Stanzas vi and vii were printed in this *Review* for January, 1935.

(VIII, IX)³ X

Ah, my poor Lensky ! Olga's weeping
And pining were too soon to pass.
His young betrothed could not be keeping
Faith with her sorrow ; for, alas !
Another came, her mind alluring,
By lover's flatteries ensuring
That all her pangs should be appeased.
A Lancer charmed, a Lancer pleased ;
Her soul adored him ; and already
Behold her bashful, by his side,
With drooping head, and crowned a bride,
Before the altar standing steady.
Her lips smile softly, and there flies
A sparkle from the downcast eyes.

XI

Was my poor Lensky, who is dwelling
Entombed in deaf eternity,
Troubled by fateful tidings, telling
That mournful bard how false was she ?
Or does our poet, now possessing
By drowsy Lethe stream one blessing,
Feel nothing, of all trouble rid ?
Is this world dumb to him, and hid ?
Yes, past the grave, there lies before us
Heedless oblivion, in the end ;
The voice of mistress, foe, and friend
Dies swiftly ; and the wrathful chorus
Of our unseemly, wrangling heirs
Just for our goods and chattels cares.

XII

Soon, Olga's voice no more resounded
Clear in the Larins' home ; she went,
When, duty's slave, her Lancer found it
Needful to join his regiment.
And the old mother, at her going,
With bitter tears was overflowing,
And said good-bye, and seemed half dead ;
But Tanya had no tears to shed :

³ viii, ix : Discarded by Pushkin.

Her face of misery was but shrouded
 With death's own pallor. When at last
 All to the outer stairway passed
 And round the young folks' carriage crowded
 In farewell bustle,—then, indeed,
 She saw them off, and gave godspeed.

XIII

And long Tatyana traced them, straining
 Her gaze, as through a mist . . . Alas,
 She is alone, alone remaining !
 Into the distance now must pass,
 Swept off by destiny, her dearest,
 The friend of years, of all the nearest
 Unto her bosom, her young dove,
 Parted for ever from her love.
 Now, aimless like a shadow straying,
 She glances at the garden bare . . .
 No comfort here, none anywhere !
 And no relief is yet allaying
 Her tears; she stifles them in vain;
 For Tanya's heart is rent in twain.

XIV

And higher mounts her passion, glowing
 In this fell solitude; today
 Her heart speaks all the louder, knowing
 Oegin now is far away.
 For nevermore shall she behold him.
 She ought to hate him, and to hold him
 As one who has her brother slain.
 Lost is that poet ! None remain
 Who think of *him*; his bride has given
 Her hand, unto another wed.
 The poet's memory has fled
 Like vapour in an azure heaven.
 Two hearts, maybe, are still forlorn
 And mourn for him—yet, wherefore mourn ?

XV

The evening skies are dark, and flowing
 Gently, the brooks; the beetles hum;
 The rings of dancers home are going;

Smoke, flame across the river come
 From fishers' fires. And Tanya yonder
 Long in the open fields doth wander
 Beneath the silver moonlight's beams,
 Buried for ever in her dreams.
 Alone, and onward, onward pacing,
 Now from a little knoll she sees
 A village and a clump of trees,
 The master's house; a clear stream racing
 Below a garden. Here at last!
 Her heart beats heavily and fast.

XVI

But doubts and questionings beset her:
 "Go back? go forward? which is worst?
 They know me not—he's absent—better
 Just look at house and garden first!"
 So Tanya, from the knoll descending
 Now breathless, and her full gaze bending
 On all around her, passes next
 To the deserted court, perplexed.
 The dogs come barking, charging at her,
 And, at her shriek of terror, out
 The servants' children with a shout
 Rush, and with scuffle and with clatter
 The hounds they hustle from the yard
 And take the lady under guard.

XVII

"But may one not," she asks, "look over
 The master's house?" The children flee
 In to Anisya, to discover
 And from the passage take the key.
 Anisya straight appears before her,
 And then the doors fly open for her.
 Into our hero's empty home,
 Where late he dwelt, is Tanya come.
 She sees, as through the hall she glances,
 Reposing, a forgotten cue;
 Upon the tumbled sofa, too,
 A stable whip; and she advances,
 While the dame shows the hearth: "By it,
 Alone, the master used to sit:

XVIII

“ Our neighbour, the late Lensky, dining
 In wintertime, was oft his guest.
 (This way—please follow !) Here reclining
 (This is his study) used to rest
 Master, at nights. His coffee taking,
 He'd listen to the bailiff making
 Reports; and in the mornings, read.
 Old Master too lived here, indeed;
 On Sundays, too, his glasses wearing,
 Just by the window here, would he
 Deign to be playing cards with me;
 And may God save his soul, preparing
 Rest in the tomb for bone and limb,
 In the dank earth that mothered him ! ”

XIX

To tender-hearted Tanya, gazing
 On what surrounds her here, the whole
 Seems like a treasure past appraising,
 And quickens now her weary soul
 With solace half-excruciating :
 —The long-quencht lamp, on table waiting ;
 Books piled ; the bed with coverlet
 Upon it, by the window set ;
 Beyond, by moony twilight haunted,
 The scene ; a pale half-light on all ;
 Lord Byron's portrait on the wall ;
 An iron doll, on column planted,
 Hatted, with brows as black as night,
 Whose arms are crost, and gripping tight.⁴

XX

Tatyana, in that modish dwelling,
 Stood long ; like one bewitched she seemed.
 'Twas late ; a colder breeze was swelling ;
 The vale was dark ; the coppice dreamed
 Above the river overclouded ;
 The moon behind the crest was shrouded ;
 And long, long since the time had come
 For that young pilgrim to go home !

⁴ An image of Napoleon.

And Tanya masks her agitation,
And, not without a sigh or so,
Upon her backward path must go;
But begs to make a visitation
Of that lone castle, there to brood
Upon the books, in solitude.

XXI

With that housekeeper by the gateway
Parting, she resolutely came
Again, next morning early, straightway
To that deserted house, that same
Study in silence wrapt; and letting
Awhile all fade, the world forgetting,
Tanya was now alone at last,
And long her tears were falling fast.
And then—the books she soon was heeding.
At first they were not to her mind;
The choice of them she could but find
A strange one; yet she fell to reading,
As her soul thirsted; to her view
Opened another world, and new.

XXII

'Twas long, we know, since our Evgeny
Misliking all his books began;
Yet there were certain works, not many,
Which he excluded from his ban:
The singer of the Giaour and Juan,
And a romance or two, a new one
In which the age its face might see,
And our contemporaries be,
With some fair share of truth, depicted:
—The soul without morality,
The temper egotistic, dry,
And in excess to dreams addicted;
The bitter, angry cast of thought,
A-boil with deeds—that came to naught.

XXIII

And many a page she saw retaining
The marks his finger-nails once wrote;
And the girl's watchful eyes were straining

On these, and taking keener note.
 Tanya beheld with trepidation
 The style of thought and observation
 That struck Evgeny. She could see
 Where he would silently agree;
 And on the margins found she straying
 His pencil-tracings everywhere,
 In which Onegin's soul lay bare,
 Unconsciously itself betraying :
 Brief words or crosses, in the books,
 Or barbed interrogation-hooks.

XXIV

Slowly, more clearly, is beginning
 My Tanya (God be praised, say I !)
 Some comprehension to be winning
 Of him who cost her many a sigh
 (So tyrant destiny had fated) :
 —A grievous, dangerous freak, created
 Either by heaven or by hell ;
 A fiend imperious -- who shall tell ?
 Or angel ? just an imitation,
 A phantom nothing ; or, at best,
 Moscow, in *Harold's* mantle drest,
 Of foreign whims an illustration ;
 A modish phrase-book, rich in store ?
 Nay, a sheer parody, no more ?

XXV

And has she, after all, been hitting
 The true *key-word* ? the riddle guessed ?
 Tanya forgets how time is flitting,
 How she's awaited by the rest
 At home :—where now, about her prating,
 Two neighbours are confabulating.
 " No child is Tanya ! well, what next ? "
 So the old mother groans, perplexed ;
 " Why, Olga's younger ; and time presses ;
 Yes, yes, she must be settled now.
 How deal with her ? To all, I vow,
 All comers, what she bluntly says is
 One thing : ' I won't ! '—still pines, and roves
 Alone amongst the woods and groves."

XXVI

—“ In love, then? ” —“ Well, but who’s the man, sir?
Refused—the suit Buyanov pressed;
For Petushkov (Ivan), same answer!
And how hussar Pykhtin, a guest
Of ours one day, was fascinated
By Tanya, and himself prostrated!
I thought, ‘ With luck, there’s hope in this:
—No good! but, once again, a miss. ’ ”
—“ But well, my dear, and what’s to block it?
To Moscow go; that mart, besides,
Has many vacancies for brides,
They say.” —“ My dear, I’m low in pocket! ”
—“ Enough to see one winter through;
Else, I’ll just lend some cash to you.”

XXVII

Such blest advice, which stood to reason,
Charmed that old lady. Then and there
Reckoning, she chose the winter season,
When they to Moscow would repair.
Such news!—and Tanya came to know it.
—The world is exigent: to show it
For judgment, such clear, patent traits
Of simple and provincial ways,
Her dress, so out of date appearing,
Her turn, so out of date, of speech;
To draw the mocking looks of each
Circe, or fop, of Moscow’s rearing:
—Too dreadful! Better far she should
Stay safe, in her sequestered wood.

XXVIII

The earliest rays of dawn have found her
Already risen; forth she flies
Into the fields, and gazes round her
And scans them all, with tender eyes:
“ Farewell, ye valleys quiet-nested,
And ye familiar ranges crested!
Farewell, ye woods, familiar too!
Farewell, thou lovely, heavenly blue,
And nature, full of joy and pleasure!

I quit this peace, long dear to me,
 For noise and glittering vanity.
 Farewell, my freedom, thou my treasure !
 Ah, wherefore haste I? To what shore ?
 What next hath fate for me in store ? "

XXIX

Tatyana rambles on for ever
 And stays her steps against her will.
 The fascination of the river
 Arrests her, or some little hill.
 Her converse she is still prolonging,
 As with old friends about her thronging,
 With each beloved holt and lea.
 But summer fleets too rapidly,
 And golden autumn is before us.
 Pale Nature quakes, like some elect
 Victim, magnificently decked.
 The north winds breathe and howl in chorus
 And chase the clouds—and next we see
 Winter, in all his witchery.

XXX

He's here ! He hangs, in snow-dust flying,
 On every oaken bough and bole ;
 His billowy coverlet is lying
 On every field, round every knoll.
 See, with his feathery shroud invested,
 Flush with its bank, the stream arrested !
 The frost is sparkling ; glad are we
 At Father Winter's game and glee.
 And only Tanya is repining ;
 The winter she is loth to greet,
 And breathe the powdery frost and sleet,
 Or with new snow, the bath-roof lining,
 To wash her shoulder, breast, and face ;
 For Tanya dreads the wintry ways.

XXXI

Long the departure is retarded ;
 Soon the last moment will be due ;
 The coach, forgotten and discarded,

Is scanned, made sounder, lined anew.
 Three covered sleighs, and customary
 Carts will the household chattels carry;
 And many a jar of jam is there,
 Mattress and saucepan, trunk and chair,
 And poultry-coop and bed of feather.
 Pots, basins, and the rest are found;
 Nay, goods of every sort abound.
 The servants, in the hut together,
 Weep parting tears, and raise a shout,
 And eighteen nags are leading out,

XXXII

And to that gallant train are putting.
 Kibitkas, loaded high, are there;
 Old women, drivers, are disputing,
 While cooks the morning meal prepare.
 One nag, a tousled one and meagre,
 Carries a bearded postboy. Eager
 Unto their lords to bid goodbye,
 The servants to the gateway fly.
 All seated! past the gate is sliding
 The honoured carriage, at a crawl.
 "Farewell, lone shelter! farewell, all
 Ye scenes of quietude abiding!
 When shall I see you?" Tanya cries;
 And tears, o'erbrimming, flood her eyes.

XXXIII

Hereafter, when the limitations
 Of our enlightenment, so blest,
 (Though philosophic calculations
 Predict five hundred years, at least)
 Are once removed:—our roads, believe it,
 Will all be changed—you can't conceive it!
 And highways, made, will then connect
 Russia throughout, and intersect;
 Cast iron bridges, arches spacious,
 Will all the waters then bestride;
 Hills will be moved; those waters wide

Tunnelled beneath, by vaults audacious.
The Christian world will institute
Inns, at all stages on the route.

XXXIV

Our roads ⁵are now abominable;
Bridges, neglected, rotting lie;
Nor, at the stations, are we able
For bugs and fleas to wink an eye.
Inns there are none; the huts are freezing;
And, vainly still the palate teasing,
Hangs the pretentious bill of fare
With all its hunger-bitten air.
And village blacksmiths Cyclopean
Before a sluggish fire attend
And with their Russian hammers mend
The flimsy hardware European,
And bless the pits and holes that cut
Their native soil, and every rut.

XXXV

Yet nice, in the cold winter season,
And easy 'tis to drive along
Roads sinooth—as lines devoid of reason
Or sense in fashionable song.
And our Automedons are clever
And smart; our troikas weary never;
The mileposts flash, like palings, by,⁶
And entertain the listless eye.
The luckless Larina, affrighted
By costs of posting many a stage,
Crawled, in her private equipage;
While our young maiden's soul delighted
In all the tedium of the way.
—And so, seven days and nights, fared they.

⁵ In a note Pushkin gives twenty lines from Vyazemsky's poem *The Station*. Here, while praising the trees, &c., on the roads, he deplores their badness, and wishes for a *McAdam* [J. L. McAdam, 1756-1856]; complaining that they are icebound in winter, while in summer there is sultry drought.

⁶ "The comparison is borrowed from K——, known for his lively imagination. K—— relates how, when sent as a courier from Prince Potemkin to the Empress, he rode so fast that his sword, the end of which hung out of the telega, rattled along the verst-posts as if they were a paling " *Pushkin's note.*)

XXXVI

Nearer and nearer ! they are gazing
On Moscow, with her stonework white
And ancient cupolas, all blazing
With golden crosses, fiery-bright.
Ah, brethren, what contentment filled me
When that swift revelation thrilled me
Of church and belfry, garden, hall,
In crescent half-encircling all !
How oft in grief, from thee long parted
Throughout my vagrant destiny,
Moscow, my thoughts have turned to thee !
Moscow . . . what thoughts in each true-hearted
Russian come flooding at that word !
How deep an echo there is heard !

XXXVII

There, by its oaken grove surrounded,
Stands Peter's gloomy fort, in state
And pride ; of late had glory crowned it.
All vainly must Napoleon wait,
Drunk with his latest, last successes,
Till kneeling Moscow on him presses
Her ancient Kremlin's keys.—Not so !
To him my Moscow would not go,
Head lowered, in capitulation.
No welcoming gift, festivity,
For that impatient hero she
Made ready—but a conflagration ;
And thence, deep sunk in thought, he gazed
Upon that menace, as it blazed.

XXXVIII

Now, Peter's fort, farewell, attesting
Those fallen glories ! Whiter show
The barrier-pillars ; now, unresting,
Along Tverskàya let us go !
The coach along the ruts is dashing ;
Stalls, countrywomen, by are flashing :
—Watchboxes, children at their play,
Convent and palace, lamp and sleigh,

Bukharian, merchant, Cossack, peasant ;
 Huts, drugstores, boulevards, and towers,
 And gardens both for fruits and flowers,
 Shops, telling what's the mode at present ;
 Balconies, lions topping gates,⁷
 And daws, on every cross, in spates.

(XXXIX) XL

This weary, long peregrination
 Lasts one—two hours ; the carriage-train
 Halts by a gateway, takes its station
 By Kharitonye,⁸ in the lane.
 And now the party are arriving
 At the old aunty's—still surviving,
 Consumptive these three years and more.
 A Kalmuck, flinging wide the door,
 Gray, goggled, in torn kaftan, meets them,
 Holding a stocking. Shrieks arise ;
 The princess from her salon cries,
 And, stretcht along her sofa, greets them.
 The ancient ladies weep, embrace ;
 Ejaculations pour apace.

XLI

“ Angel ! Princess ! ” —“ Pachtette ! I never . . . ! ”
 —“ Alina ! What an age ! ” —“ You stay
 For long ? Dear Cousin ! All is ever
 So strange ! Good heavens ! Be seated, pray !
 A scene from the romances, say I ! ”
 —“ My daughter here, Tatyana—may I . . . ? ”
 —“ Ah-h-h, little Tanya ! come, sit here ;
 Dream I, or rave ? . . . But, cousin dear,
 That Grandison—dost thou remember ? ”
 —“ How, Grandison ? . . . Of course, my dear !
 Yes, yes, where's he ? ” —“ In Moscow, here ;—
 Lives by St. Simeon.⁹ In December,
 On Christmas Eve, he called on me—
 Just married off his son, you see.

⁷ On the former English Club on the Tverskaya (now the Museum of the Revolution in Gorky Street). (N. L. Brodsky).

⁸ The parish of St. Khariton : “ near St. Khariton.”

⁹ Church of St. Simeon Stylites.

XLII

“ While *he*—but aren’t we, later, going
 To tell all that? Tomorrow we
 Tanya to all her kin are showing.
 Sad! driving is too much for me,
 And my poor feet I’m scarcely dragging.
 But come, your journey has been fagging;
 We one and all must take a rest . . .
 Oh, I am done . . . so tired, my chest!
 For joy, these days, weighs hard upon one,
 No less than grief . . . Dear soul, I vow
 I am just good for nothing now . . .
 Life is too vile, as age creeps on one . . .”
 And there, exhausted, she breaks off
 In tears, and with a racking cough.

XLIII

The sufferer’s words, so blithe and loving,
 Touch Tanya; yet, accustomed still
 To her old room, she finds that moving
 To these new quarters suits her ill.
 When she to that strange bed betakes her
 Beneath silk curtains, sleep forsakes her;
 The bells, announcing with their din
 That labours of the day begin,
 Make her start up; no longer lies she,
 But by the window goes to sit.
 The twilight thins; —and not in it
 Her own dear meadows now descries she!
 She sees a court she does not know,
 With kitchen, stable, fence below.

XLIV

See they are daily her conveying
 To dine with kindred, to be viewed
 By each grandparent—still betraying
 Her inattentive lassitude.
 The clan, far-travelled, meet with hearty
 Kind welcoming words from all the party;
 All, offering “bread and salt,” exclaim:
 “How Tanya’s grown! it seems I came
 So lately, to the font to speed thee!”

—“ Why—in my arms *I* lifted thee ! ”
 —“ Why, yes—thy ears were pulled by *me* ! ”
 —“ Why—*I* with gingerbreads would feed thee ! ”
 The grannies with one voice repeat,
 “ Our years—how swiftly now they fleet ! ”

XLV

In *them* no change can be detected ;
 All's on the ancient pattern, yes,
 The same tulle nightcap is erected
 On Aunt Elëna, the princess.
 Same ceruse, on Luker'ya I'ovna !
 Still fibbing is Lyubov Petrovna ;
 Ivan Petrovich—still obtuse !
 Semyon Petrovich—still he screws !
 And Pelagea changes never
 Monsieur Fine-Mouche, her ancient flame .
 Her spitz—and husband—still the same !
 And he, the punctual clubman ever,
 Though just as deaf and peaceful still ;
 —For two can eat—for two can swill.

XLVI

The daughters soon to their embraces
 Take Tanya—though at first was mute
 This band of Moscow's youthful Graces,
 And looked her down from head to foot.
 They find her oddish, as they scan her :
 Affected, countrified in manner,
 And palish too, and leanish ; still,
 Her looks are very far from ill.
 They next (as nature bids) befriend her
 And take her to their own abode,
 And fluff her curls to suit the mode,
 With many a kiss and handclasp tender ;
 And then, in singsong tones, impart
 Their maiden secrets of the heart,

XLVII

Their hopes, their pranks, their meditations,
 —And others' conquests—and their own :
 That stream of guileless conversations
 They gloss with light aspersions thrown.

And next, they fondly are inviting
 Tanya (their prattle thus requiting)
 To bare *her* heart ; but she, she seems
 To move as in a land of dreams :
 She hears them talk, and talk—uncaring,
 And nothing can she comprehend,
 But still in silence will defend
 The secret of her heart, not sharing
 Her sacred, treasured tears, her bliss :
 None shall participate in this !

XLVIII

Though in the salon she is willing
 Unto the talk to lend an ear,
 Cheap, incoherent trash is filling
 The mouths of everybody here.
 All is so callous, void of colour,
 And the backbiting—even duller !
 In all this chatter, barren, dry,
 —News, questions, gossip—days go by,
 From jaded brains no smile evoking ;
 No scintillating thought will glance
 At random, or by happy chance ;
 No heart thrill, even in play or joking.
 Void world, wherein you meet no fool
 You can so much as ridicule !

XLIX

Young archivists in swarms, conceited,
 On Tanya fix their priggish gaze,
 And, in their communings repeated,
 With much unkindness her appraise.
 One dismal fool, in his dejection,
 Finds her a pattern of perfection,
 And leans against the door, to make
 An elegy, for her sweet sake.
 One day, too, V[yàzernsky] sits by her
 There, at a tiresome aunt's, to find
 That he can interest her mind.
 And one old fellow, quick to spy her
 Beside him, queries, " Who is she ? "
 And smooths his wig to symmetry.

L

But where, in long-drawn accents ringing,
 Bawls boisterous Melpomene,
 And where, her tinselled mantle flinging
 Before the frigid throng, stands she;
 —Where peacefully Thalia drowns
 Nor heeds the claps of friendly houses;
 —Where young spectators gaze upon
 Terpsichore, and her alone
 (When you and I were younger fellows,
 'Twas thus our leisure that we spent);—
 —On Tanya never there are bent
 Lorgnettes of ladies, passing jealous;
 No connoisseur of fashion cocks
 His glass at *her*, from stall or box.

L.I

Then to the Rout they fetch her. Crushing,
 Excitement, sultry heat, are there,
 And music's din. Swift couples rushing
 And gleaming by; the candles' flare;
 Beauties, apparelled oh!, so lightly!
 Thronged galleries, all chequered brightly;
 Young girls, in crescent wide:—alike
 Sharply on all the senses strike.
 Here, too, sworn dandies are proceeding
 To flaunt their waistcoats, brazen airs,
 And each lorgnette, that listless stares;
 And here hussars on leave are speeding,
 Just to be seen—to thunder past—
 Shine—captivate—and flit at last.

L.II

The night hath many a star entrancing,
 And Moscow many a beauty fine.
 The noon, through airy blue advancing,
 All skiey comrades doth outshine.
 But she¹⁰ whom I am now forbearing

¹⁰ This is thought to refer to Alexandra Korsakova (Brodsky, *Commentary*).

To harass with my harp, not daring,
 Even like a splendid moon is shown
 Mid wives and maids to beam alone.
 With what celestial pride she seemeth
 To light upon the earth at will !
 What languor doth her bosom fill
 And in her wondrous glances dreameth !
 —Enough, and make an end ! for thou
 Hast paid thy dues to madness, now.

LIII

Mid clamours, bowings, laughter ringing,
 Bustle, mazurka, galop, waltz,
 Tanya,—two aunts beside her clinging—
 Unnoticed, by a pillar halts,
 And looks, but nothing sees—detesting
 That world excited and unresting.
 She stifles here : her dreams aspire
 To live in fields, and to retire
 Among her own poor village peasants,
 And to that solitary nook
 Where runs a bright translucent brook ;
 To her romances, flowery pleasance,
 And those lime-alleys, twilit, dim ;
 —To where she once set eyes on *him*.

LIV

So, far away her fancies flying
 Forget the world, the boisterous ball ;
 Whilst, every moment, her is eyeing
 A grave, imposing general.
 Now winks from aunt to aunt are flitting,
 And two swift elbows Tanya hitting,
 There sound two whispers in her ear :
 “ Glance—to your left—be quick, my dear ! ”
 —“ Left ? where ? and what am I to see there ? ”
 —“ Well, look ! no matter—anyhow !
 Before that group—you see them now,
 Two, still, in uniform ? But, he there . . .
 He's stept away—his side's to you . . . ”
 —“ What, that stout general ? or who ? ”

LV

A conquest !— Yet I must not (bringing
Best wishes for my Tanya dear)
Forget the man of whom I'm singing,
And in my path must deviate here.
And, apropos, two words I owe him :—
A friend, a youth, I sing ! I show him
With many a freak, with many a whim.
Bless my long labour, spent on him,
Thou Epic Muse ! To me entrust it,
Thy faithful crook, to guide me ! nor
Let my feet rove astray ! — No more !
This burden, from my neck I thrust it !
—I've honoured classic style, I'm sure,
Though late, 'tis still an overture

THE DANAIDS

Translated from the Hungarian of MICHAEL BABITS *by*
GODFREY TURTON

Down in the quiet underworld, the windless, sad underworld,
among meadows of asphodel, where the asphodel stirs not,
the cypress-tree bends not its branches nor the poppy-flower
sheds a petal, because the breeze is fast asleep, asleep in a bed
of asphodels, fast asleep and dumb there,
Where the lakes lie outspread like mirrors, steely and motionless,
and eyes are heavy with drowsiness, because the breeze to
fan them, the breeze to skim the foam never comes there :
Fifty women with giant alabaster pitchers, fifty sinful women,
now filling, now draining their slender vessels, fifty women
accurséd and sad are for ever,
For ever drawing in giant alabaster pitchers, for ever drawing in
vain the precious liquid; precious, Lethe-drawn, never-
sufficient water.
On the giant, slender cypresses no branch quivers:— each branch
is a soul, a sad ancient soul, the soul of a self-murderer grown
into a tree;
Sentiently, yet unconsciously, they stretch their arms out motion-
lessly, arms motionless and dim, across the stream,
Across the stream where Lethe—for these meadows are the meadows
of Lethe—with water soiled by the washing of a hundred sins,
soiled by the washing of old forgotten sins, flows round and
round and never disappears,
Never disappears, never reaches the sea, but flows seven times
in a circle, back upon itself—there the fifty women with fifty
giant pitchers are for ever vainly drawing water and tears,
Now filling, now draining, but always vainly, for their fifty magic
vessels are never full, but are like the sea which shrinks and
ebbs into itself; so the fifty sinful women, for ever drawing
water of Lethe in alabaster pitchers, for ever toil in vain.
Fifty women with alabaster bodies and ebon-hued hair, sentiently
and yet unconsciously drawing water, raise their voices in
ceaseless, half-understood cries,
Fifty sad, accurséd women, brought down from the upper world
and merging back into spirit, croon without ceasing their
half-understood memories :

"We murdered our husbands, fifty great glorious men, and loved—only loved—God knows whom we loved! We drew from the flagon of desire, drew and drained it, up in the green world of light, under the golden sun --"

Ancient words come back to our darkened spirits, like lights from the street into the darkness of vast rooms. What do they mean? Vainly we try to remember; what does it mean to 'love,' to 'desire' or to 'kiss'? In vain we ask the shadows around us in the gloom.

All we can sing is: 'We murdered --' and, remembering, add: 'our husbands.' All we can do is to sing, though we understand not, and fill and drain our pitchers. We cannot leave off; but sing, without understanding, because all around us is silence, and the silence is terrible! A vast, silent darkness; the darkness is dumb--."

So sang the fifty women, fifty sad, accursed women, each ebony-haired like the other and alabaster-limbed, so sang the fifty sisters in the meadows of Lethe, among the trees that were souls, among the poppy-flowers, among the giant pitchers, by the river Lethe, where the breeze

Down in the quiet underworld, the windless, sad underworld, lies asleep in a bed of asphodels, fast asleep, soundless.

THE HORSES OF DEATH

Translated from the Hungarian of ANDREW ADY by
GODFREY TURTON

Down the white moonlit road,
While shepherds are driving
The fleecy clouds in the sky,
On soundless hooves, nearer and nearer,
The horses of Death trot by.

Noiseless, fatal steeds,
And on each a shadow,
Sad silent shadow cavalier!
O'er the white road, at their coming,
The moon herself hides in fear.

Whence do they come? Who knows?
As they halt in their stirrups
The whole world lies abed.
But one saddle always is empty,
One horse always led.

And he before whom they halt
Mounts, ashen-pale, with them,
And on down the long white way
On moonlit nights they gallop,
Death and his hunt, for prey.

ALONE WITH THE SEA

Translated from the Hungarian of ANDREW ADY *by*
GODFREY TURTON

Hotel-bedroom, twilight, seashore.
She has gone. I shall never see her any more,
I shall never see her any more.

She has left a flower on the sofa. I press
My lips to the rose from her dress,
To one faded rose from her dress.

The scent she wore hovers around like a kiss.
Low moan the waves, moan and hiss,
Moan and hiss.

Lighthouse-flares far off are signalling,
"Come, my darling!" the hushed waves sing—
"Come, my darling!" the hushed waves sing.

I listen to the singing of the wild sea-stream,
And lie on the faded sofa and dream,
On the faded sofa and dream,

Lulled and kissed, with head sinking fast
To the song of the sea and the song of the past,
The song of the sea and the song of the past.

THE TARN

Translated from the Hungarian of D. KOSZTOLÁNYI

by J. W. JEAFFERSON

"I SAY," said the woman, coming to a sudden halt on the mountain path. "Do you remember? There was something here."

"I remember," said the man.

And the eyes of both grew wide, as with those who, looking backwards, wonder at a recollection and both see the same thing.

"A hotel," exclaimed the woman enthusiastically. "A splendid, dazzling, European restaurant. Then, there was a great, great terrace shut in with glass. And then a glass door, a huge glass door."

"Yes," said the man, "we once had breakfast there. It looked out on the lake. But it is higher up. It's on the top of the mountain."

Twenty years before they had come that way, together.

Slowly they toiled on upwards, among the mauve lupins, to find it.

And, in fact, it was on the mountain top, a two-storeyed structure, painted grey. At its corner stood a sort of cafeteria, or snack-bar, where cold chicken, raspberry-syrup and fruit were sold. This they recognised.

They went in by the back entrance. After wandering through dark passages they finally came out upon the sunlit terrace, the glass terrace, from which there was the view of the lake.

"This isn't it," the woman declared at once. "It was bigger, much bigger."

"Bigger and more beautiful," added the man.

Upon the glass terrace a few visitors were having supper or writing postcards; tourists, with rucksacks.

They interrogated the aged waiter.

"Isn't there another terrace here as well?"

"No, sir."

Can it have been this? they looked in astonishment at one another. "But there has been some change. Haven't there been alterations since we were here?"

"None, sir."

"Quite incredible. Has it always been like this?"

"Just the same, sir."

Anyhow, they sat down. They ordered ices.

When the waiter brought them, they cross-questioned him further.

"Where is the door? The glass door?"

"What glass door?" queried the waiter.

"Why, the huge glass door there used to be"——and with hands and arms they demonstrated how huge it was.

"There is only one glass door here," replied the waiter, and he jerked his arm towards it.

They were sitting exactly opposite it.

"Queer," they marvelled. "We hadn't even noticed it."

It was a small door, a rickety, worn-out affair, with absurdly small panes. The iron framework was in bad taste, and painted green.

They gazed at it, sorrowfully, for this shrinkage of the perspective caused them pain in the strict sense of the word.

They gazed at it, as at some dream picture, as if they had gazed back at their past youth. They knew it no more. They inquired on what it opened, whither the glass door led.

"Impossible," insisted the woman, "perfectly impossible."

"And yet it obviously is so," said the man. "People make mistakes, you know. Especially after all this time. People suffer delusions."

And now they smiled at the idea that once upon a time, twenty years before, they had thought the place so lovely, so wonderful, so fairylike. What young donkeys they had been, how naïve. And they laughed.

"Why, our glass door at home is bigger than this," asserted the man. "Much bigger."

"Bigger and more beautiful," added the woman.

They spooned up their ices. They said nothing. They were silent.

Suddenly both felt that they had grown old. Illusions and enthusiasms that make things beautiful were gone. Everything was as it is. Henceforth they could look only to the world. Not to themselves. And what could the world give? At most some such poor glass door, not too clean. Life was behind them.

The woman took a mirror from her vanity bag. She scrutinised her face in it, mutely. She discovered lines on her forehead, and about her eyes, . . . lines hitherto unnoticed. She was pale and tired-looking. She applied lipstick.

The man, who was a poet, was gazing out. He looked at the lake with its icy, shuddering, ink-black waters on which a blood-red iron skiff was bobbing up and down.

He screwed up his eyes wrathfully and, as always when out of temper, his thought was of his one consolation, his work, his art.

"Look," he said to the woman. "I feel a positive sickening for those whom literary history by obviously blind misjudgment entitles 'great poets.' For the most part they are mere botchers, who preach and prophesy, boom and clatter like the sea. Just as barren and undrinkable, too, as the sea. Believe me, the little is more. How much more is perfection even if only fragmentary. Are you listening?"

"Of course," nodded the woman; but she was decidedly not listening, for she was still bent over her mirror, without satisfaction.

"Do you know what?" pursued the man, who was also clearly paying no attention to the woman. "Henceforth I prefer to be a small poet. Not great. Small as this tarn. And as deep."

THE OLD PRIEST

Translated from the Hungarian of D. KOSZTOLÁNYI

by J. W. JEAFFRESON

WHEN I was a boy, playing at the Boer war was still the favourite game. One side represented that "handful of lovers of liberty"—the Boers, the other the British, the "tyrants," who trampled the heroes underfoot.

One Sunday, before being marched off to church, we were assembled in our class-room. This was the occasion for a fresh outbreak of hostilities.

Everybody of course wanted to be on the Boer side. The strong, hefty and overbearing at once appointed themselves leaders of "commandos" and enlisted the warriors beneath their banners, whilst the few boys who wavered or could not make up their minds, the feeble and the halt, became by process of natural selection and the reign of terror established by the majority—British. This was the rôle that usually fell to my lot. At that time it filled me with perpetual shame. I dared let no one into the secret. Only now do I make confession, having in the meanwhile found my bearings and realised that there is no such mighty disgrace in belonging to a people which created the principle of liberty, founded world-wide commerce, and bestowed upon the world such men as Hume, Newton and Shakespeare. As to what the Boers were doing during the same time, I have no knowledge.

It must be added that our school battles often ended in such a way that it took more heroism to be a Briton than to be a Boer.

The situation was in fact completely reversed. The "handful of lovers of liberty" were despotic, kicked and cuffed the British, and trampled on the "tyrants," who, poor things, lay scattered upon the field at the first onslaught.

I too lay stretched upon the school-room floor, myself underneath, and on top of me a bunch of fat school-fellows, who had piled themselves upon my body in heaving, excited strata.

Suddenly the door opened. Our Latin master, who was also our form-master, walked in. Our teachers were priests, excellent and learned men, who ministered with fatherly love to our bodily and spiritual welfare.

Our Latin master was particularly severe. He expected us to snore irregular verbs even in our dreams, and woe to the scholar who was caught misconjugating. He dubbed him a criminal. Not from impatience or blindness. Deep in his heart he was really convinced that any one who did not love the Latin language and did not cherish the irregular verbs in his very soul, was a blot upon society, an evildoer and a traitor to his country.

When he appeared in the framework of the door, the enemy, who up to that moment had been mingled in such dire *mêlée* without the faintest prospect of truce, suddenly concluded peace. Each leapt to his place. I was the last to struggle to my feet, because I had been undermost.

He said not a word, but shook his head derisively, and watched me with disapprobation as, with repeated bows, I crept to my desk.

It was only during mass that I became aware that my new summer suit, which I had donned that day for the first time, had suffered damage. In the lower region of my coat there yawned a not inconsiderable rent.

I knew what this spelled. If my father saw it when I got home, he would have my breeches down. At first I pressed my open hand upon the spot, as upon a wound, in hope that it might heal. But immediately I removed my palm, the sick and sorely wounded material gaped. The wound was evidently past cure.

After mass my Latin master stood outside the chapel.

"What are you crying for?" he asked, and his voice was hard.

"They've torn my clothes," I stammered, pointing to the place.

"Well," he said with a nod, "you got what you deserved, you good-for-nothing."

Then he glanced at my coat, pondered a moment, and said, "Come along with me."

I followed him down the long, dark corridor. At the far end

was his cell. He opened the door with a big key. It was a narrow little room. On the sill of the grated window stood a few flower pots. Upon the yellow wall were dark blotches made by the damp. And on the wall there hung a single crucifix and a picture of the Virgin.

"Take off your coat," he ordered.

I had no idea what would happen next. I imagined he was going to escheat the garment and hand it over to the superior as incriminating evidence, or that some hair-raising disciplinary measure would ensue with unforeseeable consequences. I removed my coat in silence, and, in silence, he took it.

He sat down beside the window. There he pulled out a drawer in which he searched and fumbled. He put on his spectacles. He took out a needle, thread and a darning-egg. He licked the thread and squintingly stabbed at the eye of the needle. Finally he succeeded in threading it and began to stitch. He stitched my coat.

He stitched with the expertness of men who live in solitude, but it was a long time before he had finished with his task.

Meanwhile I had leisure to think over what was happening.

At first I was nonplussed that he should have anything to do with a ne'er-do-well and that he should cover up the offence for which he was bound to mete out punishment, as if he himself were my accomplice in crime. On the other hand, to sew on Sunday was a sin, for Sunday was a day to be sanctified by rest, meditation and deeds pleasing to the Lord. He that sews is committing a sin. So I was wondering whether for this sin he would not incur Hell and eternal damnation. Now I know that it was not so. Since that time, when I hear talk of saints and angels upon earth, I always picture them to myself with needle, thread and darning-egg.

HOMework

Translated from the Hungarian of D. KOSZTOLÁNYI

by J. W. JEAFFRESON

PAUL is twelve years old and he is in the third form at school. I was having dinner with his parents.

After dinner, when the guests were in the drawing room having wine and cigarettes, about eleven o'clock I saw a light in the study. I peeped in through the glass door.

The small scholar was there, bent over the table covered with green American cloth. A pen is in his hand and the paper in front

of him. His forehead is furrowed, and he heaves a sigh. He is gnawing his penholder, and continually dipping it in the ink. But he is not writing.

Thus five minutes go by.

Then I open the door and go in.

"Good evening."

"Same to you."

"Why, how is it you're not asleep?"

"I've got to do my homework, for tomorrow."

"What is it?"

"An essay on 'My dear Papa.'"

"H'h," said I. "About your dear Papa?"

"That's it," he said, and pushed his copy book towards me.

Title: "Dear Papa."

The composition of Papa ran as follows—(a) introduction: description of papa; (b) development: papa's character and ways; (c) conclusion: what we owe to papa.

I sat down at the table opposite him and watched him. His face was worried, his eyes shone feverishly, his hair was tousled, like that of a sombre genius struggling in the throes of creation. His nose was inky.

"What have you written so far?" I questioned him. "Pass it across."

"This is only the rough copy," he apologised.

Rough it certainly was, and dirty. There were just a few blots, the smudged picture of some animal—either a dog or a pig—a question-mark, an exclamation mark, and just two words: "Dear Papa." But they had afterwards been scored through, rubbed out, annihilated as it were.

So he had not got very far.

I handed him back the paper in silence.

"Go on," I said encouragingly, "you know what it's about. First of all we have to divide 'Dear Papa' into three sections."

I waited patiently.

I know him: he is a clever boy, outstanding at school, with knowledge and outlook beyond his years.

All the same he merely stared in front of him, puckered his forehead, and sighed.

"Nothing comes into my mind," he wailed.

I shook my head.

"Do you love your papa?"

"Of course," he said and he smiled.

"Or do you not love him?"

"Of course I do," he said, and smiled again.

I now began to feel sympathy for him, and at the same time I had a malicious sense of superiority. I took a cruel and wicked pleasure in his embarrassment, evidently from the recollection of my own childish difficulties, which I have now more or less outgrown. I was silent.

These were my inner thoughts.

What would I have written when I myself was twelve years old about my own dear papa? I looked upon him as a kind of mountain chain, some dark primeval forest. His voice was thunder. Trembling, I worshipped him and would get up in desperation and wild rage from the dinner table when I noticed how in that finical way of his he would sniff the meat, and I would flee into the next room and there bellow aloud so that I might not hear my own awful thoughts. Sometimes I feared he would blow out his brains. Such things, however, are not fit matters for a school essay.

Later I thought :

If little Paul were at the present time capable of writing down what is really alive within him, he would be the world's greatest author, beside whom Shakespeare would be mere balderdash and Tolstoy a weakling—an infinite, unbounded spirit, devoid as yet of form and restraint.

But that is precisely why he cannot be personal. He is terrified by the life that dwells in him. Afraid and ashamed. What is the meaning of all these inward blazing flames? None has yet lighted so much as a cigarette at his fiery lava-crater.

Meanwhile, Paul had gulped down a glass of water, sneezed, coughed, again written down the words "Dear Papa" and again drawn a line through them. He took out a fresh sheet of paper, which in its unsullied whiteness stared at him accusingly. His eyes blinked sleepily. Compassion seized me.

"We shall never get finished this way," I said urgently. "Let's make a start, my lad. What is your papa like? Let's write."

And I dictated, hesitantly at first and very slowly :

"My dear papa is forty years of age. Tall, muscular and manly. His black hair is already turning grey at the temples, the years have drawn many lines upon his brow."

Paul wrote quickly, making no mistakes. At the end of every phrase he looked up at me, anxiously awaiting my liberating words. I also was warming to my task, gaining confidence, and now without further thought, but with complete brazenness, I dictated :

"His face is full of kindness." Now what was that second part? Ah, yes, his character. Let us merely say that "he has character; he is always upright and determined. He wisely combines severity with kindness. When weary with the battle of life, he finds consolation in the evening in his family circle and his cares are dispelled in the light of the lamp."

The exordium I now could entrust to him. Here I resorted to the Socratic method.

"I trust," I said, "you know what you owe to your papa?"

"Gratitude," answered Paul mechanically.

"Quite right," I nodded, "gratitude 'for his great love, for all his great sacrifices, for his infinite . . .'"

It was midnight by the time we had finished.

Then I returned to the drawing-room, to my friends.

"Hullo, where have you been?" asked Paul's father.

"With your boy."

"What doing?"

"Educating him," I replied. "Educating him for life. I have taught him how to fib."

IS HE COMING?

Translated from the Bulgarian of IVAN VAZOV by EARL W. COUNT

SUCH a fog, such a heavy mist it was that had settled that fall upon Vetren! A clammy, wet drizzling rain—the sky had melted into a cold vapour and weighed down upon the low houses of the village. In the muddy street a hurly-burly and uproar. Phaetons hitched to scrawny horses; buffalo wagons loaded with war supplies, driven by peasants; cattle; everything packing and choking the street between the two inns. Through the welter pushes a body of recruits; some are in uniform tunics, some in pelts with the fur side out; but most are wrapped in tattered rugs that have been worked over into capes; their moccasins are out at the toes; bandoliers of cartridges slung around their bodies, their guns shouldered, decked with sprigs of boxwood, their bags packed tightly, cold, ankle-deep in mud, sleet-bedraggled, but singing, singing—a jolly crew of ragamuffins.¹

At the door of one of the taverns a group of officers, travellers, and wondering peasants who gape their curiosity at the sopping heroes.

Before the central inn clusters of women, maidens, children;

¹ *Lit.*, "Pechenegs"—an uncouth early Balkan people.

ragged, shivering blue with cold. They are meeting and sending off the soldiers from Vetren as they move with the Harmanlii regiment, in haste to Sofia and thence to the battlefield.

"Look, there's George's son! Good luck, Tsvetko!"

"Oh, look! There goes Rangel!"

"Oh, and there's Nedelka's boy! Hey, Ivan, look! Here's your mother!"

Little nosegays change hands hastily, and there are tears on cheeks, and words spoken in halves, and the army keeps passing and passing.

"Mamma! There's brother!" exclaims a ruddy-cheeked, tow-headed girl.

"Brother Stoyan!" pipes an eight-year-old beside the girl, and stretches his hands towards the army.

"Sonny! Sonny!" the mother sobs.

A black-eyed, active, strong young fellow appears, detaches himself from the ranks, kisses his mother's hand, his sister and brother on the forehead, shoves a sprig into his chest, places behind his left ear another that a girl hands him, and springs after the troops and the song.

"Sonny, good luck!" screams his mother.

"Stoyan!" the girl falters.

But their voices are lost in the din, Stoyan is lost in the army, and the army in the mist.

Still the mother peers on, though she sees nothing.

The girl lifts the edge of her apron with its gay colours and hides her face.

On reaching home, Stoyan's mother's sobs broke; she opened the dilapidated cupboard, took out shirts and slips and drew from the recesses a holy taper. She placed it on the icon-stand, and began to bow low before it.

At that time the cannon were echoing from Dragoman.

It was November fourth, eighteen eighty-five.

That night old Tsena had a dream.

A large cloud, and the army marching into it, and Stoyan is there. Holy Mother of God! The terror of it! The cloud rumbles. the sky thunders, the earth trembles—that is what battle is like, Stoyan is lost in the cloud, he is gone, but there! She starts, awakens. It is dark, dark. Only the wind howling outside: that was what made the battle. Lord God! Jesus Christ! Cover and protect him! Holy Mother of God, have mercy upon Stoyan! . . .

She could not sleep the rest of the night.

"Uncle Peter, what does the cloud signify?" she asked in the morning.

"Clouds are of two kinds, Tsena: one kind gives rain, the other simply drives about. What kind did you dream of?"

She told him her dream. Old Peter pondered. He could not recall that his dream-book contained exactly that kind of cloud at all. But when he noticed Tsena's anxious face and her laboured breathing, he said soothingly:

"Don't worry, Tsena, it's a good dream. Clouds mean also a message: you will get a letter from Stoyan."

The little old woman's face lit up.

Six days later she received a letter through a volunteer, a friend of Stoyan's, who was conducting Serbian prisoners. The letter was from Stoyan; she trotted over to the priest to have him read it to her. Here is what it said:

"Mother, I am writing you this letter, telling you I am alive and well, and we have beaten the Serbs. Hurrah for Bulgaria! I am well, and Rangel Stoyanov is well, Cousin Dimitr is well and he sends his mother his love. The Serbs always shoot in platoons and by volleys, but they are scared at our hurrah. Get that new strap of mine from Tsvetan's, where I forgot it. The youngsters might hurt it. To-morrow we are on pursuit through the passes of Dragoman, and when I come back I am going to bring Kina a souvenir from Nish; I am sending you one lev to spend for yourself, and I am going to teach Radulcho how the shells whistle. And I send you my regards. Your obedient son, Stoyan Dobrev. Remember me to old Peter. I was going to send him a Serbian gun, but there was no way just now. They have a long range, but they don't shoot straight. Mamma, my best to Stoyanka."

Tsena's heavy heart rejoiced, and she trotted her old bones back to Stoyanka's with the letter. The joy became general; but Radulcho especially was tickled at the prospect of the new whistle that his big brother was going to teach him.

Just as she came out onto the street, Baba Tsena saw a new body of prisoners, and behind them a young Bulgarian soldier. It seemed to her that that was Stoyan himself, he looked so much like him. But no, it was not he. It occurred to her to ask him also if he did not bring regards from her boy, but her attention was off to the prisoners, whom she saw for the first time.

"Dear Lord," she murmured to herself, "so those are the Serbians?—Why, they are good people too!—Oh, dear, their poor mothers!—I wonder if they know . . . Hey boys, wait a moment!"

She went back and immediately came out again with a glass of rakia, and called to the Serbian soldiers to wait—she wanted to treat them. The guard smiled good-naturedly and halted his charge.

“*Falim, falim!*” responded the weary prisoners appreciatively, refreshed by the grateful draught.

“And leave a drop for me!—Your health, mother!” cried the Bulgarian soldier merrily, and gulped down the last bit in the glass.

“All God’s Christians: why did they fight?” wondered Baba Tsena, as she watched the vanishing detachment.

And so, the armistice.

Christmas is coming, and the soldiers are returning on leave. Several return to Vetren. Only Stoyan does not come back, nor is there word from him. Baba Tsena grows disquieted, anxious, and thoughts go through her mind. Days pass, she watches the door, waiting for a knock. Here comes Rangel Stoyanov, and then Peter, Dinko’s son; and here are the Stomatov brothers. She gets up, goes out, inquires: they know nothing. They saw Stoyan one time, then they lost track of him again. Her heart sinks, she roams the house in a daze, thinking always of Stoyan.

“Mamma! Cousin Dimitr is back!” calls her daughter Kina, running in from the gate, all out of breath.

Up gets Tsena, and goes over to Dimitr’s.

But even Dimitr knows nothing. “Maybe they have sent him towards Vidin,” he adds, because he feels sorry for the mother. “Maybe he will come from somewhere over a different road,” he mumbles, at a loss.

“Dear Lord, where can my boy be?” she sighs.

She goes out, and home. Even at the gate her heart begins to throb; perhaps now at last Stoyanka will say she has had word from Stoyan, that he is coming for Christmas. Won’t Stoyanka have a good word to say? No, she is silent. Instead, her eyes are red.

The village is all a-bustle. It is out to meet the first returning regiment. In the middle of the street, just in front of Baba Tsena’s, they have erected two wooden posts and have bound to their tops a curved log for an arch. They have brought fragrant pine boughs from the mountain and have twined them about the uprights and the arch; and on the latter they have fastened an inscription, brought especially from Pazardjik: “Welcome, Brave Soldiers!” Then they have decorated the whole with the national tricolour. Behold the triumphal arch!

The victorious army comes and passes.

"Maybe he is coming from farther back, maybe he wants to get here just before the holiday; he has no reason for celebrating Christmas in a strange place. Here come soldiers singly now. By evening he should be here—they seem still to be coming. He knows so many people are watching for him here with sore hearts."

So thinks the poor mother.

In the morning Baba Tsena goes early to church. She changes the lev Stoyan sent her, buys holy candles, and lights one before every icon on the altar. She returns home with her face cleared.

"He must be here to-day—tomorrow is Christmas: there is time yet," she murmurs to herself. "Holy Mother of God, bring him back to me, my little angel! Jesus Christ, make me glad!"

Kina comes running in to say that more villagers are back.

Baba Tsena is irritated.

"Stop bringing me tales, but go and meet your brother, as other people do," she bursts out.

"Mamma, I want to go with sister!" cried Radulcho.

And the two children run off up the snowy street and out onto the turnpike that travels through the fields.

Baba Tsena remains expectantly before the gate.

The wind blows cold from the mountain. Peaks, valleys, plain, all are white with snow. The sky is heavy. Black crows fly over the way, or perch on the stark branches of the trees. Here and there, as it winds up into the Ichtiman pass, small clusters of girls, children, old women bespeckle the highway, waiting; for soldiers are still returning, some singly, some in groups. Kina and Radulcho pass the first cluster, then the second and third, and move on farther. They want to be the first to see and greet Stoyan. They will know him immediately, in spite of the snow, which has begun to fall and blinds their eyes.

The road rises and disappears behind the bluff. There is nothing to see. Kina and Radulcho have reached the top. There the wind is stronger; it cuts through them. Two soldiers emerge from the bend, all covered with snow. . . . It is not he.

"Say, is any army coming from up there?" asks Kina.

"I don't know, little girl. Whom are you waiting for?"

"Brother!" answers Radulcho.

The weary soldiers trudge on and by.

Kina again peers beyond. It is cold. She shivers, Radulcho shivers; but brother is coming, they will wait for him, for mamma might scold, or maybe cry, if they don't bring him back with them.

A phaeton appears with two persons hooded and muffled in warm furs. When the carriage reaches them, Kina blocks the way of the horses.

"Sir, is any army coming from up there?"

"I don't know, little dove," one of the travellers replies, raising his hood and looking in surprise at the blued and reddened little face.

And the carriage speeds on downward.

The two children remain rooted² to the ground. Hours go by. The mountain wind waxes, it beats in their faces, blows their clothes about. The snow flies and whirls up in eddies, but they refuse to retreat. They strain their eyes towards the bend, hoping for something living to blacken the highway. Suddenly Kina's heart starts. A cavalcade appears and rattles forward. So many soldiers! Certainly brother must be there. She waits without budging. The troop bears down, then with a clatter it climbs up towards them—and passes. Kina waves her hand to two officers who are riding somewhat behind.

"Captain, is brother coming?" she asks tearfully.

The officers halt and look at her in surprise.

"Who is your brother?" asks one.

"Brother Stoyan—our brother Stoyan," cries Radulcho impatiently: how could such a finely-dressed captain not know that Stoyan is their big brother?

"What Stoyan?" repeats the officer, at a loss.

"Stoyan from Vetren!" Kina replies with assurance.

The officer mutters something to his companion, and asks again in surprise:

"Is your brother a cavalryman?"

"That's it, that's it," answers the poor girl, not understanding the officer.

"He is not with us, little girl."

"Come, you had better go back to the village, or you'll freeze," puts in the other.

And the officers prick their horses and follow their squadron.

Kina is crying, and Radulcho follows suit. Their hands and feet turn stiff, their cheeks are blue. The whole highway to the village lies before them: it is now deserted. The waiting groups have gone back, as it is approaching dark. The wind cuts ever more sharply. Only the cavalry still blackens the road: it is receding, and the wind carries back to the children the song of the soldiers. Then Kina and Radulcho start back for the village.

² *Lit.*, "nailed"—a verb used, e.g. of horseshoeing.

Night is falling. With their hands thrust into their jackets they walk, quietly sobbing and thinking of their mother waiting at the gate.

Another phaeton with three horses thunders down from behind them.

"Mister, is any more army coming?"

The phaeton shoots past them, dies out and disappears into the dark.

The snowstorm blows terribly. It comes from the west, from the battlefield, over there in the vineyards of Pirov, where the drifts are piling on Stoyan's grave.

LIOMPA

Translated from the Russian of YURII OLESHA by

SONIA VOLOCHOVA

LITTLE Alexander was shaving wood in the kitchen. The scratches on his fingers were fast getting covered up with golden shavings, good enough to be eaten.

The kitchen faced the courtyard. It was spring: the doors were ajar, grass was sprouting at the threshold, on one of the stones drops of water sparkled in the sunlight. A rat appeared among the garbage. In the kitchen someone was frying potatoes cut fine. The gas range was being lit. The life of the gas range always began magnificently; it leapt to the ceiling in a blazing torch of flame; it died meekly, in a tiny blue light. The eggs were jumping around in the boiling water. One of the lodgers was cooking crayfish. He picked them up, still alive, one by one, with two fingers. The crayfish were greenish, the colour of drain pipes. Unexpectedly, two, three drops of water would drip into the sink. The tap was quietly blowing its nose. Up above, the chimneys began to chatter in various voices. Then dusk descended, all at once, without any warning. Only the glass tumbler on the window continued to shine brightly. It caught the last rays of the setting sun as they came through the grating gate. The tap began to squeak. A multiple stirring and crackling sprang into life round the gas range.

In the next room, next to the kitchen, lay a very sick man, Ponomarev. He was alone in the room. There was a single candle burning. A bottle of medicine stood on the table at the head of the bed. A long prescription trailed after it.

When friends came to see Ponomarev, he greeted them with the words: "Congratulate me, I am dying."

Towards evening he always became delirious. The medicine bottle stared at him. The prescription trailed like the train of a woman's gown. The bottle was a duchess, celebrating her nuptials. The sick man was delirious. He was carrying on a conversation with the blanket.

"Aren't you ashamed?" he whispered

The blanket sat down next to him, it stretched out by his side. It left the room. It brought back news from the outside world.

The objects in the sick man's possession were few—the medicine, a spoon, a light, the wall-paper. Everything else had left him. When he realised that he was seriously ill, that he was going to die, he also realised how immense and how varied the world of objects was, and how little of that world remained within his grasp. Each day the number of objects still in his possession grew smaller. As intimate an object as a railway ticket had already receded into a distance so remote that it could never come back. In the beginning only the objects on the circumference of his world—far, far away—left him; then, faster and faster, the objects closer to the centre of his world, the objects near his very heart began to disappear—they disappeared from the courtyard, from the house, from the corridor, and finally from the room itself.

At first all these disappearances evoked no anguish in the sick man. Foreign countries disappeared, America, the possibility of being handsome, of being rich, of having a family (he had never married) . . . His illness bore no relation to the disappearance of these objects; they slipped away from him in direct ratio to his increasing age—the real pain came when he realised that even the objects which had travelled alongside of him throughout his life were beginning to recede into the distance. The street, his work, letters, and horses—all left him in a single day. And then, with lightning speed, the objects at his elbow, the objects under his very nose, also began to leave him; the corridor had already slipped out of his grasp, and objects in the room itself, objects he was still looking at—his overcoat, the bolts on the door, his shoes—all lost their meaning.

And he knew: death, on its way to him, was demolishing everything. Out of the whole immense and useless mass of objects formerly in his possession death left him but a handful, and they were objects which, had it been in his power, he would never have admitted into his domain. He was presented with sharp pains.

He was given the alarming visitations and glances of his friends. He knew he could not resist the intrusion of these, as he had always thought, unbidden and unnecessary objects. They were all he could have now, and they were inevitable. He had lost the right of choice.

Little Alexander was building a flying machine.

The little boy was a much more complex and much more serious organism than the grown-ups gave him credit for. He cut his fingers, lost blood, littered the floor with shavings, smeared paste everywhere, pestered everybody for silk rags, cried, and got beaten. The grown-ups had no misgivings about their right to beat him. In the meantime the boy was functioning exactly like an adult. More than that—he was functioning as only few adults can. It was in complete accord with scientific principles. In building his model, he was following rigorously a drawn plan, he made calculations—the boy understood what he was doing. He could have defended himself against the attacks of his elders by explaining, by demonstrating, but he said nothing. He thought he had no right to show himself more serious-minded and more earnest than his elders.

The boy was surrounded by rubber braids, wire, strips of wood, silk thread, a light silk teacloth, floss, and the smell of glue. The sky gleamed. Insects were crawling over the large stone in the courtyard. A crayfish had fossilised in the stone.

Another little boy approached the one at work, a very small boy, naked, except for a blue loincloth. He handled everything and interfered with the work. Alexander drove him away. The little naked rubber boy then walked about the house and along the corridor where the bicycle was standing. The bicycle was resting against the wall by one of the pedals. The pedal had scratched the wall-paper and it looked as if this scratch was now supporting the bicycle.

The little boy went into Ponomarev's room. He stood by the bedside and nodded. The sick man's temples were pale, like the temples of a blind man. The boy bent down quite close to the head and inspected it. He believed it had always been like this in the world and that thus it always would be—a bearded man lying in this room on this bed. The little boy had only just learned the meaning of objects. He did not yet know the difference age and time could make in their existence. He turned and began to walk about the room. He noticed the slabs in the inlaid floor, the dust under the wainscoting, the cracks in the plaster. Countless

lines converged around him. Substances were alive. A focus of light had formed. The little boy hurried towards it, but he had scarcely taken a single step when the change in space caused the focus of light to vanish. He looked all around, looked up and down, looked behind the stove, searched, and, finding nothing, spread his hands in a confused, vague gesture. Every second gave birth to a new object. How marvellous the spider was! He had barely thought of touching it with his finger when the spider vanished.

The departing objects left only their names to the sick man.

There was an apple somewhere in the world. It shone brightly among the leaves, swung ever so lightly, and caught, as it swung, part of the brightness of the day, the pale blueness of the garden, and the bars of the window which were swinging along with it. The law of attraction was waiting for him under that tree, on the black earth, on the hillocks. Ants were bustling among the hillocks, looking like tiny beads. In the garden sat Newton. Innumerable laws of cause were hiding in the apple, laws which could give birth to an even greater number of effects. But not one of these effects was destined for Ponomarev. The apple had become an abstraction to him. And he was tortured by the knowledge that the living substance of objects had left him and only the abstractions remained.

"I used to think there was no inner world," he mused. "I thought that my sight and my hearing governed all objects. I thought the world would cease to exist when I ceased to exist. But here it is . . . I see how everything is leaving me, even though I haven't died yet. I am alive. Why then have objects ceased to exist for me? I thought it was my brain alone that gave them form, weight and colour—but here they have left me, and only their names—useless names that have lost their masters—are swarming in my brain. What use are these names to me?"

Sadly Ponomarev watched the child. The little boy could walk about. Objects rushed to meet him. He smiled at them, not knowing the name of a single one. He walked away and the sumptuous train of objects hurried after him.

"Listen," the sick man called to the child, "listen . . . Do you know that after I die there will be nothing left? There will be no courtyard, no tree, no papa, no mamma. I shall take everything away with me."

A rat had come into the kitchen.

Ponomarev could hear him. The rat was bustling about,

clattering among the plates. He turned the tap and rustled the papers in the garbage pail.

"Eh-eh, what a scullion he is!"

At the same moment a disturbing idea came into his head. A rat may have a proper name, a name not known to men. He began to devise such a name. As he continued to concentrate, he was seized with greater and greater terror. He knew that he must stop at all costs. At the same time he continued to strive desperately, knowing that at the very instant he discovered the one and only, the useless and terrible name, he would die.

"Liompa!" he cried in an awful voice.

The house was asleep. It was early morning—not quite six. Little Alexander was not asleep. The kitchen door leading to the courtyard was open. The sun was still somewhere below.

The dying man, bent double, his arms with their limp wrists stretched out in front of him, was walking about the kitchen. He was gathering objects to take away with him.

Little Alexander was running in the courtyard. The model was flying in front of him. The model was the last object Ponomarev saw.

He did not take it with him. It flew away.

At noon a blue coffin with yellow ornaments appeared in the kitchen. The rubber boy, his hands behind his back, peered from the corridor. The coffin had to be turned countless ways before they could get it through the doorway. It grazed the shelves and touched the saucepans; the plaster began to fall. Little Alexander climbed on the hearth and helped by supporting the box from below.

"Granddad! Granddad!" he cried. "They've brought you a coffin."

ARCTIC SIBERIA

ITS DISCOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT

ARCTIC Siberia is one of those parts of the world which have been almost despaired of by civilised countries. Although very little has been known until recently of the land and its inhabitants—or rather because of that lack of knowledge itself—it has always been regarded as one of the less creditable parts of the globe, as one of the blind spots of the earth's surface. Men casting their glance over the whole world, in search, it may be, of colonies, trade-routes or exploitable land, have hardly given it a thought. Or, if they have allowed themselves to form any impression of it at all, it has been one of a vast desolate waste, unknown and not worth knowing. Its very situation on the northernmost fringe of a continent has prevented it from being anything more than a vague idea hovering on the fringe of men's minds.

Even in the expansive days of the 16th century, when merchants and mariners alike were straining their eyes for new lands to explore, Northern Siberia was considered, not as possessing any importance in itself, but as coastland to be passed on a possible route to "Cathay." As has happened with so many other countries, it was discovered in the search for something else. It was the English and the Dutch, their ambitions thwarted by the maritime powers of Spain and Portugal, who were the first to consider seriously this "north-east passage" along the Siberian coast. During the reign of Henry VIII, a Bristol merchant of the name of Robert Thorne drew up a long petition to the King, urging him to further the work. Not until Edward VI's time, however, was the passage actually attempted. Then an expedition of three ships was sent out by Sebastian Cabot's "Company of Merchant Adventurers." The expedition, sailing under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, resulted in the arrival of Richard Chancellor at Archangel, and his welcome by Ivan the Terrible in Moscow. Its outcome was the trade agreement between the Muscovite Tsar and the sovereigns of England.

With the destruction of the Invincible Armada, there was less need for English merchants to seek a route to China on which their ships would remain unmolested by Spanish galleons. The next step towards the opening up of Arctic Siberia was taken by a Russian. Peter the Great conceived an interest in the actual extent of his dominions, and ordered its whole coast-line to be mapped. In this way, part of the country was explored from the interior.

The project of a north-east passage came again to the fore during the period of imperialist expansion at the close of the last century. The greater part of the burden was borne by Englishmen and Scandinavians, the Russian Government itself not participating.

Captain Wiggins, an Englishman, visited the mouths of the two great rivers, the Obi and the Yenisey, which flow northward through Siberia into the Arctic Ocean. Wiggins was financed largely by a public subscription organised through the columns of *The Times*. The next explorer, Nordenskjöld, was backed by Sibiryakov and the Swedish financier Baron Dickson. Nordenskjöld brought off a considerable feat by sailing all along the Siberian coast in the course of one winter. This was in 1876.

In the first years of this century, a Norwegian company organised and managed by Mr. Jonas Lied, elaborated a plan for obtaining concessions of timber from the Russian Government and, after floating the timber down the Obi and the Yenisey, transporting it to Europe. In 1913 Fridtjof Nansen made a journey on one of the company's steamers and in his book *Siberia, the Land of the Future* expressed his conviction that commercial navigation in the western half of the Arctic Ocean was quite feasible.

The Soviet Government, once in power, decided to organise the enterprise on a much larger scale than ever before. In place of lonely explorers braving the northern seas, with little "moral support" and even less financial assistance, there was formed, after earlier efforts on a smaller scale, two years ago an organisation called the "Central Administration of the Northern Sea Route." This organisation was given an exclusive charter to explore and develop not only the route itself, but also that part of the mainland lying above lat. 62. The territory thus covered is over thirty times the size of Great Britain. "The Central Administration of the Northern Sea Route" is the agency through which all the developments which I am to describe were effected, and today it has forty thousand men and women in its employ.

For some little time it has been common knowledge that the Soviets were working out a comprehensive scheme of development for Arctic Siberia. It was believed to include not only the organisation of a sea-route and an air-route, but the modernisation of the inhabitants' economic conditions as well. First-hand facts, however, were hard to come by.

The head of the "Central Administration," Professor Otto Schmidt (the leader of the flying expedition which quite recently made a successful landing near the North Pole, and commander of

the "Chelyuskin" when it was marooned on an ice-floe off the Siberian coast in the winter of 1933-34) came to London early over a year ago to explain the achievements of his organisation. I was among those who heard him speak. He gave what seemed to me an astonishing, I might almost say fantastic, account of the extent to which modernisation of the Arctic had gone. I expressed doubts to him as to whether an unbiassed non-Communist, like myself, would see the same picture. The upshot was, that Schmidt invited me to pay a visit to Arctic Siberia myself, so that I might see the work being done there with my own eyes. After some little trouble, he succeeded in getting me permission to travel and take photographs in complete freedom. I made the journey last summer.

It is obvious, from what has been said, that Arctic Siberia had been visited by foreigners before; but I can safely claim to be the first non-Soviet traveller to have seen what the Russians are doing in its most outlying centres. My account of what I saw may be made easier to follow if I give a short description of the route I took.

From Moscow I travelled by train to Krasnoyarsk, in Eastern Siberia. From there I went by aeroplane, following the course of the Yenisey down to Port Igarka, a town lying right in the centre of the Arctic zone and only recently erected. I then took another aeroplane across the Taimir Peninsula (which juts out from the northern coast of Siberia) to Nordvik, returning east to Norilsk and Dudinka. The next part of my journey was undertaken in a British tramp steamer carrying timber to Dickson Island. Dickson Island is the central radio exchange and polar station in the Kara Sea, and from it I made a few expeditions on board an ice-breaker engaged in blasting a route for a fleet of cargo steamers through the Vilkitsky Straits. I returned on a Russian tank-steamer through the Kara Sea, the Matoshkin Straits of Novaya Zemlya, the Barents Sea, and so to Murmansk. From there I came down by rail on the "Polar Arrow" to Leningrad, flying home from Moscow to London in one day.

I made this journey, as I have said, in summer. When any attempt at navigating these northern seas is considered, there is one fact of unescapable importance to which all projects have to conform. It is this: for all but three months of the year the seas that wash Siberia's northern coast are frozen over. For nine months great waterways like the Obi and the Yenisey flow into an ice-bound Arctic Ocean.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Government has spent considerable sums of money in organising transport on these rivers, in building ports at

their mouths, and in developing communications from these ports during the three months of the year in which navigation is unhindered.

The chief aid to navigation is, of course, provided by powerful ice-breakers. The ice-breakers themselves are further assisted by other achievements of modern technical progress such as wireless stations and reconnoitring aeroplanes.

A chainwork of radio stations has been built along the whole length of the coast-line, as well as on islands in the Kara and East Siberian Seas. They number fifty-seven now; further inland are another two hundred. These stations report on weather conditions to the centre at Dickson Island four times a day; from there, incidentally, they are relayed to Moscow and the principal European weather bureaux. The ice-breakers are provided with valuable information on the location and resisting-power of the ice-floes, on the strength and direction of the wind, and are thereby saved much time and trouble. The stations also make hydrographic, biological and geological observations.

When visiting some of these stations, I found the operators to be mainly young people. They tackle their task with immense courage and zeal; they look upon their work as a national mission. Among them I found some of the finest types of Russian youth, men and women possessing great faith in their work and ready to sacrifice for it their own comfort and welfare.

The other aid to navigation through these waters possesses also high importance of its own: it is aviation. Aircraft assists the ice-breakers in this way. Planes, taking off from the shore, reconnoitre a largish area around and ahead of each caravan of ships. During the flight, observers draw maps of the ice-formation and, upon their return, drop a small parachute, with the maps attached, on to the deck of the vessel. Routes for cutting through the ice are then mapped out on board.

The ice-breakers in use at present are mostly out-of-date. The largest, the "Yermak," was built in 1899 (at Newcastle). No ice-breaker is able to remain away from its fuelling-base for more than 25 days, and therefore has to return several times in one season.

The problem of how ships are to be provided with fuel to last them a considerable period, has only recently been brought in sight of solution.

It was not until 1932 that the North-East passage was negotiated in one summer. Then the ice-cutter "Sibiryakov," under Professor Schmidt, travelling from west to east, made the journey. Since then

at least one ship has made the journey each year, until, in 1936, the trip was made by no less than fourteen vessels, some travelling west to east, others east to west.

This spring four new ice-breakers were to have been put into service. They were to be of 12,000 tons each, run on 10,000 h.p. Diesel-engines, and have space for carrying two aeroplanes apiece. Their radius of action will be very much higher. These vessels will, then, be independent of the coastal bases throughout the summer season.

Siberia possesses some of the most valuable and extensive timber-forests in the world. It is only the inaccessibility of the country which has prevented its immense wealth from being utilised on a large scale. Russians today being very keen on statistics, perhaps I may be allowed to introduce a few figures in support of these statements: particularly as they do give some idea of the unsuspected riches of the country. The natural annual growth of Siberia's forests is estimated at fifty million trees. That is to say, fifty million trees could be felled each year without reafforestation ever becoming necessary. Last summer five hundred thousand trees were sawn up for export at Port Igarka. More than fifty vessels were engaged in its transport, and nearly seventy thousand standards of Siberian wood were brought to Europe.

The timber is cut up in towns built for the purpose only recently by the Russians. Work in the mills and in the towns generally goes on all the year round. The two great drawbacks which most people ascribe to the Arctic, the intense cold and the polar night, hardly trouble the workers at all. As a matter of fact, the Arctic winter is not the coldest on the earth. The timber can be rafted downstream in summer, and only when the thermometer falls below -65 degrees C. is work in the mills interrupted. And that happens very rarely. The minimum temperature is usually -35 degrees C., a not unusual figure even in more "temperate" regions of Russia, such as Ukraine and Southern Siberia, where large industries have been established for many years. During the polar night the whole town is floodlit.

The sawmills are organised on extremely modern lines. Up-to-date machinery has been brought from Sweden; and operatives, before being sent out, are trained for their work at Archangel. The largest of the timber-exporting towns, the largest town in fact in the whole north of Siberia, is Port Igarka. It lies on the Yenisey at lat. $67^{\circ} 27'$ N. At the time of my visit its population was 14,000, 2,000 of whom were children. It is built entirely of timber; and

the houses, either one or two storeys in height, reminded me strongly of Swiss and Tyrolean cottages.

The condition of the ground at Igarka presented some problems when the buildings were first set up. Owing to the fact that the summer is so short, and that in winter there is little snow, the ground there is never completely thawed. In July and August the top-soil may thaw to a depth of from five to eight feet, but for sixty feet under that, it is permanent ice and frozen earth. The rain that falls in summer cannot be absorbed into this frozen subsoil, and the surface of the tundra is turned into swamp and marsh.

Sometimes, when the first houses were built, one wall or another collapsed, or else the centre fell in and only a hollow shell was left. The reason for this was that the heat from the huge brick stoves that were used to warm the houses, thawed the ground in which the foundations were set. The difficulty is now met by building the floor of the rooms a few feet above the surface of the soil. This allows the air to circulate freely beneath, and so insulate the earth from the heat of the stoves.

The roads also are built of timber. They are really floating parquet-floors. Great logs are laid across the tundra, the spaces between them are filled in with sawdust and, over all, a floor of highly-polished beams is laid across. Along these roads run horse-carts, motor-cars, trucks and automatic timber-carriers.

A few years ago, when Russia first began exporting timber at lower prices than either Canada or Finland, much was written about "forced labour" in the timber camps. I cannot say what conditions were like at that time. When I was in Igarka, I found that of its 14,000 inhabitants, four thousand were exiled kulaks, that is to say, former well-to-do peasants who had resisted the collectivisation of their farms and had been exiled. They were paid normal wages and, outwardly, I could hardly distinguish them from the free workers. They lived as neighbours one with another; the kulaks' children went to school with those of free workers, and are now being absorbed rapidly into the new society. No guards are needed to keep the kulaks in the camp; for the nearest railway station is fifteen hundred miles up the river, to the north stretches the endless tundra, and to the south the dense Siberian forest. After a number of years, if they have worked well and shown an interest in their work, if they can on the whole prove themselves to be what the authorities call "dekulakized," their passports are restored and they come into their civil rights again.

Although Igarka lies four hundred miles up the Yenisey River,

it is not its position that makes navigation there difficult. The Yenisey is forty miles wide at its mouth, and at Igarka it is still five miles wide. Moreover, an arm of the river branches off beside it; and this is wide enough and deep enough to accommodate sea-going steamers up to the number of fifty. Igarka's difficulty is to construct a quay both large enough to allow so many ships to load at once, and strong enough to withstand the pressure of the ice in winter and the force of the floods in spring. Up till recently, the quays built have accommodated no more than six or eight ships at once; and each year they have been torn away by the rush of water produced when the ice started moving. During this last winter, however, a much stronger quay has been constructed. Vessels have to be guided by pilots for the whole of the four hundred mile journey to the mouth; for descent of the river is made difficult by the existence of numerous islands and shoals. Even today, pilots dare not attempt the journey during the few hours of darkness which constitute the night during autumn in the Polar region.

Besides timber, the other great potential product of Siberia consists of its deposits of metallic ores. Norilsk is already a considerable coal-mining centre, while nickel has also been found there. Nordvik is another rising mining-town.

The coal-mines of Norilsk are worked entirely by convicts. Just as I was leaving, two hundred women convicts arrived by barge; they were to work in the kitchens, in the houses and in the power-station. The convicts are paid wages, however, and live a normal life in the town. Still, no one can pretend their life is all roses. Norilsk lies further north than the northernmost tip of Alaska, and is situated in a very remote spot. Even in July and August, when the rivers are navigable, a journey of fifteen hundred miles from the mouth of the Yenisey is necessary in order to get to the mines. In winter, transport is possible only by reindeer-sledges and dog-teams. In an attempt to overcome these difficulties, a railway is being laid from Norilsk to Dudinka—a port on the Yenisey about seventy miles away, which is to serve as Norilsk's harbour. The greater part of the track was already laid when I visited it; and the engineers, with the usual Soviet optimism, assured me that the whole line would soon be ready.

The coal at Norilsk lies fairly near the surface, but a layer of ice has to be penetrated in order to reach it. Nickel, a metal in which Russia is not over-rich, is found here in abundance. The Norilsk coal will be invaluable for refuelling ships that follow the Northern Sea Route. Already a fuel-base is in course of erection on Dickson

Island. At the present day, vessels have to ship enough coal at Murmansk to supply both their outward and their homeward voyages.

Nordvik is a younger settlement. The way this little township has been founded may serve as a guide to the Russians' general methods of work. Last summer, when it had been decided to begin mining there, five ships set out from Archangel. On board were six hundred workers and everything necessary for building a town; houses in parts, all ready to be set up the day after unloading, furniture, food, radio apparatus, mining equipment, hospital appliances, etc. The Russians called it a fleet of Noah's Arks.

Nordvik's wealth consists in its salt, its coal and its oil. The salt will be used for canning fish; at present salt has to be brought by devious routes from the Black Sea. By 1938 the Russians hope to mine 180,000 tons a year at Nordvik. The oil they intend to refine on the spot and use for replenishing steamers on the Northern Sea Route.

Great as the endeavours are, that are being made to develop navigation, the whole scheme of development for Northern Siberia really depends on aviation. For nine months of the year the seas are choked with ice; travel across the bogs and marshes of the tundra is restricted to reindeer and dogs. It is in the air that the future of Siberia must lie. And the Russians realise this to the full. Regular air-services are already working for the greater part of the year along the courses of the main rivers. There are no landing grounds, so only hydroplanes are used; and these fly only above the rivers and the sea, never above the land. As they are equipped with skis as well as floats, they can alight either on ice or on water. Blind flying is out of the question as long as the network of radio stations is not sufficiently dense. Whenever fog brews up, the pilot simply sits down on the river and waits for clear weather.

This summer it is hoped to start an air-service from Moscow to San Francisco along the Siberian coast. A chainwork of re-fuelling bases, meteorological bureaux and radio-stations once set along the route, there is nothing whatever to prevent it. Flying in the summer, the pilots will have the advantage of almost continuous daylight. I have, myself, flown for a total of about a hundred hours in Arctic Siberia, and have encountered no unbearable hardships. At the time of my visit, it is true, the aeroplanes were used for carrying either cargo or passengers as occasion demanded, so that they had no seats and one was obliged to sit huddled on the floor. The bases, though, were already very well equipped.

The Russians believe the Arctic to be one of the most important highways of tomorrow's air-traffic. The recent establishment of a radio station and meteorological observation post on an ice-floe twelve miles from the North Pole, is only the first step in an ambitious plan to inaugurate air-lines between the great cities of the Northern Hemisphere, via the North Pole. The distances, that way, are obviously shorter than if one travels nearer the waist of the globe. The possibilities opened up by this project are incalculable.

Two other important subjects remain for treatment—the question of providing food for the thousands of Russians who are working in these regions, and the question of how the natives are to be treated.

The natives themselves are used to living on raw meat and frozen fish, but other food has to be provided for white men. Tinned food can always be imported, of course, but a dreaded disease in these latitudes is scurvy. This can best be prevented by a menu that includes plenty of fresh fruit and vegetables. Extraordinary attempts have therefore been made to grow these greenstuffs in the Arctic. Radishes, cabbages and onions have been raised as high as the 68th parallel, but along the coast and on the islands plant-life consists of moss and lichens only. Hothouses have been constructed under the ice itself, and here fresh fruit and vegetables are grown. At Igarka tomatoes, strawberries, cucumbers, lettuce and potatoes have been successfully raised. Even at the Polar stations themselves, electrically-heated chambers are built below the surface of the ice, where cucumbers and salad-stuffs are grown.

Experiments with wheat, oats and barley are also being made, and on the Kola Peninsula, where the climate is affected by the Gulf Stream, they have proved particularly successful. On the State farm at Igarka wheat stood a foot high last September. On other experimental farms, which, however, I did not see, winter oats planted in spring are said to have germinated and ripened quicker than ordinary spring-sown oats. The yield was estimated to be 30 per cent. higher. A certain method of preparing the seeds called *Jacovisation* may produce even better results in the future. The seeds, before being set in the soil, are saturated with water and, as soon as they have begun to germinate, are kept in a constant temperature of between five and thirty degrees Celsius. After a number of days they are then planted in the ordinary manner. By this method their whole life-cycle is strengthened and accelerated.

Three main problems confront the Russians who are trying to grow cereals in these regions. The first is to drive the grain-belt as

near as possible to the Polar zone itself, in order that the cost of transporting grain from a distance may be saved. The second is to evolve plants suited to the peculiarities of the Arctic summer, that is to say, plants with short growing-seasons and immunity to occasional frosts. The third is to discover methods by which the crops can, when ripe and harvested, be kept fresh for a whole year, or even longer. The reason for this is obvious: most of the cereals are only ready for harvesting when the navigation season is drawing to a close. The crops, then, have to be kept in storage until the season starts again in the following summer. The dangers inherent in this, are that the plants may lose their vitamins, putrefy, or send out shoots over the winter. The methods used up to the present to prevent this, is to put the crops "under gas." Large frames are constructed in which the plants lie, asleep in carbon monoxide. Experiments are, however, being made on a new method, in which the plants will be stored in X-ray chambers.

Arctic agriculture, as a whole, suffers from the shortness of the warm season, midsummer frosts, and very poor soil. In return, it enjoys twenty-four hours sunlight during the two months of summer. This is of special benefit to greenstuffs and grasses. Grass, for instance, grows ten times as fast in the Arctic as it does in the South of England; and the cabbages raised there grow much larger leaves.

These experiments in growing foodstuffs are hardly what the business man would call a "paying proposition." But they are indispensable to the carrying through of the Soviets' other plans: to the development of mining, of lumbering, navigation and air-routes. Apart from the consideration of the inhabitants' and workers' healths, food-bases are also necessary to ensure provisions in the event of a breakdown on the transport routes. And, since this is so, any expenditure is justified; although, as a matter of fact, the workers on the State Farm at Igarka have calculated that even if the present cost of raising the produce were doubled, it would still be cheaper to grow it there than to bring it by aeroplane from the South of Russia.

In the course of the last fifty years or so, the number of natives has decreased rapidly¹ From the beginning the Soviets have meant well by the natives, but their first efforts were spoilt by over-haste and excessive zeal. Young natives brought to Leningrad to be educated there, languished and died in the air of the city. Now the teachers

¹ Visiting this region in 1919, before any appreciable Communist influence, I learned that the native races had long been dying out.—B.P.

themselves travel to the Arctic. There they help the natives, tend their reindeer (the chief form of wealth among them), show them the use of the motor-boat and the metal trap (to help them in their hunting and fishing), combat the influence of the *shamans*, and, if their parents permit, teach the children to read and write in alphabets specially invented. Education, instruction in modern hygiene and sanitation is already having its effect. The decline in population has been arrested, and it is hoped the numbers will soon increase. "Cultural centres" have been set up at the main trading-bases, where the natives call at regular intervals to sell furs and buy provisions. The sale of alcohol has been forbidden, and the natives are exempt from both taxation and military service.

The Russians meet with few difficulties when trying to induce the natives to accept the form of local government known as Soviets, if only for the reason that these are already similar to their own tribal councils. This fact fits in well with the main line of policy followed by the Russians in their treatment of the natives. For their final aim is to teach them to take care of themselves. Some of the children educated by "red missionaries" rise to be teachers, economists and technicians. There is a good reason behind this policy. The natives are well acclimatised to the tundra life, and are hardened against the vagaries of the weather. They are, in fact, the natural trustees of the country, and in the long run will provide a better personnel for the work being done there than any Europeans.

It is perhaps a little beside the point to question the value, or at least the "profit" of this immense endeavour to open up a half-forgotten country, to explore new sea- and air-routes, and to make plants grow where none have grown before. Vast amounts of money and energy have been expended. Last year Russia's "North Asia Company" had a budget of £10,000,000 (at par). There are however two considerations. The first is strategical. The Russians believe the North Siberian air-route will provide an invaluable means of transport and communication in the event of a possible war. Some trial flights have already been made, and the full effect of this project is difficult to realise. The second consideration is that, even if the scheme for developing Arctic Siberia does not "pay for itself," it will augment the wealth of Russia as a whole.

H. P. SMOLKA.

INDIVISIBLE PEACE

THERE is no formula wide enough to cover the whole incalculable range of problems which political events are likely to bring forth. Not even the apt phrase "indivisible peace" can be made to include all the varied aspects of complex reality. All it can do is to indicate the path which should lead to the goal.

What is this goal? Here we at once encounter ambiguities, sometimes deliberate, sometimes unintentional. Is the goal which we have in mind when we speak about indivisible peace and collective security the maintenance of peace, or the establishment of a preponderance of power for the eventuality of an armed conference? The one undoubtedly is connected with the other, for today we can scarcely make sure of peace without at the same time preparing the most favourable conditions for defence. Nevertheless, the trend of our policy and the practical handling of it will be quite different according to whether it has in view the preparation for war or the preservation of peace. In the former case we shall follow the well-known principle of "*si vis pacem, para bellum*," whereas in the second instance our motto will be "*si vis pacem, para pacem*." In the former case we shall endeavour to obtain military alliances, while in the other case our aim will be the isolation of every possible aggressor in accordance with the rules of the League of Nations. In both cases, however, it is necessary to be prepared in a military respect, for to be defenceless or weak is to whet the appetite of the aggressor, but what makes a difference is whether the authority and military power at our disposal are devoted to the service of peace or to preparations for war. This depends upon whether we believe that war can be averted, or whether we are convinced that it is inevitable. If we allow ourselves to be carried away by the fatalistic belief that war is a component part of destiny, and indeed a natural phenomenon, the only honest thing to do is to concentrate our minds entirely on securing the most favourable conditions for overcoming the enemy. If, on the other hand, we resist the degrading conjecture that man is not a plaything of passions and instincts, of nameless natural and economic forces, if we believe that man is the maker of his own destiny, we shall devote all our creative energy to the task of overcoming barbarism and of quenching the smouldering dangers of war.

The practical consequences of these two attitudes are obvious; either a policy of military alliances and hostile blocs, or the policy of the League of Nations, either preparation for war or the securing of peace.

It is a Czechoslovak who writes these lines. This circumstance in itself determines the point of view which underlies them. The policy initiated by Masaryk and carried on by Beneš moves unswervingly in accordance with the principles of Geneva. We are convinced of the indivisibility of peace, but having in view the preservation of peace, and believing that war can be averted, we are all the more resolutely opposed to the creation of any military or ideological blocs, and all the more insistently do we urge the policy of isolating every possible aggressor.

Masaryk and Beneš have taught us to be sober-minded realists. We therefore are well aware that indivisible peace need not, under all circumstances, mean divisible war. The interdependence of problems and interests in Europe is undeniable. Our Republic, situated as it is in the centre of Europe, feels in varying degrees every vibration of European happenings. Nobody can remain indifferent to events, however remote may be the part of Europe in which they occur. But the intensity of interest naturally has its gradations. Thus, the war in Spain affects the Western Powers more directly than the Eastern States. Nevertheless, its dramatic development has shown with sufficient clearness that no country can afford to overlook it. Again, the Austrian problem preoccupies the Central European area more than any other, but there is already plenty of experience to show that it is a problem which concerns the whole of Europe and from which no Power can dissociate itself. When the German National Socialists waged a violent campaign against Lithuania and, more recently, against Czechoslovakia, it caused serious concern not only in the two States against which these campaigns were directed, but also in the countries of Western Europe. The termination of the Rhine Pact and the re-militarisation of the Rhine zone concerned not only France, Belgium and Great Britain, but also Central and Eastern Europe. The efforts of Belgium to obtain a recognition of neutrality had their repercussions even in the Danubian and Balkan regions. The Italo-Yugoslav agreement aroused serious attention also in Paris and London. The British Imperial Conference is being followed very closely in Central and Eastern Europe. Other such examples could be given, but these will suffice. They all show the reciprocal connection between events in Europe and throughout the world. There is no problem in Europe which could be entirely isolated.

At the same time, however, the extent of the interest and participation in each individual case depends upon how immediately or how remotely any particular country is affected by it. Thus,

for example, the relations between France and the countries of Central and South Eastern Europe vary in degree. With Poland and Czechoslovakia, since both these countries border on Germany, France has concluded agreements of alliance, whereas with Yugoslavia and Roumania she has concluded only agreements of friendship. Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Yugoslavia form the close unity of the Little Entente in the Danubian regions, and although they act in concert in many cases, especially those involving a general European policy, their relationships to other countries are adjusted on varying lines, according to their special requirements which mostly arise from their respective geo-political position. Czechoslovakia has agreements for mutual assistance with France and Russia, but her relationship with France, a direct neighbour of Germany, is much closer and deeper than to Russia. This diversity of relationships between individual countries and the varying degree of interest which they show in individual events will scarcely be a source of satisfaction to a radical dogmatist who would like to draw unambiguous and definite inferences from a recognition that the destiny of one is inseparably bound up with the destiny of all the others. A politician with a sense of realism simply takes due note of these divergencies, and arranges his plans accordingly. This leads him to aim at agreements based upon factors involving regional proximity or some special interests.

It was formerly supposed that agreements of this character are at variance with the uniformity of the League of Nations, and that there is a danger of their degenerating into alliances such as have proved so fatal in the past. Experience, however, has shown that these agreements with their concrete limitations can strengthen the League of Nations by giving it solid foundations (a practical decentralisation nearly always strengthens unity). It can likewise be shown from experience that agreements based upon mutual interests are more likely than any others to ensure the effectiveness of the League of Nations against aggressors and disturbers of the peace. The consciousness of international solidarity has developed in the last two decades in a far more decisive manner than in many preceding centuries, but it is not yet sufficiently strong and widespread to justify reliance upon it in all cases. The selfishness of national interests and the jealous guarding of State sovereignty often tend to weaken the feeling of international cohesion which of course calls for certain sacrifices. Under these circumstances it is of little avail to complain about the imperfection of the contemporary world, and it would be even less desirable to try and speed up this

development by violent or artificial means. Those who are anxious to strengthen international solidarity will prefer to choose the practical way, either by strengthening the bonds between the countries capable of cultivating a community of interests, and by making the network of such common interests as close as possible. Whenever any international tension arises, they do not affect every country to the same extent. In such cases it is the duty of those countries which are most immediately concerned and which therefore react most strongly, to keep such effects under control as much as possible. If they already possess any special ties of friendship, their efforts to keep the peace will be all the more likely to succeed, and they will be able to rely upon the help of the others with all the more certainty. Even though all cannot be expected to show the same firmness in attempting to prevent disturbances of the peace, that does not mean in itself that the action which has to be undertaken will not be effective enough. Much the wiser course is to organise it in a manner best suited to the given possibilities, and then to carry it out with the utmost possible determination. In the case of Abyssinia one of the reasons why the League of Nations failed in its purpose was because the action against the aggressor was not organised on sufficiently realistic lines. As practically the same efforts were demanded of all, the result achieved was less than it might have been, if the tasks had been distributed in proportion to the intensity of interests and the possibilities of intervention on the part of each individual member. It is true that the effect which was aimed at was crippled mainly by the lack of unity and the hesitation of France and Britain, although these two Powers had an immediate interest in the whole matter. But the courage of many was rendered useless also by the fear that economic sanctions might easily lead to military sanctions. It can hardly be doubted that if there is no firm resolution to apply military measures, if necessary, against the aggressor, there is little hope of making him give up his intentions. At the same time it is absurd to expect that all will be determined on military action, since this would include also those who are affected only indirectly and remotely by any particular conflict. The experience which has been gained has taught us that even preventive intervention against an aggressor can succeed only if there are guarantees that all members of the League of Nations and the countries sympathising with them will break off regular relations with the aggressor and will apply economic and financial sanctions, and if at the same time the countries directly affected

will not hesitate to take military action also, if necessary, against the aggressor. At the present stage of international development this can be achieved, not only in Europe but in the rest of the world. If this possibility does not satisfy the radical adherent of the Geneva doctrine of indivisible peace and collective security, the realistic politicians will be satisfied with it, as a practical measure.

If we recognise that it is most advantageous and most practical for each sphere of interest first of all to organise guarantees of security, we are thus expressing not only comprehension but direct approval of the endeavour to renew Locarno. We realise with approval that France and Britain seek mainly a guarantee for their common frontiers which are on the Rhine. After the Rhine Pact had been abandoned, Franco-British co-operation was intensified. This in itself represents an unusually powerful guarantee of peace. Post-war experience has shown in great detail how the whole of Europe immediately felt the effects whenever Britain and France took common action or proceeded on separate paths. And because these two great countries are still the most powerful and also consistently pursue a peace policy, the destinies of peace have depended and still depend in very large measure upon the attitude they adopt. The process of disintegration in Europe was accelerated when the British and French politicians were unable to agree upon a common line of action. It was their lack of agreement which gave Italy an advantage in Abyssinia, and Germany on the Rhine. If the outbreak of the European war which threatened from the Spanish complications has thus far been successfully averted, this was only because Britain and France acted with an impressive unity. There is no need to recall other examples in the history of Franco-British relations. All of them show that the co-operation of these two Great Powers is an indispensable condition for any successful effort to maintain peace throughout the World.

It is evident to every political realist that Britain can assume direct guarantee commitments only in the Western security system. It is, however, important that the new Locarno should not be the concluding item in collective security, but only one of its links. Collective security can be built up upon regional agreements or those based upon common interests, and indeed it would seem that under present-day conditions no other organisation is even possible. But these special agreements must not be isolated; they must be reciprocally connected in such a way that a member of one agreement is, at the same time, a member of another agreement. To put it quite concretely, a Rhine security system can successively fulfil

its function if France at the same time, with the consent of Britain, participates in the security system in Central and Eastern Europe. If a new Western Pact made it impossible for France to contribute to the help of her Eastern allies, it would become an implement of anarchy and not of order in Europe. Tactical reasons of opportunism due to regard for Germany might prevent a new Western Pact from being connected by an express formula with the Security Pacts which France has with Czechoslovakia, Poland and Russia. There cannot, however, be the slightest doubt, either political or juridical, that a Western Pact will in no case prevent the Pacts of France with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe from coming into operation in any of the eventualities for which they are intended. And in order that any possible doubt might be removed, it would be absolutely essential for the compatibility of the commitments arising from all these Pacts to be expressly admitted and recognised by Britain. This recognition would, of course, not involve any commitment on her part to take military action in conflicts which might arise in the East of Europe, but she should not stop France from acting under her Eastern agreements.

It may be objected that the course of events which might develop after any such military action by France would drag Britain also into war. It certainly seems as if Britain could hardly remain neutral if France were to go to war with Germany, but Britain would certainly not side with France if France herself were to provoke a war with Germany, either directly or by inciting her allies to a policy of challenge. But there is no French Government, however nationalistic, which would venture upon so hazardous a course. It would be overthrown by the indignation of the French people who are genuinely pacifist. Hence, there is in reality no fear that France would drag England into war by any unbalanced action on her part. But there is also not the slightest doubt that France could not assist her Eastern allies if any of them, through their own fault, were to bring about a conflict with Germany.

In actual fact we are now less concerned with the possible course of events if war were to break out. In such a case each country would act according to the categorical imperative of its own self-preservation, which is always stronger than the most explicit injunctions of international agreements. From them only those can consistently assert themselves which are compatible with that imperative. The system of pacts is assuredly of greater significance for the policy of peace than for decisions by force of arms. The proper way to put the question is as follows: is a system of pacts

which already exists, which formed the subject of negotiations or which are being prepared, elaborated in such a manner as to be a reliable guarantee for the maintenance of peace? If we comprehend thus the value and significance of security pacts, we shall necessarily and consciously endeavour to bring about a connection between one regional security and another, or to take a concrete example, we shall aim at connecting Western and Eastern security.

The doctrine of what are known as dynamic countries proclaims the localisation of the conflict, and it proceeds in an entirely logical manner when against the collective system, constructed upon mutual assistance agreements, it recommends bilateral non-aggression pacts. Such a criticism as this is completely compatible with the policy which pursues aggressive aims. The aggressor's purpose is to settle successively with each of his weaker opponents, and he is therefore anxious to frustrate the establishment of a strong coalition which would have the preponderance over him. A coalition of this kind would be able either to keep him from carrying out his aggressive intentions, or to increase the risk entailed by his determination to make war. Moreover, because collective security can be organised on practical lines by a coalition of countries, either few or many in number, those who are eager for foreign conquests will always be resolute opponents of any such organisation. It would, however, be dangerous to believe that any conflict in Europe brought about by Germany could be successfully localised. The example of Spain should not be quoted as a proof that the struggle has been successfully limited to Spanish territory; for it should not be forgotten that the point at issue here was the assistance provided by foreign countries to two native camps waging a civil war. The situation would have developed quite differently if direct warfare had broken out between Valencia and Italy or Germany. In such a case the war would scarcely have been kept within these limits. No one who is at all familiar with the conditions can doubt that war would spread all over Europe, even if it broke out in a remote Eastern region. The conflict could not be successfully localised, whether it were to originate in the Baltic area or on the frontiers of Poland, Czechoslovakia or Austria. If, for example, Germany were to interfere with Lithuania, Russia would at once take steps to turn the incident into a matter of European significance. Or, again, a war against Czechoslovakia would soon become a European war, not only because Czechoslovakia would secure assistance from two Great Powers, France and Russia, but also because neither Britain nor Italy could remain

indifferent to any attempt to crush a country which forms the main obstacle in the way of the Pan-German effort to construct a "Mittel-Europa" which would extend German domination as far as the Black Sea, the Aegean and the Adriatic. In such a case as the one which we are discussing, the real point at issue is not so much what would happen if war were to break out, as what means could be adopted for averting it. The doctrine of the localisation of the conflict is not dangerous for eventualities of war, but it is all the more dangerous for a policy of peace, since it arouses false hopes among those who are paralysed by the fear of war, it induces a false sense of security by leading them to suppose that if another country is attacked, the rest will be spared the disastrous effects of war, and it upsets the system of connections linking one country to another. Thus it merely helps to increase the chances of war.

It is not the localisation of the conflict, but the isolation of the aggressor, which is the only effective means for frustrating his intentions and making him keep the peace. If he has not the slightest hope that the rest of the world would leave his intended victim to his mercy, he will not venture to risk defeat. From this it also follows that the isolation of the aggressor can be achieved only if the system of collective security is organised in such an elastic manner that it can at any time be brought into operation against a country which reveals itself as a disturber of the peace. Here we see the fundamental difference between the organisations of security constructed according to the principles of Geneva, and the formation of alliance blocs. A solid front consisting of countries united by the old-style alliance agreements may seem to be a more effective formation than a free grouping of countries carried out *ad hoc* against any definite disturber of the peace; but it involves the risk that an equally solid enemy bloc may be formed against it, and that the tension which is thus brought about may result in an act of war. At the same time, too, the formation of alliance blocs make it practically impossible to arrive at a peaceable settlement of disputes with the country which has evoked them. It may perhaps surprise the reader that this point of view is adopted by a Czechoslovak. Inadequate information as to the real character, methods and aims of Czechoslovak policy have helped to produce the impression, which is deliberately emphasised by the opponents of Czechoslovakia, that this country is a direct protagonist of old-style alliance groupings. It is true that of the smaller European countries Czechoslovakia has succeeded in negotiating the greatest number of security agreements, the effectiveness of which cannot be doubted.

Thus, she is united with Roumania and Jugoslavia in the Little Entente, with France and Russia she has mutual assistance agreements (Poland has an agreement of this kind only with France, and is still united in alliance with Roumania). It might be possible to reproach Czechoslovakia for renewing the old type of alliance systems in European politics, if her set of agreements were so one-sided and rigid as to rule out any possibility of agreement with her neighbours. The writer may perhaps be allowed to say that his country has, on the whole, well realised the new tendencies of development in the post-war period and that it has ordered the trend of its foreign policy in accordance with them. Its representative spokesman, Edward Beneš, has become the protagonist of the policy of Geneva. Being a cautious realist, he has not overestimated its possibilities and its scope, but as such he has also acted so as to make the League of Nations a permanent and indispensable factor in international policy. He was aware that the League of Nations needed support in the form of regional agreements which are a useful means for pursuing a policy of peace. In this way the Little Entente was created, and it has become a direct prototype of these regional agreements. It is so constructed that it can successfully function only if it follows the principles of Geneva enjoining the maintenance of peace by peaceable methods and international agreement. It was and remains entirely appropriate for the Little Entente to identify itself with the new order of things established in the Danubian area after the war. Even if it is admitted that the new frontiers might have been drawn up differently, it will scarcely be suggested that the frontiers, once they had been drawn up, should be arbitrarily changed merely in accordance with the biased wishes of those who had been adversely affected by them. The only way to prevent a lapse into international anarchy, is to insist upon due regard for the law, defined by the treaties, also in international life. Incidentally, even if the frontiers between Hungary and the Little Entente countries had been different from those prescribed by the Treaty of Trianon, Magyar revisionism would have caused just as much unrest in the Danubian area. Its real aim was the restoration of pre-war Hungary, but this aim could be achieved only by sacrificing the nationalities who obtained their freedom in 1918. The Little Entente is acting in accordance with international law when it rejects Magyar revisionism, and it serves the interests of peace when it prevents the Danubian area from being thrown into a condition of anarchy. At the same time, however, it has from the beginning made a point of preparing

a close co-operation of all the smaller Danubian countries. The rapprochement which is now manifesting itself particularly between Yugoslavia and Austria, the Yugoslav-Bulgarian treaty of eternal friendship, the marked slackening of the tension which hitherto existed between Hungary and the Little Entente—all serve to indicate that friendly co-operation between the Little Entente and the other three Danubian States can become a reality.

While Czechoslovakia took an active part in the tasks of the Little Entente, she also subordinated her agreements with France and Russia to the service of European peace in the sense of Geneva. This was shown in a formal respect by the circumstance that these agreements can be made operative only after a decision of the Council of the League of Nations. By this alone they fundamentally differ from alliance of the old type by which the countries which concluded them committed themselves to grant each other military help in all cases, "both for aggression and defence." The mutual assistance agreements which France has concluded with Czechoslovakia, Poland and Russia apply only to a case of unprovoked attack, and they can be utilised only after having strictly complied with the stipulated procedure in the League of Nations. It is true that they were concluded mainly with Germany in view, but it is not true that they were directed against Germany in a hostile manner. Their only purpose is to counteract the imperialistic aggressiveness of Pan-Germanism. In this connection it may be added that Germany tacitly approved of the agreements between France and Poland and Czechoslovakia at Locarno which were incorporated into the whole Locarno scheme. The Treaty of Alliance between France and Poland did not prevent Germany from concluding a pact of friendship with Poland. When on 7 March, 1936, Germany renounced the Rhine Pact, Berlin, in reply to an inquiry from Prague, stated that she continued to recognise the arbitration treaty with Czechoslovakia, which was signed at Locarno, and that she had no objections to the Franco-Czechoslovak guarantee treaty, which was also then concluded. When, too, in March 1936 Herr Hitler offered his Eastern neighbours—Czechoslovakia was expressly mentioned—non-aggression pacts, this offer was not associated with any condition that Czechoslovakia should renounce her Pact with Soviet Russia. There can, of course, be no doubt that the Third Reich would be delighted if the Franco-Soviet and the Czechoslovak-Soviet Pacts were to come to an end, for in this way Germany would achieve one of her most cherished ambitions: the connection between Western and Eastern

security would be destroyed. It would, however, be a fatal error to suppose that Germany would then turn all her attention to the East and leave the West in peace. Those who hold this view forget that in such a case the Eastern countries would not passively allow themselves to fall a prey to the Third Reich. It does not need much imagination to foresee that they would endeavour to avoid the danger thus threatening them by attempting to obtain an agreement with Germany, and an agreement of this kind would be achieved at the expense of the West. It would be a great mistake, for example, to regard a rapprochement and an agreement between National Socialist Germany and Soviet Russia as impossible. Although today it is not very probable, it is by no means beyond the bounds of possibility, and every politician with a sense of real values should in any case take it into account. This is one of the reasons why Czechoslovak policy has considered it desirable to continue friendly co-operation with Russia.

From all that has here been said it follows that we regard close Franco-British co-operation as the chief condition for the maintenance of European peace. This is an indispensable basis for a system of security organised in accordance with the principles of Geneva. These two Great Powers enjoy the friendly sympathies of the United States of America, and the effectiveness of their joint policy is rendered even greater by the fact that they continue to maintain friendly relations with Russia. At the same time the co-operation between them is of a sufficiently elastic character to admit a possibility of agreement with Germany and Italy. Indeed a valuable feature of British and French policy is that it tends to prevent the division of Europe into hostile blocs, and its firmness and elasticity justify the hope that Germany and Italy will find it necessary to favour agreements with other countries rather than a permanent tension which can continue only to their economic detriment. In any case, we must again insist that a fundamental necessity for the maintenance of peace is a close co-operation between Britain and France and a union between Western and Eastern security, based upon the friendly co-operation of the Western Powers with the Little Entente and Russia. To shake these foundations would inevitably lead to the collapse of European peace which, not only in a figurative sense, but in the fullest meaning of the word, is indivisible.

HUBERT RIPKA.

THE TURN TOWARDS FREEDOM

Twenty Years of Revolution

[In view of the kaleidoscopic revaluation of ideas due to the repeated threats by Adolf Hitler to the integrity of Russian territory and the changes that are now taking place in the direction of policy in the Soviet Union, we have felt that it may be highly useful for our readers to have an opportunity of judging of the reactions to this situation of Russians of various views.—Ed]

THE whole world is just now following with the greatest attention the events in Russia—the sensational trials, and how by the will of Stalin there are vanishing from the political stage the closest friends of Lenin who created the Soviet State or the closest collaborators of Stalin, such as Zinovyev, Kamenev, Pyatakov and the yesterday all powerful Yagoda. Quite lately there has begun a purge among the Red Marshals, and in the army have been introduced new commissaries under the immediate control of Voroshilov and Stalin.

What does all this mean? Why in the twentieth jubilee year of the Revolution do we see the ruin and destruction of those who twenty years ago by force of arms instead of democracy, which had been springing up in Russia after the March Revolution, set up in November, 1917, the “dictatorship of the proletariat.” We note that Stalin himself at that time played by no means the first part in the Party, and his close fellow-workers such as Voroshilov, Molotov, Kaganovich and Ezhov were still quite unknown to anyone.

Changes are nowadays taking place rapidly in the USSR. For those who are not following the life of Russia day by day it is very hard to understand the meaning of the drama that is being enacted there. Of course it is very interesting to guess: why Marshal Tukhachevsky has fallen into disfavour; what is the attitude towards the international idea held by Marshal Voroshilov; why Stalin’s close fellow-worker, the pupil and friend of Maxim Gorky, yesterday the still all powerful Chief of the political police and responsible master of many millions of prisoners in the concentration camps, Yagoda, has now been officially declared to be a gangster, a peculator of public monies, an enemy of the people; why such men as Kamenev, Pyatakov, Sokolnikov, etc., so easily acknowledge themselves to be guilty of espionage and sabotage and give themselves over to public infamy. All these, of course, are questions to which we should like to have an answer; but still these are all anecdotic details of events, external symptoms of some process which

is going on within the dictatorship itself—a process extremely important for the whole Soviet Union, with consequences which cannot fail to show themselves not only in Russia but also far beyond her borders; for all events of the Russian Revolution, from its beginning of 12 March, 1917, up to today, are international factors of enormous significance.

That is why we are all interested in finding the meaning of the present stage of the vast revolutionary development in Russia, quite calmly considering and estimating the facts, not yielding to any feeling of indignation or prejudice. For the matter of that, Stalin and Molotov themselves and the government press of Moscow have disclosed to us a picture so threatening that any “heightening of the colours” would not be necessary to the most prejudiced critic.

On 3 and 5 March this year took place in the Kremlin a session of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The speeches delivered there by Stalin and Molotov remained for quite a long time unpublished and only appeared in the press at the end of April. Both these speeches agree in their content. Stalin gives more directives, Molotov more concrete facts. In both speeches there are enunciated, so to speak, two truths: one for the country, the other for the Government and Party. The first of these is optimistic; the economic plan has been more than carried out, construction of socialism in one country is being successfully completed, the hostile classes have been abolished, the population is prospering. The second truth is gloomy and even extremely pessimistic: socialist construction is passing through a profound crisis; wreckers and saboteurs together with Japanese and German spies have penetrated every domain of the national economy, of the pores of State administration; class struggle—in a classless community—is becoming more acute; and Stalin has frankly emphasised that the saboteurs, spies and wreckers have found a special power in their “Party ticket.”

Thus Stalin admits that “the class enemy, destroyed in the USSR” has now in some strange way settled in the souls of the makers of October, the genuine and most intimate pupils of Lenin. And Molotov, repeating all this and stating that all the statistics of industrial achievements have been crudely falsified, said: “Hundreds of cases of sabotage have been discovered in heavy industry, which has especially suffered from this. Nests of saboteurs have been discovered also in agriculture, where has been revealed wrecking activity by four assistants of the People’s Commissary. If the work of the numerous saboteurs and spies had not been discovered in

time, the Soviet Union would be facing extremely serious economic and military difficulties."

And really, when reading the official press of Moscow, we are compelled to state that in the Soviet Union, twenty years after the beginning of the Revolution, wreckers, saboteurs, agents of "class enemies" and foreign powers, all of them "with the Party ticket," have been discovered on every front of the "proletarian culture,"—in philosophy, law, history, education, literature, painting, architecture and music. Wreckers are destroying and ruining industries: coal,¹ petrol, electrical energy, chemistry, machine-building, metallurgy, light industry—in a word, all. According to the explanatory memorandum for the Plan for 1937, "the very successes attained in 1936 have been turned into defeats, into universal wrecking. All this—that is the execution, and excess on execution, of the Plan—with violation of the most elementary requirements in economy, raw material, real value, quality, etc., has the very worst effects on the interests of the State and inflicts self-evident loss on the workers, hindering the speedier lowering of prices of goods of wide consumption."

I give all these official data from Moscow not at all in order to engage in irresponsible criticism or for any malicious satisfaction. I should wish that for the good of my country all these painful phenomena should entirely vanish, but how is that to be attained? We know that the "Leader of the People" himself, the author of "Communism in one country," is trying to wrestle with the ruin of his planned economy; but is it really possible seriously to believe that all this ruin is due to the fact that nearly all the old Bolsheviks, fellow-workers of Lenin, have turned into German spies and agents of capitalists and squires. And if State Prosecutor Vyshinsky, Molotov and Stalin are stating what is true of the Pyatakovs, Kamenevs and Sokolnikovs, then surely there arises for any unprejudiced person a question which is vital for Soviet construction: why then, in exception to all other States in the world, is it only just in the proletarian State that criminals and malefactors of every kind penetrate throughout the pores of the state administration, seize the commanding heights in industry, in transport, in Ogpu itself, and make themselves absolutely at home there, in spite of all the punishments which have been inflicted. We note that by the admission of the Soviet Premier, Molotov: "We do not yet

¹ Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, 29 April, of this year.

know of all the acts relating to subversive work of Trotskyite and other agents in heavy industry and in other parts of our organisation." Why is it only here, in the socialist USSR, that four assistant commissaries of agriculture, together with nests of wreckers, have been spoiling the whole crop, provoking the ruin of the cattle, leaving the fields unsown in the spring of 1937? Why should Russia alone among all other agricultural countries—and some of them very backward—be quite unprepared for the sowing this year. Tractors and machines have not been repaired, the material for sowing has not been got ready, fuel for tractors has not been supplied, brigades of collective farmers not organised. By 15 March, in all, 734,000 hectares of spring crops had been sown, instead of the 4 million hectares of last year by the same date. Who is right—Molotov, who charges all this to wreckers "with the Party ticket," or the well informed correspondent of the American weekly *Time*, who writes on 19 April: "This turning of the Dictator humbly towards Russia's masses coincided last week with his Cabinet's need of breaking what the official statistics showed to be a grave stoppage, perhaps a strike this spring among the peasantry. Under the State's plan there were to have been sown 328 million acres by last week, and the official figures showed 13,200,000 sown—a staggering "unfulfilment" of 314,800,000 acres. That something is seriously amiss appeared from the fact that Moscow higher-ups were not willing to accept last week the reasonable-sounding explanation of subordinate leaders in the provinces that 'the late coming of our Russian spring this year accounts for the backwardness of the sowing.' Instead of having the Soviet press print this alibi, the State turned the type-guns of its potent news-organs upon the peasantry and local Communist leaders, fired inky broadsides denouncing their 'lack of preparation and carelessness!'"

The reason for such reverses on the agrarian front² is of course not the imaginary "sabotage Ministers," but the compulsory system of agriculture. It was not without reason that the recently deceased President of the Supreme Council of National Economy, Kuibyshev, as early as 1933 said: "The whole history of the grain strikes is one great fight, the desperate struggle for bread, the class fight." It is not "the class fight," but the conflict of the Government with all agricultural Russia, the conflict of an irresponsible

² The Soviet Professor Tulyakov in his book *The Foundations of the Construction of the Agrotechnic of Socialist Agriculture*, points out that in 1936 there was sown less in the same limits of territory than in 1913; and this year, I will add, there will be less.

bureaucracy accustomed to dictate against a population deprived of rights.³

But the habit of arbitrariness, the absence of criticism of the acts of the Government in the country demoralises the latter. Stalin, in this same speech to the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, charged his State and Party officials with "giving themselves airs," (*zaznaistvo*) toadyism (*podkhalimstvo*) and boasting (*chvanstvo*), and with "the ridiculous and idiotic disease of political near-sightedness." We see that Stalin himself finds in his officials features that are extremely characteristic of the bureaucracy of any despotic State where there are not the rule of law equal for all, an independent press and free public opinion. Molotov, continuing the exposures of Stalin, exclaims indignantly: "Surely it is for some reason that organisations have leaders, and they should sometimes feel the danger from the enemy when he is engaged in undermining." Why did they not feel it? I think that they felt it and saw a good deal, but kept quiet until they were allowed to talk of it. Why did they keep silence? Because as one bold man wrote in Soviet Russia (and has suffered for it) "No one felt any certainty as to the next day." (*Socialist Agriculture*, 12 April, 1937.)

No one felt any certainty as to the next day or feels it or will feel it till the dictatorship is replaced by "the most democratic constitution in the world" promised by Stalin. Alas, on 1 May in *Izvestia* Procurator Vyshinsky, so well known since the trials of Zinovyev and Kamenev and of Pyatakov and Radek, wrote: "Between the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian democracy not only is there no contradiction whatever, but there is complete unity."

If Vyshinsky accurately expounds the thought of Stalin, and if the new constitution remains, like that of Lenin of 1919, a constitution on paper, then nothing will be changed in the Soviet Union, however much Stalin may still punish the most intimate pupils of Lenin under the heading of spies and wreckers; for, if autocracy demoralises the population, it still more, as I have already written, demoralises the bearers of power themselves. Bureaucrats with the Party ticket lose the sense of the most elementary morality, and it is quite consistent that Stalin himself now seeks spiritually strong

³ In our view, it seems evident that there is the greatest possible contrast between 1933 and the present time. Then the Government was certainly at war with the peasantry; it still remains to be ascertained how far the condition of the peasantry has since then been improved, but we think that it is anyhow beyond question that the state of war has definitely ceased, and we give, as one of the reasons for this, the very great changes which have been made in the acts of association of the collective farms.—Ed.

and morally honest men among non-Party Bolsheviks, in other words that he seeks them among persons who acknowledge the dictatorship of Stalin, but are honest men.

If we carefully study all the acts of the Krenlin in this last year, noting with attention the unusually frank speeches of Stalin and Molotov, we can only come to the conclusion that, parallel with processes of moral health and national regeneration of the country, there is proceeding in government circles a sharp conflict between the heirs of the anti-national and anti-state tradition of Lenin, and the advocates of some new plan or other of state transformation on national and more free principles, more in correspondence with the psychology and tendencies of the new young Russia, which, by now, has no knowledge of pre-war Russia and took no part in the two revolutions of 1917.

It is possible to think that the USSR is with painful slowness returning to the path of healthy democratic construction by which she would have gone after the fall of the monarchy on 12 March, 1917, and from which Lenin, taking advantage of the superhuman difficulties of the War, diverted her on 7 November of that year.

In the Moscow newspapers, in numbers devoted to the 20th anniversary of the March Revolution, are quoted some old words of Stalin: "'February'⁴ (that is, the March Revolution) was the greatest break in the history of Russia." And *Pravda* justly adds: "The Revolution of February was a great break in all world history."

However, recognising this unquestionable historical fact, the Bolsheviks have distorted history, changing the March Revolution into the prologue of their own dictatorship, depriving it of all independent inner meaning and even ascribing the actual fall of the monarchy and the whole of this "greatest break" which there had ever been in the history of Russia only to Lenin and his nearest fellow warriors, who have now for the most part been eliminated by Stalin.

I recognise that going by chronology, so to speak, the Bolsheviks are quite right. What indeed can be the meaning in history of some short eight months thrust in between centuries of hereditary traditional monarchy and two decades of an autocracy unparalleled in ruthlessness? But it is not by the yard-measure of time that the significance of historical events can be estimated. Events which really make a break in history have a chronology of their own. In

⁴ The Revolution took place on 27 February, old style, 12 March new style.

a somewhat paradoxical form this may be expressed as follows the more events have of the character of a break in history, the less space do they take up in time. Revolution, at the unrepeatable moment of its appearance, setting an impassable barrier in history, is like some tremendous social earthquake. Such an earthquake was the revolution of 12 March, 1917. In the short space of three days only (12-15 March), in seventy-two hours, there was accomplished outside any human will and past any human consciousness a real social miracle: not only the fall of the monarchy, but also the disappearance with it of the political and social power of classes and castes which up to that moment had dominated in Russia.

To justify their revolt against national government in the violent armed *coup d'état* of 7 November, the Bolsheviks, persistently and consciously, conceal the truth. 'October'⁵ they maintain was necessary, because in 'February' "the business was only half done. The political power of the squires had been removed, but there remained their colossal land tenure, the foundation of their power, the old state machinery of Tsarism was damaged, but not finally smashed." (*Pravda*, 12 March, 1937.)⁶

When Lenin, only after the Revolution, reached Russia on 17 April, he declared—and repeated eight months later, before his own Revolution—"Russia is now the most free country, where all oppression of the working classes has vanished for ever." This means that Lenin himself twice acknowledged that the political programme of the Russian Revolution and the whole liberation movement in Russia, which had begun more than a hundred years before, had been fully and finally realised by 'February.'

Freedom was given to the Russian people not by the Bolsheviks, but before the Bolsheviks. This no one in the Kremlin will venture to contest. But still, this "half-and-half 'February'" so the Bolsheviks assert, did not decide to touch the social power of the old ruling classes. In other words, our Revolution gave the people freedom, but did not give it land. Such is the misleading interpretation of 'February.' This version was to justify in the understanding of the Russian peasantry all the Bolshevik ruin of agriculture. As a matter of fact, the reason why 'February' was the "greatest break in the history of Russia," was because it not only laid down in principle the settlement of the question of labour, but of the question of land. The century-long conflict between squire and muzhik was decided in favour of the latter. That was why our

⁵ i.e. the November Revolution, see note ⁴ as to the difference of calendar.

⁶ It will be seen that *Pravda* was celebrating this revolution by the new calendar, which has since been introduced in Russia.

Revolution excited the hatred of those who at once understood that, together with the loss of their land, they had at once and for ever lost their political power, lost their dominant position in the State. I will add, by the way, that the social cause of the attempts to overthrow the power of the Provisional Government by a military rising of the Right lies just here.

There are different ways in which the destruction of large private property in land in Russia can be estimated; only it is impossible to contest the actual fact that the social revolution, the fundamental transformation in land relations took place, and could not fail to take place, in the period between the fall of the monarchy and Lenin's seizure of power⁷. In 1906, after the dissolution of the first Imperial Duma, Prince E. Trubetskoy wrote a pathetic letter to the Tsar :

" Your Majesty,⁸

" The striving of the peasants for land is an irrepressible force. Anyone who will oppose compulsory expropriation will be swept from the face of the earth. While the Imperial Duma was in session, we could reckon on keeping part of our lands, and receiving just compensation for the remainder. Now the advancing revolution threatens us with confiscation, endangering also our very lives. Civil war is only a question of time. . . . Perhaps the Government will now succeed by repressive measures in crushing the peasant revolutionary movement, but all the more terrible will be the next and last outbreak, which will overthrow the existing system and level Russian culture with the earth. And you yourself will be buried in the ruins."

In 1917 the prophecy of Prince Trubetskoy was fulfilled: only that the liquidation of private property took place without any civil war.

In his inventive history of the March Revolution, Trotsky writes that till the Bolsheviks took up the land question " the country was silent, and the towns did not think of it." He himself, before he started from New York after the amnesty of 21 March, 1917, wrote . " Kerensky will have to choose between the Liberals, who want to steal the whole Revolution for capitalist objects, and the revolutionary proletariat, which will develop in all its breadth the programme of agrarian revolution, that is, confiscation by the revolu-

⁷ This is shown in chapter and verse, on the basis of the local materials by Dr. Launcelot Owen's recently published study: *The Russian Peasant Movement, 1906-17* (King, London).—ED.

⁸ In Russian " Gosudar " i.e. " Sir," as used to the sovereign.—ED.

tionary people of the land of private owners, apanages, monasteries and the Church. What Kerensky's personal choice will be, has no significance." No one had to make any choice at all. While "the proletariat" of Lenin and Trotsky kept silence, the Provisional Government proceeded to the realisation of the greatest land reform in the history of Russia.⁹

On 4 May, 1917, was published our decree on land, by which all lands were to pass to the use of the workers. This decree was drawn up by the Minister of Agriculture, the Liberal (Cadet) Shingarev. On 17 May the Principal Land Committee of the Provisional Government issued an instruction that "in consonance with the fundamental requirements of our national economy, with the repeatedly expressed wishes of our peasantry and with the programmes adopted by all the democratic parties, as the basis of future land reform should be laid down the principle that all lands of agricultural economic significance should pass to the use of the labouring agricultural population."¹⁰ For the drafting of this land reform there had been created not only a central, but also local agricultural committees. In all these committees the overwhelming majority consisted of freely elected representatives of the local and especially the peasant population. Lenin, who was then posing as a super-democrat, saw a fundamental violation of democratic rights in the fact that on these committees there were peasant representatives of the corresponding government institutions. He charged us with sabotaging the land reform, proposing the exclusion from the state land rent-fund of gardens, allotments, and tea and beet plantations.

'February' (the March Revolution) gave the people both freedom and land. 'October' first took away freedom from the people and then expropriated the peasant land, seized it and created a new bureaucratic serfdom. In taking away the land from the peasants and freedom from the whole people, the Bolshevik dictatorship reduced the country to constant famines and all Russia to extreme economic impoverishment, thus doing the utmost harm to her capacity for her defence. The sensational trials of Communist leaders and the nervous and feverish attempts of Stalin to reform the present order are a symptom of the profound crisis of this structure, through which Russia is now passing.

To which side is Stalin trying to turn the government helm?

⁹ "Proceeded to," yes. Meanwhile the actual seizure of all the land by the peasants without waiting for a settlement by the coming Constituent Assembly was in the main instigated by the Bolsheviks so that "the proletariat" of Lenin and Trotsky certainly did not keep silence.—ED.

¹⁰ i.e. the agricultural population cultivating the land with its own hands.

In the face of the whole ideology of Lenin, he is seeking salvation on the path of freedom, that is on the path of the March Revolution. On extremely small allotments close to the peasant's garden, as large as half a hectare, the peasants have received back the right of free labour. The right of secret and general election to local soviets approximates these class organisations to the universal local self-government introduced by the Provisional Government (which, establishing secret, universal and proportional election, gave all local power to the peasantry). We have just received the news that the town workers are about to recover freedom of secret election to the professional unions, which they enjoyed in our time in full measure.¹¹ For the restoration of peasant economy and the welfare of the town workers, it is also necessary to set free the collective farms from bondage and to return autonomy to Co-operation, but in order that all these partial reforms should not remain a dead letter, it is absolutely essential to restore to the people, to the whole country all the rights and freedoms which were established by 'February.'

For the realisation of these essential reforms which cannot be put off, which Stalin feels to be inevitable, it is necessary, however, for the Government of the Soviet Union to break altogether with the ideology of Lenin; for, as is stated in the official *History of the Civil War in the USSR*, published in Moscow, Lenin set up a dictatorship "in the name of proletarian internationalism." In the name of this proletarian internationalism Lenin, exploiting the naive enthusiasm for freedom, destroyed this freedom and set up in Europe the first totalitarian ideocratic dictatorship. Lenin played fast and loose with the fundamental interests of Russia, the most vital interests of the peasants and workers, because Russia, whether bourgeois or Socialist, did not interest him at all. What he needed, was a *place d'armes* on which could stand the "advance guard of the world proletariat" till the real social revolution should break out in industrial, capitalist countries ripe for it, before all in Germany. Here, according to the prophecy of Lenin and Zinovyev, the proletarian revolution was bound to come not later than six to eight months after 'October.'

What happened, was just the opposite. It is true that since the Revolution Russia has had a hegemony of Europe in the world of

¹¹ As to what the trade unions of workers now represent, we have evidence in *Pravda* of 21 March: "There is no other organisation in our country where the principles of democracy have been so much violated as in the professional unions. In practice the crudest perversions have taken root there. The professional unions are, as a rule, a nest of officialdom."

political ideas. All that happens in Russia is reflected in Europe with unprecedented force, and, therefore, when it destroyed freedom in Russia, Bolshevism led Europe also on to the same path. After twenty years of incessant propaganda of the Comintern, everywhere where serious attempts have been made to set up a "dictatorship of the proletariat" on the Lenin model, there has come into power one form or another of Fascism. And lately, one of the best known European Socialists, the Belgian Foreign Minister, Spaak, has quite correctly defined Stalinism itself as "proletarian fascism." Logically completing the development of Leninism, Stalin established a system which while it has nothing in common with democracy is as like as a twin to Hitlerism: the adored leader, the Party with a monopoly of power but no internal rights, a totalitarian state and a people with neither power nor rights, which "secretly elects deputies" proposed to it by the Government.

However, the evolution of the Bolshevik dictatorship cannot stop at this point. This the Kremlin undoubtedly understands. The proof of its understanding is the recent solemn publication of the most democratic constitution. Very tentatively, as if half trying to deceive themselves, while endeavouring at least to preserve the phraseology of Lenin, the Stalinists are seeking salvation on the road of democracy. It is as if they are trying to "forget", or rather trying to compel the population to forget, the watchwords of "October Internationalism": defeatism, class hatred and even terrorism. *Russia, country, people, national state, complete democracy*—all this, so far in the mouth of Stalin is a phantom, but the phantom of freedom. However, to bring Russia out of the blind alley of proletarian fascism not phantoms will be needed, but forces of life; and if Stalin is speaking sincerely of country, people and democracy, then he will soon have to take a different line from the present; for "country" is quite inconsistent with the idea of international revolution "in the name of proletarian internationalism," is quite inconsistent with the continued activity of the Comintern. "Country" demands the renunciation of a totalitarian state under the motto of dictatorship of the proletariat. "Democracy," especially if established in a classless community, demands a complete renunciation of terror and the restoration of all the civil and political rights which the Russian people already had in its hands at the time of the March Revolution, whose twentieth anniversary has lately been celebrated by Stalin himself.

ALEXANDER KERENSKY.

NATIONAL MINORITIES IN EUROPE—VII.

THE GERMANS IN POLAND

I.—NUMBERS, GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION, SOCIAL AND CONFESSIONAL STRUCTURE.

As to the number of Germans living in Poland, altogether reliable data are not available, owing to the methods used by the Polish authorities. The census of 1931, whose results are only now being made known, no longer put the question of national loyalties to the person concerned, but put instead the question of mother-tongue. In answering, only one language could be given. As a result, many who belong to the Minority, speaking German at home, but knowing Polish also, put down the latter, for reasons of appearances. The Minority Organisations estimate the numbers of their people in Poland at around a million. Actually, we should put it at 900,000.

Of this number about one-third can be counted for the province of Silesia, including both what was Prussian and what was Austrian. Roughly, 350,000 Germans live in the one-time Prussian provinces of Posen-Poznania and West Prussia. (The latter is now the Polish province of Pomerania.) About 150,000 souls live in what used to be known as the Congress Kingdom; and about 50,000 to 60,000 Germans each in one-time Galicia and in the Russian provinces not belonging to the Kingdom. Of these Volhynia in particular has large German settlements.

In their social structure these folk-groups differ entirely. In Poznania and Pomerania the agricultural element predominates, and has maintained itself much better than the town population. The one-time president of the Danzig Senate, Dr. Rauschning, who was for years an active leader in the German Minority in Poznania, and has brought together in scientific form the data as to population changes from 1918–1930, estimates the decrease of the rural German elements during these years at 55 per cent. of what was, while that of the urban elements is as high as 85 per cent. Since 1930 no serious decline in the German population is to be noted.

One finds there both big estates and small farms in German hands; there are Germans holding posts on the estates and in the forests, and only the number of farm labourers of German loyalties is slight. As for the towns, there are Germans to be found in smaller industries, in business, and in arts and crafts, as well as in the professions. The number of German industrial workers is

here very small. In the Congress Kingdom, on the other hand, there are no German estates. There are areas, e.g. the Lodz district, where Germans comprise a noteworthy portion of the population of all strata, from the big factory-owners to the humblest textile employees, with the middle class, however, in the first position. In the countryside Germans are also found in scattered peasant communities. In Galicia and in Eastern Poland generally, the peasant element is the chief one. There are, however, small urban groups in towns like Lwow and Wilno. Upper Silesia is quite another story. Here there is an extensive German element among the workers, both manual and clerical; notably in the iron and metal branches, where, however, the majority at present are out of work. German farmers are scarce. A few great land-owners still maintain their position. In the cities, too, there is a numerically strong German middle class, which, however, is losing the backing it had in labouring and office-staff circles.

As to church affiliations, the majority of Germans in Posnania, in Pomerania, in the Kingdom and in Galicia are Protestants. Of Catholics there is but a small, though in places an active, Minority. In Polish Silesia, on the other hand, the German element is overwhelmingly Catholic, and the Protestants are the exception. Here, too, as well as in Poznania and Pomerania, the long-indigenous Jewish groups hold culturally to Germany; though their relations have been greatly cooled since National Socialist influences have been at work in the spirit of anti-Semitism. Those Jews who have come in from the east are mostly Zionist in sentiment, though among them are some—the more enlightened, who rate themselves Poles.

II.

POLITICAL CREEDS.

The German Minority in Poland is divided into four groups, which are in serious conflict with one another. They are as follows :—

1. The Young German Party, which has completely accepted the Nazi doctrine, and stands for it body and soul. The leader of this group is the deputy-Mayor of the one-time Austrian town of Bielsko (Bielitz), who has now been nominated to the Senate by President Mościcki. Supporting this party are, at an estimate, from 30 per cent. to 35 per cent. of the Minority. Its strongholds are Bielsko, Poznania and Pomerania.

2. The civic-national Fractions collected in the "Council of Germans." Their organisation has different names in different

districts: in the northern provinces they are called "German Unity," to Polish Silesia belong the "German Party" and the "German People's Block," to Lodz the "German People's Society." Their leader is Herr Hasbach from Pomerania, likewise nominated to the Senate by the President. The heads of the most influential German economic organisations in Poland also belong to this group, as well as the men who shape the policies of the large School and Cultural Societies. Supporting this "Council," which in part accepts the Nazi philosophy, but adapts it to the conditions of life abroad and makes its own reservations in many matters, are some 40 per cent. to 45 per cent. of the Germans in Poland.

3. The German Christian People's Party, which by way of contrast to the above opposes sharply every agreement with the National Socialist ideas of the Reich, and has brought together a small minority of German Catholics. Others than Catholics are also admitted, but as yet only individuals have joined it. The leader of this Party is the one-time Senator, Dr. Eduard Pant, of Katowice. Its chief backing is to be found in Polish Silesia, where about one-fifth of the German inhabitants belong to it. Taking Poland as a whole, perhaps one-tenth of the Minority are adherents of Dr. Pant.

4. The German Socialist Workers' Party, which stands for the doctrines of the Second International. Its groups are to be found in Silesia, and in Lodz, where in co-operation with the Polish Socialists it plays a part in local self-government. As leaders we have the former deputy Zerbe of Lodz, and Herr Kowoll of Katowice. Less than 10 per cent. of the Germans in Poland belong here.

The rest of the Germans in Poland are either quite outside politics; or they hold with the numerically insignificant groups known as the "German Cultural and Economic Federation," founded by the Polish Government, which has its local units still in various places.

Summing up, we may say that certainly three-fourths of the Minority are in sympathy with the National Socialist Third Reich, even though they may not consistently accept the Swastika programme for their own affairs. At the most one-quarter frankly rejects Herr Hitler's position. This division of forces is due to the fact that the Germans in Poland from a long time back have been seriously dependent on various kinds of help from the Reich; and from 1933 this has naturally been given only to such as accepted the Nazi view of things. Further the Polish Government has done nothing

to encourage those who oppose the Hitler movement, to say nothing of supporting them. No Germans have reached parliament any more by election, and only two by nomination of the President. Both of these are disciples of Hitler. It is true that Polish public opinion expresses general sympathy with the smaller German groups, who want no truck with Berlin; but the material worth of this is small indeed. Finally, many individual Germans have the feeling that they may have to leave Poland in the not distant future, owing to the ultra-nationalist policy of the administration, and they see no other asylum open save the Reich. To meet this contingency they wish to have now a sort of certificate, which will secure them the right to settle again in the Fatherland. This consideration counts more with them than their annoyance at the development of National Socialism: in particular at its hostility to the churches, or even at its sacrificing of the rights of the German Minority in its negotiations and Treaties with Poland. This annoyance is, indeed, pretty strong, but it would only then be politically operative, if in Warsaw a different policy from this one of leaning toward Berlin should offer the German Minority more favourable prospects.

The Catholic and Socialist opponents of National Socialism try, in their propaganda, to make it clear to the Germans domiciled in Poland, that for the future this is to be expected. But, neither in the past, nor for the present, have they any practical advantages to point to. They have lost any hope of subsidies for their work from the Reich, and they get no privileges in return from the Polish administration. As a result, their numbers are limited to the relatively small groups, whose political views are founded on purely moral principles.

III.

THE STATE AND THE MINORITY.

The Polish Constitution provides in principle for equal rights for all citizens, without regard to national loyalties. To this declaration the Warsaw Government holds; and even the new organisation of supporters of the present régime, known as the "Camp for National Unification," comes out in its programme for the maintenance of this principle. Of the parties in opposition, only those of the extreme Right demand that civic equality be taken from the National Minorities, so that the Polish Republic be transformed into a *Nationalstaat*, in which only Poles shall have the full rights and duties of citizenship. In recent years, however, the practice of government policy has again moved in

the direction of this sort of thinking, just as it did in the first years after the war. The programme of the above mentioned "Camp of National Unification" expressly demands the Polonising of the national economy and the extension of inherently Polish culture. We are thus faced with the crowding out of the economic, social and cultural heritage of the national minorities, along with a theoretical equality of status. Such a policy is actually being carried out where possible today by state officials, both national and local. The results of these efforts towards Polonisation are not the same in the case of all the minorities. The Ukrainians come off best because, in their communities, they form absolute majorities, and their social structure, rooted broadly in peasant foundations, but with a growing urban and intellectual element, makes the strongest of defences possible. Those who are hardest put to it are the nationalities which are most scattered, and have but a scant and uneven footing in the soil. That means in Poland first of all the Jews, and directly after them the Germans.

The relation of the State to the German Minority is different, as may well be understood in the case of such areas as are contiguous to the Reich, from what it is elsewhere. In the former case the presence of larger German settlements is for military reasons undesirable, whereas in middle and Eastern Poland the Germans are rather welcomed as useful citizens. Nevertheless, even here, the relation is an unfriendly one, the moment the Germans are in a position to secure the upper hand in any cultural or social organisation. This explains in part the recent, quite severe, measures taken to counteract the influence of the Germans in the Lutheran Church, in the formerly Russian parts of Poland.

Among the chief means used by the State to weaken the German element in the country are the following .

(a) Agrarian reform The compulsory selling-up of big estates for the settling of small farmers is being effected in Poznan and Pomerania to a far larger extent at the expense of German than of Polish landowners. To this one must add the fact that hardly ever are German farmers' sons or labourers settled on the land, but 99 per cent. are Poles. As long as the Reich was still represented in the League of Nations the Minority leaders of these provinces brought repeated complaints about this matter to Geneva, basing their appeals on the Minorities' Treaty, signed by Poland in 1919. This guaranteed to non-Polish nationalities equal treatment before the law. At times these complaints, when backed up by diplomatic

negotiations between Berlin and Warsaw, achieved the recovery of lost properties. Since 1933, at a hint from Berlin, such appeals to the League have no longer been made. In any case they would be fruitless since, in the autumn of 1934, Colonel Beck announced at Geneva that Poland would no longer tolerate control, from without, of her treatment of her Minorities, until such time as all the members of the League are willing to submit to the same conditions.

The Agrarian reform never deprives the big estate owners of more than a part of their lands. The more radical measure of complete "liquidation" of Germans of doubtful civil status, or of the compulsory re-sale by German peasants of the farms they received thanks to the action of the pre-war Prussian Colonisation Commission in Poznan and Pomerania, were abolished by the German-Polish "Liquidation" Agreement of 1930. On the other hand, the extension of this same land-reform to Polish Silesia, which has thus far escaped, may be expected in July, 1937, as soon as the fifteen-year Interim provided for by the Geneva Convention, is concluded.

(b) The Nationalising of Industry. The largest Upper Silesian mining and foundry enterprises, which were in German hands and until recently still employed numerous German office clerks and labourers, have now been brought under Polish control either by heavy taxation, by the establishing of state supervision at the request of small Polish shareholders, or by other means. In the first place we have the Peace Foundries Plant, of which the state now owns 51 per cent. of the shares. Then come the huge United interests of the Royal, Laura and Katowice Joint Stock Company, which since 1936 has become wholly the property of the State. Further, the possessions of the Prince of Pless (Pszczyna) seem to be on the way to the same fate. Already long since the Prussian state mines were taken over by the Polish-French *Skarboferm*, and the properties of the German Giesche Co. by an American concern (Harriman). This last, in respect of its personnel policy, is guided wholly by the wishes of the Polish Government.

By all these transferences German clerks and labourers have regularly lost their positions, German artisans their markets, and German innkeepers their clients. Only those Minority elements can hold out which bring proof that they are sending their children to Polish schools, or are even members of Polish occupational societies. In a word, they must prove themselves trustworthy Poles. The outcome is that the number of children registered in the Minority schools in Polish Silesia has declined in recent years,

to become less than 10 per cent of the total number of children in province, though the statistics of the German-speaking element can be estimated as high as one-quarter of the whole. (That the official census of 1931 showed other results is explained by what was said at the beginning of this paper.) It should be added here that the treatment extended by the authorities to the Polish Minority across the line in German Silesia is not a bit better, so that the attitude shown by both the officials and the majority population in Polish Silesia to their own German Minority is steadily influenced in the direction of unfriendliness.

(c) School and Church Policy. In recent years German Schools have been closed in all parts of the country, whether for pedagogical or other reasons—often on the ground that the buildings are not suitable, and new structures have only been permitted in the Silesian area, protected as it is in a special way until the summer of 1937. What is more, stricter limits are being set to the German character of the respective Minority institutions. The supervising authorities require extensions of the hours per week given to such subjects as have to be taught in Polish, e.g. History, the Polish language, etc. German teachers in both State and local Minority schools are steadily being replaced by Polish ones. Even in the private schools of the Minority the right to teach is being taken from many people. By the appointment of others whose mastery of German is faulty, the efficiency of the Minority schools is reduced below the level of their Polish rivals, so that they are less of an attraction to such children as speak both tongues.

With church policy the situation is similar. Catholic priests with German loyalties have not, during fifteen years, been anywhere given new posts. As the German canons of the Cathedral Chapter of Gnieźno-Poznań die off, in whose hands rests the direction of all church matters in western Poland, they are replaced by Poles. In none of the other Cathedral Chapters is a German to be found at all. By the new constitution proclaimed in 1936 for the Protestant-Lutheran Church of the one-time Russian Poland, whose members are for the most part of German origin, the state supervision has been greatly strengthened. These powers are now being used everywhere to weaken the German influence, not only in the church organisation as a whole, but also in the several local parishes. In this respect also, the practice of the Polish Government corresponds to that shown by the government of the Reich toward its Polish Minority; but for this policy at least a part of the Germans in Poland decline to share at all the responsibility.

(d) The Activities of the Anti-German Associations. The first of these, called the "Union of Western Poles," is admittedly the protégé of the State, and receives subsidies from it. The organisation aims both at helping the Polish Minority on the German side of the frontier, and combating the influence of the non-Polish elements in its own western provinces. It is an imitation of the pre-war Prussian *Ostmarkverein*, which continues in our time as the *Bund deutscher Osten*. This Union arranges for anti-German demonstrations and boycotts, passes resolutions either demanding fresh measures on the part of the government against the Minority, or "supporting" such as have already been taken. On the same lines, too, we have the "Societies of One-time Insurgents," the veterans of the liberation struggles after the world-war in Silesia and Poznanian, as well as other local associations.

IV

FUTURE PROSPECTS

From all this it is clear that the prospects of further development of the German Minority in Poland must be called unfavourable. The strata of the middle-class Germans in town and country are held in the grip of their competition with the expanding groups of the Polish nation, and the latter have the power of the State on their side. The same is true of the skilled German workman, as well as of the larger German landowners. When we turn to the general political relationships of the German Minority we find them as a whole unpromising. Only once have things taken a turn for the better since the signing of the peace treaties in 1919, and that was in 1930 when the Liquidations Agreement was signed, of which mention was made above. From that time on things have got worse, notably with the pronouncement of Colonel Beck, made at Geneva in 1934, to the effect that the Polish government will not tolerate for the future any further control from without over its treatment of Minorities. In July, 1937, a further turn for the worse is to be expected, with the conclusion of the German-Polish Convention for Upper Silesia.

The parliamentary leader of the Government Party, Colonel Miedzinski, a former Minister of the Cabinet, declared in February, 1937, in an official speech, that the percentage of Germans in the population of Poland ought to be reduced to what it was before the Partitions at the end of the 18th century. With regard to the statistical significance of this statement people will have various opinions, but the sense of this declaration of an influential political

leader, who is almost always the spokesman of the controlling elements in the State, was without doubt a new declaration of war on the German Minority. One can explain this attitude of the Polish people on the ground of fears at the sight of re-armament on the part of the Reich, and of the "regimentation" of a large part of the Germans in Poland in line with the Nazi policy in Berlin—as these fears are felt by both statesmen and military leaders in Warsaw. The great mistake made in all this attitude is the following. No distinction is made between those Germans whose inclinations are towards Berlin, and those who, because of their rejection of the Nazi position, either for spiritual or political reasons, would be prepared to support the Polish side in case any conflict should arise between the two countries. If rightly treated by the Warsaw authorities, these Germans could certainly be a buffer for certain Polish groups against the advance of National Socialist propaganda in the country. At present, the said groups, as the recent political trials in Polish Silesia have shown, possess no power of defence against the wooings of the Third Reich, even though they are Poles—both by blood and by speech.

The idea of many younger members of the German Minority, that as a last resort they will find the way open to return to live in the Reich, may prove not to be realisable. The Berlin authorities show no inclination to encourage such immigration on a large scale. Only in exceptional cases do they permit of people returning from Poland to live. The majority will remain in the country, and their economic and social status will get steadily worse. The danger is that they are likely to become an ever-growing dissatisfied element in the social fabric. This will mean a political burden for Poland, and a weakening of her position, notably in case of any open conflict with the German Reich. True, in a few decades the problem may cease to exist; for the German fraction in the Polish Republic gets steadily smaller, if only because its birth-rate is smaller than that of any other portion of the population.

J. C. HESSE.

Katowice.

JUGOSLAVIA AND THE CROAT PROBLEM

SINCE the assassination of King Alexander at Marseilles on 9 October, 1934, Yugoslavia has occupied the equivocal position of a dictatorship without a dictator: and under the triple Regency of Prince Paul and MM Stanković and Perović there has been a somewhat obscure internal evolution, described by some as the gradual and piecemeal liquidation of the old régime in preparation for a return to "normalcy," and by other more sceptical observers as a not unskilful camouflage, and even re-entrenchment in new positions, of the political clique which has controlled Yugoslavia since the war. The present writer, deeply disillusioned after so many high hopes, had since 1929 discontinued his visits to Yugoslavia, though remaining in the closest touch with many friends in every camp: but in the autumn of 1936, in response to urgent and repeated requests from some of them, he revisited Belgrade and Zagreb and had the opportunity of discussing the situation in great detail with representatives of every current of opinion from Right to Left. He received many confidences of an intimate kind, from friends old and new: but what struck him most of all was the absolute unanimity among men of the most conflicting views, as to the extreme urgency of ending the internal deadlock, and the shortness of the time available for that purpose. In one sense this was reassuring, for it meant that the political atmosphere was more favourable to a *détente* between Serb and Croat—which is of course the point round which every problem of Yugoslav home and foreign policy has revolved ever since the Union—and that even in political and military circles hitherto averse to action the dangers of drift were at last realised. Needless to say, the foremost of these dangers is the foreign situation: for if there should be a fresh European conflagration before a solution can be reached at home, there are many—not merely Croats, but eminently responsible Serbs—who are well aware that the Yugoslav army could hardly be relied upon as an *offensive* instrument, though of course every Yugoslav would unite to defend Dalmatia against a foreign invader.

Seven months have passed since the time when so many leading personalities not only freely admitted the urgency of the problem, but agreed that action must be taken in 1937 at the very latest and that 1938 would probably be too late: yet today not an inch of progress can be reported. It is this lamentable fact which has

decided me to break the absolute silence which I had imposed upon myself for the last two years · and I am confirmed in this by the knowledge that the long stores of patience in Yugoslavia are at last wellnigh exhausted.

I

As late as 1935 there were still serious Serbs who denied the gravity of the situation and still clung to a centralist solution : by October, 1936, it was difficult to find anyone in Belgrade who did not freely admit the existence of a Croat question and the complete solidarity of almost all Croats and Serbs of the former Habsburg Monarchy under the leadership of Dr. Vlatko Maček. Even among those who a year ago opposed concessions to the Croats, many now urge a rapid settlement as the only way of ending the internal deadlock and presenting an united front towards friend and foe in Europe. Nor is any attempt made by most Serbs to conceal a recognition of the fact that the dictatorship is long since bankrupt, that this was quite clear even to the King himself before his death, and that the present régime only maintains itself by relaxing the worst features of the former régime and reiterating its assurances of further concessions. A witty and prominent Serb summed up the extent of this bankruptcy as follows : " The King had hoped to break the passive resistance of the Croats, and the result was to make them stronger and more united than ever before : he had also hoped to strengthen the Serb element in the state, and the result has been the complete disintegration of Serbian political and party life—to an extent for which there is no parallel in the history of modern Serbia." This is no mere individual dictum : it is profoundly true, and admitted on all sides. What is so disquieting in the present situation is that the dictatorship succeeded only too well in undermining the old established Serbian parties, but has created nothing stable in their place. A certain number of the old leaders were content to follow a subservient and opportunist policy : most of them are now dead or used up politically. Those who stood firm and went out into the wilderness have saved their honour but are seen to be weak, incapable of a really united front, and losing their hold upon the masses.

The present Premier, Dr. Stojadinović, is much the ablest seceder from the Old Radical Party, and is certainly not to be condemned out of hand ; but there is nothing as yet to show that he has anything behind him save the all-important backing of the Regency and the power to mobilise in his own favour the votes of the bureaucracy and the many others who dare not oppose the régime

of the moment. The fact is that in Serbia it has always been a tradition to vote for the Government of the day; in the heyday of the victorious Radical Party, after the change of dynasty in 1903, elections were genuinely contested: but after the war the Radicals were themselves mainly to blame for a reversion to the old method, supplemented by gross terror throughout Macedonia, and of course under the dictatorial constitution and franchise of 1931 the word "election" has lost its original meaning. Two years have now been allowed to pass without the promised franchise reform, and there are many signs that the younger generation, in its resentment and impatience at long repression and negation, is growing increasingly radical in outlook and dabbling in communistic ideas. There is not the same soil for Communism in Yugoslavia as in Bulgaria and Greece, because there is not the same cleavage between the village and the town, and because the peasant far outnumbers the urban workman, and is passionately devoted to his holding of land. But today it is no longer possible to operate among the Serb masses with nationalistic catchwords, for the simple reason that the Serb national programme has been realised to 100 (some would say to 120) per cent. the only possible basis for a wide popular appeal is a real constructive programme of social reform and social justice, and this none of the older parties have been able to evolve. Obviously this provides the extremists with their opportunity, and it may well be that some of the "cells" whose recent discovery has been announced, derive their inspiration from some secret foreign source. But on the other hand there is an unfortunate tendency in official circles to use "Communism" as a convenient label to discredit what is in its essence a confused outburst of youthful idealism. The best proof of this is that the great majority of the students of Belgrade University are infected by radical views and the foolish methods of repression adopted—as, for instance, the relegation of Montenegrin students, or the deporting of others to different parts of the country, where they at once spread their views further among the peasantry—have had the exactly opposite effect from that intended.

II

Very different is the situation in Croatia. Here the peasant masses have a long tradition, not of subservience to the Government of the day, as in Serbia, but on the contrary of opposition at all costs—indeed, often quite unreasoning opposition. In the decade preceding the War, despite an extremely narrow franchise, open voting and official pressure, successive Hungarian Governments and

their nominees in Zagreb never managed to crush the Croat national Opposition: and even at the worst moments the small Peasant group led by Stephen and Ante Radić held its own. After the War, under Universal Suffrage, the Peasant Party swept all before it, and no amount of official pressure or terrorism could avail to break its discipline and enthusiasm. After the Skupština murders in June, 1928, this solidarity of the "Prečani"¹ was upheld. it resisted all the efforts of the dictatorship, and at the "elections" of 1935, under the dictatorial constitution of 1931, all the terrorist methods of the Jevtić Government were still unavailing. No one in Belgrade today would challenge the view that Dr. Maček, Radić's successor as leader of the Croat-Peasant Democratic Bloc, has at least 90 per cent of the electorate in Croatia and Dalmatia solidly behind him, and the view generally held in Zagreb is that 95 per cent would not be an exaggeration: while there is good reason to believe that the great majority of the Vojvodina population is also with him. In Croatia national demands still take precedence over social: for, from the purely political point of view, the Croats have actually lost by the changes of 1918 and look to the recovery of their lost autonomy, in some form or other, as the best means of solving their most burning problems. For the present Dr. Maček is in full control of the movement (for it is a movement rather than a party) and can hold in check the extremists both of the Left and of the Right. But if a settlement of the Croat problem is delayed much longer, or if public opinion becomes finally convinced that the authorities in Belgrade are merely playing with Maček and are not ready for a real settlement, then political chaos might easily result, and "Belgrade" might suddenly find itself forced to deal with entirely new leaders, men whose names are today virtually unknown, and who would, both from inclination and necessity, be far more radical and unreasonable in their aims and demands. I was both impressed and alarmed to find how many men of high position, with a stake in the country, shared this grave view.

III

The problem which faces Yugoslavia is one of a triple nature—constitutional, national and economic—and it is not the least blunder of the dictatorship that the three have become inextricably mingled

¹ The name applied, from the angle of Belgrade, to "those from the other side," from beyond the rivers Save and Danube, in other words, Croats and Serbs of the former Habsburg Monarchy (first Croatia-Slavonia, but also Dalmatia, Banat, Bačka and Bosnia-Hercegovina).

and can no longer be solved separately. The problem may be summed up as follows :—

(1) To transform a dangerously over-centralised State into a free federation, while preserving unity in all the most essential services of the State, and thereby to restore constitutional liberties—i.e. liberty of speech, association, press and elections, and yet to avoid a return to a mass of small parties with fissiparous tendencies.

(2) To reconcile the Croats in particular, and all the Prečani, by assuring them a minimum of autonomy, equality of status with the Serbs of Serbia, and equal opportunities of advancement in the state service

(3) To restore economic prosperity by raising prices and purchasing power, to complete land reform on equitable lines (for the minorities no less than for the Yugoslavs themselves), and to evolve a programme of social reform (health, housing, etc.) sufficiently comprehensive to divert attention from nationalistic grievances and take the sting out of Communist theory.

Either a constructive solution of this triple problem must be boldly faced, or the régime must resign itself to governing by those old methods of "Fortwursteln"—jogging along and hoping that something might turn up—which ruined the old Austrian Empire, or at worst by reversion to open dictatorial and totalitarian principles. There is every ground for believing that the present Government genuinely desires a *détente*, but that inside it there is a strong current which shrinks from the difficulties of a full solution and would prefer half measures and homeopathic treatment. In particular, one argument is often put forward—that it is impossible to make big constitutional changes during the young King's minority, and that it is the duty of the Regency to uphold the main principles of the existing constitution until Peter II reaches the age of 18 in 1941 and can himself deal with the situation. For many reasons this argument will not bear close analysis. In the first place, both the national and constitutional aspect of the problem is far too over-ripe to permit of its being kept on ice for another five years: and it is essential to reach a solution before the foreign situation comes to a head, and while at home the few remaining political leaders still enjoy the necessary prestige. Above all, it is contrary to the very elements of common sense to expect from a youth of 18, however carefully brought up, the capacity to solve such problems, already formidable enough but still further envenomed by years of neglect. It is simply inviting him to imitate the fatal example of King Alexander Obrenović, who, faced as a minor with a situation too

difficult for him (but simplicity itself compared with that of Yugoslavia today!) acquired arbitrary habits and tampered with successive constitutions, until he made himself altogether impossible. It is on the contrary the bounden duty of the responsible Yugoslav statesmen of today to save their future ruler from such temptations by presenting him, on his real accession, with a loyal and consolidated kingdom, so that he may be free to fulfil his true function as the link binding together so many disparate elements.

IV

What, then, is a possible basis of settlement? It may at once be said that Dr. Maček does not accept (and if he accepted, could not persuade either Croat opinion or the Croat masses to accept) the constitution of 1931 as a basis: this is not surprising in view of its drastic restrictions upon the press, association and assembly, its franchise provisions (open ballot, complete prohibition of parties on a regional, racial or religious basis, etc.), the Crown's control of Senate nominations, and unrestricted right of appointment and dismissal of ministers, bans, army officers and high officials, and other scarcely less objectionable features.²

The plain fact is that no one who stands upon a programme either of democracy or of representation can accept this constitution as a basis for the future. The only question is how to secure its replacement. And here a compromise should not prove impossible between the two rival points of view. The Regency and the Government cannot be expected to abolish or suspend the constitution until a satisfactory substitute has been agreed upon, and until there is a reasonable certitude of its acceptance by the future constituent Assembly. The suggestion put forward by many Croats, that a Constituent should be convoked, and that it should be left to hammer out the necessary laws, is obviously impracticable, and might easily lead to anarchical conditions. If on the other hand an agreement could be reached between M. Stojadinović, as representing official Serbia, MM. Korošec and Spaho as representing the majority in Slovenia and Bosnia respectively, and M. Maček as representing the former Triune Kingdom (Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia) and the Voivodina, and if this also could be counter-signed by the leaders of the three Serbian Opposition groups (Radical, Democrat, and Agrarian), it could at once be referred to a committee

² For full details see my articles "The Yugoslav Dictatorship" in *International Affairs*, January, 1932, and "The Background of the Yugoslav Dictatorship" in *The Slavonic Review*, December, 1931.

of non-party constitutional experts, who would sit urgently and embody its results in a new draft constitution. Elections could thus be safely held, for all the party chiefs would be bound by their signatures, and the deputies elected on their respective lists would equally be bound, with the result that the draft would pass through the Constituent without undue delays, and then, *and only then*, would the existing constitution lose its validity.

The main lines of settlement may be briefly indicated. The dynastic question is no longer in dispute, Maček having abandoned the old demand which prejudiced so many Serbs against his predecessor Radić—namely, that the status of the Karagjorgjević dynasty should be the first point of discussion in a Constituent Assembly. The first essential Croat demand is the acceptance of the Federal principle, and this has already been conceded in theory in all the more recent discussions between the Croat leader and the delegates of the various Serb parties. It is very largely a matter of interpretation and degree. It involves (a) the definition of the "Common or Joint Affairs" to be reserved to a central Yugoslav Parliament in Belgrade, (b) the acceptance of a certain number of self-governing federal units, (c) the division of the Budget into two—common and provincial—and the establishment of a scale or proportion between the two. (Here it would be possible to follow the precedent of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 and the Hungaro-Croatian Compromise or Nagoda of 1868—e.g. Law XXX (1868) par. 12 and XL (1889) par. 1.)

It is generally agreed that Common Affairs would consist of (1) Foreign Affairs, diplomatic and consular service, (2) Army and Navy, (3) Finance, Post Office, Radio, Customs, legal codes and commercial legislation, weights and measures, etc. In order to avoid disputes as to competence, it might be laid down in the new constitution that all matters not expressly defined as belonging to the sphere of the local assemblies should remain, until otherwise determined, within the sphere of the central Parliament.

The crucial point of the settlement is the acceptance of the federal principle. Yugoslavia consists of eight very distinct units: (1) Serbia, (2) Montenegro, (3) Macedonia, (4) Croatia-Slavonia, (5) Dalmatia, (6) Bosnia-Herzegovina, (7) Voivodina, (8) Slovenia. In theory there is nothing against eight federal states: but in practice the Serbs insist upon Montenegro and Macedonia remaining united with Serbia and contend that their local problems can best be solved by special autonomous provisions, but not by laying renewed stress upon their separate character. To this the Croats reluctantly

consent, recognising that the south belongs to the Serbian sphere, but for that very reason they contend that the former Austro-Hungarian territories belong to *their* sphere—with the exception of Slovenia, which both Serb and Croat are agreed to leave to its own development. It is also generally agreed that Dalmatia should go with Croatia-Slavonia, this being undoubtedly the wish of both provinces. The real point of discord relates to the Voivodina (Banat, Bačka, Baranja—the districts formerly forming part of Southern Hungary to the north of the Danube and Drave rivers). The Serb view is that it is in the main Serb by race and should therefore form part of the Serbian unit the Croat view on the other hand is no longer that it should form part of the Croatian unit, but a separate unit of its own, and this is based on a well-founded belief that the great majority of the population of the Voivodina—Serbs no less than Croats, Slovaks, Ruthenes, Germans and Magyars—desires self government instead of Belgrade centralism (which has proved not only highly arbitrary and inefficient, but is keenly resented as the financial and economic exploitation of the richest districts of the new Kingdom in the interests of the more backward) The attitude of the Serbian Opposition towards this question is an unhappy illustration of their narrowness of outlook. For while Maček is perfectly ready to abide by the decision of the Voivodina itself (whether at an election, conducted under guarantees, or through a plebiscite), the representatives of the three democratic parties of Serbia fight shy of applying the democratic principle of “self-determination,” thus putting themselves into an altogether untenable position. It is quite impossible for Dr. Maček to yield on this point, not merely as a matter of principle, but because he is pledged up to the hilt to his Serb allies inside the Peasant-Democratic Bloc, and because their betrayal would break the solidarity of his own front in Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia and Bosnia, by automatically detaching about 25 per cent. of his adherents. The keenness of feeling in the Voivodina itself may be illustrated by the remark of a prominent Serb, once a centralist, but converted to autonomous views—“The Serbs of Serbia have forced us into opposition by their exploitation and have betrayed our cause: and now, if Zagreb should also betray us “ [he meant Maček and his movement],” there would be no choice for us but to turn back to Budapest.” But Zagreb will not betray him.

There are two further points of great interest in this connection. One reason why a section of Belgrade opinion is reluctant to concede autonomy to the Voivodina is the fear lest in the new province the

Jugoslav element might be in an actual minority towards the other races. An answer to this is to be found in the close co-operation between Serb autonomists—men whose loyalty to the Yugoslav creed has never been questioned—and both the Germans and the Magyars of the Bačka and Banat. This co-operation dates from the pre-war period, when German, Serb, Roumanian and Slovak, worked in closest harmony in the Hungarian Parliament against the Chauvinist and Magyarising tendencies of those days.³ Moreover, a practical corrective is offered to any danger of racial trouble by the proposal that Syrmia and perhaps two of the most easterly districts of Slavonic should be detached from Croatia-Slavonia and added to the Voivodina unit, to which they in any case gravitate—thereby augmenting the Yugoslav population by about 150,000 in the proposed new unit. For this there are various precedents in the experiment of Voivodina autonomy from 1848 to 1859 (which failed for quite other reasons) and in the history of the Serbian Patriarchate under Hungarian rule. But naturally enough Maček is not prepared to make these concessions merely in order to augment still further the Serbian unit, but only as a contribution to the final solution of the Serbo-Croat dispute, and, he also contends, towards appeasement in the extremely important question of minorities.⁴

There are many delicate technical questions still outstanding. It would above all be necessary to define the respective competence of the central and local bodies and to devise constitutional guarantees for the new system being put in force and not tampered with. But all this, given mutual good will, would seem to depend on skilful drafting by constitutional experts: and this view is confirmed by the success with which an informal committee of independent experts has in recent months hammered out such details in an as yet confidential memorandum. In repeated conversations with Dr. Maček I gathered that he was assailed by the same doubts as those which assailed Francis Deák in concluding the Compromise of 1867 with Francis Joseph. Deák's main concern was to prevent any repetition of unconstitutional experiments in Hungary, such as those in which the Habsburgs had for generations past indulged:

³ I personally first met one of the leading Serb autonomists of today as a young man, nearly 30 years ago, working closely with Dr. Paul Blaho and other Slovak political leaders.

⁴ It may be assumed that the town of Zemun and the aviation centre beside it would in any case be detached from Syrmia and be included in the administration of Greater Belgrade, whose special status would remain under the new constitution.

JUGOSLAVIA AND THE CROAT PROBLEM. III

and therefore, while careful to link up the new document at every point with earlier legislation, he aimed at making the text as definite as possible and fought shy of any facilities for its revision. It is of vital importance that this aspect of the problem should be considered most carefully; for in my opinion it was the lack of any legal machinery for constitutional revision and amendment that was one of the main causes of the failure of the Dual System and the consequent downfall of Austria-Hungary. It seems clear—and this was confirmed to me by high legal authorities—that it would be advisable to fortify the new constitution by the creation of a supreme constitutional court, composed of a few non-party irremovable judges and modelled on the “*Verwaltungsgerichtshof*” of pre-war Austria and on the Supreme Court of the U.S.A., to which doubtful constitutional points could be referred and from whose interpretations and verdicts there would be no appeal.

V

It would lead too far to discuss the bearings of this whole question upon foreign policy. There are some who reproach the Stojadinović Government for an all too opportunist attitude and suspect it of promoting a settlement, first with Bulgaria, and then with Italy, not merely for its own sake, but with a view to isolating the Croats and compelling them to accept a much lower price than that for which they have hitherto held out. This is an unfair and superficial verdict: for the restoration of good relations with Bulgaria was an obvious interest of the state as a whole, and the best proof that it was not inimical to the maintenance of the Little and Balkan Ententes is the whole-hearted satisfaction of the Czechs, who have always desired a Yugoslav-Bulgarian rapprochement and who would at the same time be most affected by any weakening of the Double Entente. In the same way no reasonable person can blame Yugoslavia for accepting the proffered hand of Italy, while not taking at their face value the hollow assurances of Fascist diplomacy and carefully noting its ulterior motives and its constant efforts to divide rather than unite the Danubian states. That the agreement with Italy has induced the latter to modify the worst of its repressive measures towards the unhappy Jugoslavs of Venezia Giulia, and to drop, at any rate for the present, the Croat terrorists to whom she had for years extended a helping hand (and a hand by no means empty!), are in themselves sufficient reasons for Belgrade to respond. An advantageous commercial accord between the two countries provided an additional incentive, and the impartial

observer will note that Jugoslavia has committed herself to nothing dishonourable, and to nothing that conflicts with treaty obligations or existing friendships. We can therefore only wish that her leaders may now show the same active and constructive statemanship in grappling with the very urgent internal problem as they have shown in foreign policy. Dr. Stojadinović in particular has an unique opportunity of going down to history as the man who made Yugoslav Unity a reality and the position of the dynasty finally secure.

The present article makes no pretence to indicate, even in outline, all the problems which await settlement between Belgrade and Zagreb : this no foreigner is fully competent to attempt. It follows the more modest aim of indicating, in a free press, the general nature of a problem whose discussion is still burked at home in Jugoslavia by a timorous and unenlightened censorship. That a solution should be reached is not merely the heartfelt wish of all Jugoslavia's foreign friends, and they are many : it is also an European interest, and not least of all a British interest, that there should be peace and consolidation on the eastern shores of the Adriatic.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

REMINISCENCES OF THE BALKAN WARS

I

WHEN M. Venizelos arrived in Athens from Crete, during the autumn of 1910, and took power immediately afterwards, he was not a favourite with the then King of Greece, George I. He had been in such bitter opposition to his son, Prince George, as High Commissioner in Crete, that a summary opinion on the great Cretan is attributed to the King:—"This man ought to be hanged from the main mast of a man of war."

King George, however, was a man of such a supple character, so intelligent and so respectful of public opinion, that he rapidly changed his views on the statesman, on account of the latter's moderate internal policy, repudiating the popular clamour for a radical change of régime, and his phenomenal popularity. This change of judgment afterwards brought about the most happy years of the King's long reign and transformed Greece into a Power of first importance, finally fulfilling the most daring dreams of Hellenism. The statesman was able to entirely conquer the King and to co-operate with him in the most confident way for the benefit of the country, which, thanks to the union of a great and popular minister and a most intelligent King, progressed enormously from every point of view, economic, financial, administrative and military. It was even able, in less than two years, not only to recover from political upheavals and defeats in war, but also to redeem a population of one and a half million Greeks from foreign yoke, and establish in south-eastern Europe an ordered State, highly respected and praised by western Governments as well as by world opinion.

A great European statesman, George Clemenceau, had already foreseen this brilliant period of modern Greek history. The story has been reported to me by a witness. One afternoon in the autumn of 1899, the French statesman called upon the Comtesse de Noailles, the great poetess, at her *hôtel* in Paris. He was just back from Athens and an extensive tour throughout Hellenic countries. "Ah! and what are your impressions of Greece?" asked the poetess, classical in origin, (her mother being a Greek lady), as well as in inspiration. "Well, dear madame, I will not talk of the grandeur of the Acropolis, or the fascination of Delphi, nor do I intend to bore you with an archæological lecture. I have been to see lovely and picturesque lands, among them Crete. You will never guess, though, my interesting discovery in that island, as interesting,

perhaps, as excavations. A young advocate, a M. Venezuelos—or Venizelos—frankly I cannot recall correctly his name—but the whole of Europe will talk of him in a few years!" The anecdote proves once more M. Clemenceau's foresight and psychological intuition. Before twelve years had passed, the life of Venizelos was to become the history of Greece.

Another French statesman told me in Paris afterwards—when M. Venizelos was rising to the top of his political reputation—in an epigrammatic sentence, recalling his revolutionary past in Crete: "C'est un révolutionnaire amendé qui peut souvent faire un excellent homme d'Etat." He was thinking surely, of Andrassy, as well as Venizelos.

To give an example of the intimate co-operation between King and minister, and the ability of the King to understand the mind and recognise the talents of a great minister, I will report here a dramatic incident from the inner history of the Balkan Wars, unknown to the general public, and, as I think, never before published. The King was accustomed for many years to spend a good part of the very hot summer of Athens abroad. He used, at first, to take the cure at Aix-les-Bains, where he became a most popular figure: a street was named after him and his bust is to be erected soon in one of the station squares. After his four weeks' stay there, he used to go to Copenhagen, where the famous annual gathering of all the members of the Danish Royal Family gave him an unique opportunity of studying closely the international situation and drawing firsthand information, precious for the guidance of Greek foreign policy, which afterwards, in days of crisis, deviated into wrong tracts, from lack of good advice and failure to grasp realities.

In the summer of 1912, the King left Athens as usual. In the previous May, before taking up my new post of Chargé d'Affaires in Rome, I was told by the then Foreign Minister, the late Lambros Coromilas, under seal of secrecy, that there were negotiations afoot for the conclusion of a treaty of alliance between Greece and Bulgaria. It was striking news but, like many others, I did not realise at the time that the union of the Balkan countries was to result in a war so soon. The King was of course acquainted with the negotiations and the impending conclusion of the alliance—the counterpart of a Serbo-Bulgarian alliance. When leaving for his annual holiday, however, and whilst at Fredensborg Castle, he did not suspect that on returning to Greece in the following October he would find the country ready to declare war against Turkey

and undertake a successful campaign against a military Power, considered until then by almost every European Chancery as capable of crushing in a short time the four small Balkan countries. Goliath, it was thought, would easily beat little David. Even the then Diâdoch and Regent (later King Constantine), when leaving for the front as Commander-in-Chief after general mobilisation had been decreed, says in one of his intimate letters to a lady of Italian origin, Princess Paola von Ostheim,¹ that the King was unaware of the actual intentions of the Government and mobilisation, "as other things were decided almost without his knowledge."

King George, although hurrying his return to Athens, stopped in Vienna to have an interview with Emperor Francis Joseph. The relations between these two Sovereigns—the absolute Monarch and the strictly constitutional King—were not only friendly, but definitely affectionate. Many years before this last fateful meeting between them, I witnessed, from a privileged place in the hall of the Imperial Hôtel, the Emperor coming to render his visit to the King. The old man took in his arms his younger friend and, embracing him, remained in this affectionate attitude for some moments, repeating with paternal benevolence in German: "My dear, my dearest friend!"

The King embarked on his yacht "Amphitrite" in Trieste and was to reach Piræus through the Corinth Canal. M. Venizelos did not wait for the arrival of His Majesty in the capital. He hurried aboard a destroyer to meet him. After a journey of some hours, he was received by the King in the private parlour of the royal yacht, and acquainted him briefly with the latest developments of the situation, in other words, the imminence of war. "But when I met the Emperor last week," said the King, very upset, "I promised him that it would not be war." "I am very sorry about this promise," replied M. Venizelos courteously, although with unshaken determination, "but Your Majesty, travelling at the time, was not aware of the full details of the situation, the commitments of your Government, and the enthusiastic support of the whole Nation, for the policy of finishing once and for all, together with the allies of Greece, with Turkish misrule and freeing their brethren from an intolerable yoke."

The King fell into deep thought looking very uneasy for some moments. His hesitation, however, did not last long. He remembered that he was a constitutional Monarch, that for nearly fifty years he had reigned over a country whose devotion to constitutional

¹ Published in the French *Petite Illustration* of 13 July, 1935.

institutions was proverbial, and that he always responded to the feelings of his subjects in a loyal spirit of respect for their national ideals and aspirations. On the other hand, he had with him a great Minister, who seemed to have taken a slowly, carefully thought-out decision. A popular Government was taking the responsibility of the momentous step, and to invoke a personal pledge to oppose its policy would go against any constitutional precedent in his reign, or any royal right. He gave then his full and hearty consent to the policy just expounded to him in that extraordinarily persuasive way, which made King Constantine say later, when in conflict with M. Venizelos on Greek policy in the Great War: "When this devil Venizelos puts forth his proposals, I cannot resist agreeing with him!" King George took the hand of his Prime Minister and warmly shaking it: "All right," he said, "let us go on, with God's help. I am entirely at the disposal of the nation. Put me anywhere you think I may be of service to my beloved people."

The acclamations with which the King was welcomed in Athens proved how right was the Prime Minister in assuring him of the unanimous enthusiasm of the people and the rapid success for Greece of the Macedonian Campaign. The triumphal entry of the Greek Army into Salonica three weeks after the declaration of war, vindicated the confidence as well as the foresight of Venizelos.

The rôle of Greece in participating in the war did not end, however, with the quick results on land. When the advisability of entering the war was discussed in Athens among experts, the Government had to overcome the doubts and the hesitations of many among them, especially in the Navy. They considered that the Turkish Fleet was superior to the Greek and the tasks assigned to the latter in the war were not equal to its material power. The Greek Navy, instead, had to reckon on glorious traditions. The name of Admiral Miaoulis and that of Kanaris—the legendary hero for whom Victor Hugo composed his famous Ode,² and who, by primitive means, defeated a powerful Turkish fleet by blowing up the enemy's flagship and 2,000 sailors, at Chio, with the aid of a fireship, and later on repeated the exploit at Tenedos—remained always vivid in the minds of the Greek sailors and, indeed, the

² This ode on which the Poet inscribed the old device "Faire sans dire" concludes with the verses:—

Mais le bon Canaris, dont un ardent sillon
Sait la barque hardie,
Sur les vaisseaux qu'il prend, comme son pavillon
Arbore l'incendie!

whole Greek nation. Nor were the names of Cochrane and Hastings forgotten in the remembrance of the legend. While naval consultations were taking place, an officer raised his voice to recall the great feats at sea during the War of Independence, and proclaimed the superiority of moral and traditional over material supremacy. It was Countouriotis, then a Captain, afterwards Admiral Commander-in-Chief of the Greek Fleet during the Balkan Wars and later Regent and President of the Republic. The opinion of this *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* of modern Greek history prevailed over the conservative and over-cautious opinions of others. He guaranteed victory and he vindicated the pledge when the then British Commander of the Greek Fleet, Admiral Tufnell, in conformity with the neutrality of his country, left the flagship, and the flag of the Greek Commander, promoted to the rank of Admiral, was hoisted on her.

The Turks themselves realised the importance of the contribution of the Greek Fleet in the hostilities. They tried to wheedle Greece from her decision at the last moment, when the fixed time of the ultimatum of the Balkan Allies to the Porte expired, and no satisfactory reply was given. It delivered their passports to the Bulgarian and Serbian Ministers—Montenegro had already declared war—but delayed to do the same to the Greek Minister, M. Gryparis. The Grand Vizier summoned him and tried to persuade him that it was quite useless for Greece to take part in the war. Turkey was ready to give up Crete, over which a nominal Ottoman Sovereignty still existed, represented by a Turkish flag, in painted tin, discoloured beyond recognition, which was hoisted on the fortress Izzeddin. The joint declaration of war by the allies put an end to this Gilbertian situation. Turkey wilfully became the enemy of Greece also.

The services rendered by the Greek Navy to the cause of the Balkan Allies were unobtrusive but unmistakable. The Fleet, with the "Averoff" as its flagship, by blocking the Dardanelles and vigilantly patrolling the Aegean, prevented Turkey from pouring her immense reserves of men from Asia Minor into her European provinces. It is now, I think, the considered technical opinion, that without the assistance of this Fleet, under its gallant commander, the issue of the war would have proved uncertain and even adverse to the Allies. Turkish armies in Europe, supplied with men from the Asiatic reservoir, would overwhelm in numbers, if not in gallantry, the smaller Balkan Armies.

There is an anecdote, characteristic of Coundouriottis and his daring bravery. "Averoff", the newly built cruiser, approaching too close the fortresses of the Straits, was repeatedly, although not fatally, hit. The Government in Athens was deeply disturbed. After all, this ship was the only large one of the Greek Fleet, and if irretrievably damaged, any action from it would be paralysed. Strict orders went from Athens to the Admiral to be more cautious and to avoid too great risks. "The only thing to do, boys," said the Admiral to his laughing staff officers, after passing them the telegram of reprimand, "is to chain me down on the upper deck, to prevent me from advancing too close to the fortresses"

War was declared by the three Balkan States on 17 October (new style), 1912, and the news was communicated to the Foreign Office, by a Note from the then Greek Minister in London, M. Gennadios, on the following day. The declaration was also duly communicated, by the British Ambassador in Constantinople Sir G. Lowther, on the same day, through a telegram dispatched at 3 p.m. and received in London at 5.25 p.m. He reported communication by Greece "of a declaration of the state of war, owing to the failure of the Porte to reply to the identical Notes of the three Balkan States, and the stoppage of Greek shipping."

There is in the British Diplomatic Documents on the Balkan Wars another dispatch from Sir G. Lowther, dated 21 October, reporting a private and confidential message from the Grand Vizier Kiamil Pasha, who expressed the hope and desire "on humanitarian grounds, as also because the result would be disastrous to both sides, to stop the war as soon as possible." Kiamil Pasha hoped that the initiative would come from England, which would enhance the prestige of Great Britain in the Moslem world. He suggested that the Porte was only too ready to introduce in the administration of Turkey-in-Europe, large and liberal changes, but not to grant autonomy, according to the request of the Balkan States, fearing that such autonomy would result in final annexation, as happened before in Eastern Roumelia. His Highness, however, promised that, as regards Crete, he had, before the present situation arose, had the idea of allowing Greece to administer Crete in return for a general entente with Turkey, and he thought that it might still be possible, after the war, to deal with the problem on these lines.

In some capitals, especially Rome, where I represented Greece since June of the same year, war was considered quite improbable, and all the information concerning the increasingly menacing attitude of the Balkan States, was taken as mere bluff. Knowing

much of the inner history of the preparations for the war, and of the determination of my own Government to take a unique opportunity of liquidating an intolerable situation, which was exhausting the material resources of the country as well as shaking its moral strength, by interminable pin-pricks and repeated crises, I ventured to dissuade Italian diplomacy from their optimistic belief. The Marquess of San Giuliano preferred to believe the information reaching him from his own representatives, rather than the opinion of a young Chargé d'Affaires. His kindness to me, however, and his personal treatment in the very difficult circumstances arising afterwards, deeply indebted me to his memory. The Marquess was not only a shrewd diplomat, but a highly educated man, with a vast erudition, a brilliant conversationalist, a gifted writer, a perfect linguist, and an accomplished *homme du monde*. In addition, he was a very hard worker, seated at his desk for many hours, in order to peruse and scrutinise every document, in spite of an illness which tortured him with great pain. Moreover, he did not like the statistics and maps issued by Balkan Governments, in support of their respective territorial or other claims. When they were handed to him, he rejected them scornfully, with his usual exclamation, accompanied by a deep sigh: "Ah! encore, encore, des statistiques Balkaniques!"

When he menaced me with an ultimatum about the question of Vallona, duly mentioned in the British Diplomatic Documents, he did it very nicely, asking a prominent lady of society to invite me to dinner with him and place me by his side at table. While the other guests were talking about trifling matters, he whispered in the most gentle way his threat and left the dinner after coffee was served, leaving me to return to my Legation to send the necessary message to Athens.

There was a reception given by the Marquess some days before the fateful date of the declaration of war at the Nuovo Circolo, the diplomatic club of Rome, in honour of Prince Roland Bonaparte, who went to the Italian capital to preside at an International Geographical Congress. The Minister, approaching me after dinner in a group of his guests, put his arm around my shoulders and in Mephistophelian mood, not unusual to him, exclaimed: "Ecco l'uomo catastrofico! He predicts to us a war!"

I afterwards had the explanation of the obstinacy of the Italian Foreign Secretary in his disbelief in the war. Quite lately, perhaps on the eve of the declaration of the war, he had received a report from the Italian Minister in Sofia—Count Bosdari, a distinguished

diplomat, who, however, gave too much credence to official denials—which disclaimed even the existence of a Balkan alliance. As soon as war was declared, Italy, still technically in a state of war with Turkey, started hurried negotiations for the conclusion of peace, in spite of a campaign in the Italian Press inspired by my Bulgarian colleague, the late M. Rizov, who tried through public opinion to have Italy on the side of the belligerent allies. The Bulgarian Minister was warned in an outspoken semi-official communiqué, to abandon at once such manœuvres, on threat of expulsion (the Marquess did not do things by halves when his own policy was too openly obstructed by a foreign representative). I had also myself to dissuade my impetuous colleague from nurturing vain hopes, as I was definitely informed of the conclusion of the Italo-Turkish peace by a friendly prelate in the Vatican, although relations between the Holy See and the Italian Government were then strained. In a few days the Treaty of Peace was signed at Ouchy, and the Balkan Allies fought their battles alone.

I give in the course of this article the title of "allies" to the Balkan States, and it is generally thought that when Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria declared war against Turkey, there were treaties of alliance between (a) Greece and Serbia, (b) Serbia and Bulgaria and (c) Greece and Bulgaria. The fact is that treaties (b) and (c) existed, but not a Serbo-Greek Treaty. Dr. G. P. Gooch and Prof. Harold Temperley, the distinguished editors of the *British Diplomatic Documents*, that monumental historical work, induced in error by a telegram from the British Minister in Sofia, announcing the conclusion of such a treaty on 10 October, 1912, searched for the text of it in the archives of the Foreign Office. Not finding there any trace of it, apart from the above telegram, they addressed themselves to me in the hope of obtaining the elusive text. After inquiries, I was able to inform them definitely that there was not, for the first Balkan War, a written Greco-Serbian Treaty.³ A treaty of defensive alliance between the two countries, as well as a military convention attached to it, was not signed until 19 May (1 June) 1913, shortly before the second Balkan War started.

II

M. Athos Romanos, twice Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs during the reign of King George I, Greek Minister in London in the reign of King Edward, and afterwards Greek Minister in Paris from 1910 to 1924, is justly considered as one of the most brilliant Greek

³ British Documents on the Origins of the War, Vol. IX, p. 1018.

diplomats. His wide knowledge of international affairs, his enlightened patriotism, the charm of his personality, had secured for him among his fellow-countrymen as well as among foreigners, a popularity rarely enjoyed to such a degree by a Greek diplomat. He was a great favourite with King George I, who was an excellent observer and not only read every report from the principal Greek representatives abroad, but used also to annotate them on the margins with a blue pencil. The remarks of the King, several of which I had the privilege of looking at afterwards on some of my own reports from Rome, show him as a shrewd commentator, or, as I should say, rather as an accomplished diplomat. "As a subtle diplomatist versed in all the elusive mysteries of his craft," wrote his best biographer, a close friend of his, "King George, in the course of an exceptionally long career, had won a prominent name for himself in the chancelleries of Europe. He was looked upon as a real factor in international politics and not merely as the ornamental figurehead of a small and notoriously ambitious State." Clemenceau himself has publicly declared that "never in all his experience had he come across a more able diplomat or a more persuasive speaker than the King of the Hellenes." Thus the King's favourite dictum: "I am my own Ambassador," was ratified by European as well as Greek public opinion, even when the latter was critical about aspects of internal policy, on which, I must add, that the King, owing to his strict constitutionalism, was only exerting a moral influence.

Here it must be again repeated that his devotion to the Constitution, to which he swore to be true in 1863, was a real religion to him. The anecdote of Louis Philippe could be applied to George I in the strictest way. It is said that the French King used to say to his Prime Ministers: "Monsieur le Président, avez-vous la majorité de la Chambre?—Oui, Sire.—Alors je prends mon parapluie et je vais me promener.—Monsieur le Président, avez-vous la majorité de la Chambre?—Non, Sire.—Eh bien! Prenez votre parapluie et allez vous promener."

I remember another scene, of which I was a witness. As a young journalist, I was accompanying King George at the inauguration of a new railway branch. We stopped at a village. The peasants surrounded His Majesty, cheering. The King chatted with them cheerfully in his usual democratic way. "Are you content? Crops are successful this year?"—"God be praised! King," (as the peasantry addressed His Majesty in Homeric fashion), "Crops are excellent, but we want the re-building of this bridge near here. Floods are from time to time obstructing the communications. It

is ruining our transport." "The elections are forthcoming," replied the King, with the characteristic twinkle of his nordic eyes, "elect me as your deputy to the Chamber and I promise you that the bridge shall be rebuilt at once." And turning to me: "Report that in the papers. It is the best reply for people who, when discontented with the Government, appeal to me to act by taking the power into my own hand. I am acting within the limits of the Constitution, you have voted for me," he added laughingly, "and I am not responsible for it, you know."

The "best Ambassador" of Greece liked to correspond personally with his own Ambassadors, to give them information, to encourage them in their work, to make to them suggestions of much value in the accomplishment of their duties. To this practice we owe now the tiny pamphlet, published by M. Athos Romanos in Athens, and containing some letters addressed to him by George I between 1909 and 1913. These letters constitute an important contribution to the biography of the King as well as to the history of Greece during those years and were originally written in French, a language which the King handled in an elegant and idiomatic way. M. Romanos translated them into Greek.

The first letter of the King to M. Romanos is dated much earlier than the Balkan Wars, and deals with the events of August, 1909, when the Military League, formed on the disappointment caused by the failure of Greece to obtain the reunion of autonomous Crete, had overthrown by a bloodless revolution the Ralli's Government, eliminating at the same time from power all political leaders, and establishing a military dictatorship under a nominal Government. Military men, the whole army as a matter of fact, accused successive party governments of having neglected the military preparation of the country, to such a degree that Turkey, already elated by the advent of the Young Turks and their welcome from the bulk of liberal opinion in Western Europe, had addressed a fierce ultimatum to Greece, asking for a definite renunciation of any claim to Crete on her part. M. Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador in Berlin, always at the source of the news, informed the Greek Government through their agent in the German Capital that this ultimatum did not constitute a vain menace. The Turks had planned already an occupation of Thessaly, to take profit of the rich crop of the year, as they did twelve years before, when after the defeat of Greece in the war with Turkey, they occupied the same province and did not leave it until after they had taken a substantial war indemnity, provided through a loan, guaranteed

by the "Protecting Powers" of Greece—Great Britain, France and Russia. The Crown Prince, being until the Military Revolution Commander-in-Chief of the Army, the military upheaval involved him also and caused his resignation and departure from the country; and he only returned after two years, when M. Venizelos taking power restored him to his previous post and dignities. "Your letter touched me deeply" (the King writes to M. Romanos, then Minister in London, on 11 September, 1909). "We have passed through very critical times, and I fear that many years will be spent before our beloved country can recover in the eyes of Europe from the wounds inflicted upon her in such an unexpected way by the officers . . . I did everything humanly possible to keep my calm and necessary equanimity in the midst of circumstances so painful to myself and my family. We are the target against which this unjustifiable movement aims. Thank God, I have a clear conscience that I served this beloved Country and its interests heart and soul, and with an entire devotion. We are still very far from legality, but I confide in the Almighty, who in His infinite grace and charity may help the Country to come out from this difficult and dangerous situation." The anxieties of the King, constitutional and political as well as human and familial, were probably conveyed in a more vivid way to Queen Alexandra by her brother, to whom she was attached in the most affectionate manner. As a matter of fact, M. Romanos adds the comment that King Edward, meeting him at a Court reception, told him that the Queen was extremely anxious in regard to events in Greece, and invited him to seek an audience to explain the real situation, and eventually appease her apprehensions. Queen Alexandra did not conceal from the Greek Minister the fears inspired by letters she was constantly receiving from Athens. She went so far in her confidence as to say to M. Romanos that she had written to her brother advising him to abdicate and come to live in England. She would love, she said, so much to have him near to herself. She added that the King in his last letter wrote that opening every morning the window of his bedroom at the Royal Villa of Tatoi (the ancient Decelia, not far from where Thrasybulus defeated the Thirty Tyrants) and looking out on the lovely skies of Attica and its clear horizon, he felt deeply that he could never have the strength to leave this beautiful country which he loved so much. M. Romanos tried to quieten the Queen. After all, the military movement was not aiming at the King, who was not to be held responsible for the shortcomings of the politicians.

Some personal reminiscences of mine would not perhaps be out of place here. I had not the honour to meet Queen Alexandra; but when I arrived as Greek Minister in Petrograd early in the year 1915, the Dowager Empress asked to see me, at the Annitsky Palace. She received me without ceremony, although according to the etiquette I wore uniform. After some remarks on the War and the expression of her conviction about the final allied victory, she asked me when I met her brother for the last time. I told her that it was on the eve of the Balkan Wars, when I left Greece to represent him in Rome. I took the opportunity to say how faithfully his remembrance was kept by the Greek people, and how their love for him had increased after his death, aware as they were that he sacrificed his life by remaining in Salonica after the occupation of the City by the Greek Army, in order to consolidate its acquisition by Greece, which more than one rival was disputing. I said that the memory of the King was not separated in Greek hearts from the gratitude felt to his two sisters, Her Majesty the Empress, and Queen Alexandra. We knew well all that these two exalted ladies did to aid the King in promoting the Greek Cause. I even reminded the Empress of the salutary intervention of her son, Tsar Nicholas, to prevent the invading Turkish Army from advancing to Athens in 1897, when, as I knew, Queen Olga had addressed to him this eloquent, pathetic and hitherto unpublished telegram:—"I dip my pen into an inkstand of tears to solicit your intervention without delay in order to check the march of the enemy army, which is coming to camp beneath the shadow of the Acropolis." The Empress was deeply moved by such memories. She burst into tears and among her sobs she said to me: "You cannot imagine how right you are in speaking as you do about your late King. My beloved brother was a Greek, integrally Greek. He wrote to me and Queen Alexandra innumerable letters, and in each of them was pleading the cause of Greece, imploring our influence with our husbands to promote it, and to help him to be useful to the people to whom he devoted his whole life. This correspondence, if published, will some day prove to you how great has been your loss through this atrocious murder, in the city which he was trying to preserve for your nation by the shield of his own body." In seeing this great lady, in the mourning which she had never abandoned since the death of her husband, sobbing and speaking to me in such tones of sympathy about Greece, I was so deeply moved that I almost lost my composure.

In a letter dated 11-23 January, 1920, the King seems to

entertain some hope about the restoration of a normal political situation. The Military League, realising their failure in reforms, especially financial reforms, was looking for some new political leader to entrust him with the responsibilities of the Government. All eyes were turned to Crete, where the rising star of M. Venizelos was already illuminating the Greek political horizon. The King mentions that he (M. Venizelos) advised the summoning of a National Assembly to carry out these much needed reforms, which the Military League has been unable to shape into being. He commented, also, in the concluding paragraph of his letter on the political situation in England, although not very accurately—probably for the lack of detailed information at the time he was writing. “The Liberal Party, in England,” he wrote, “was rather unlucky. The result of the elections has not been very favourable to the Government. The House of Lords seems to have triumphed. The British people do not seem ready to abolish secular traditions, in destroying an aristocracy, which greatly contributes to the greatness and might of Great Britain. In the case of a change of Government, I do not imagine that there will be any change in foreign policy, Sir Charles Hardinge [now Lord Hardinge of Penhurst] remaining as Permanent Under Secretary at the Foreign Office.

The King met and had long talks with Sir Charles, when King Edward visited Athens in 1906, and he had formed the highest opinion of the political foresight and steady judgment of the King’s diplomatic confidant. In speaking to me later on, when I entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, His Majesty told me: “You younger officials at our Foreign Office must try to take this great diplomat as a model. I am told that he works fourteen hours in the day and lunches at the Foreign Office on a tray, even when receiving foreign diplomats.”

Further letters from the King addressed to M. Romanos when he left London to be appointed in Paris are dated from Salonica (1912–1913). “My entry into Salonica,” writes the King, “took place immediately after its occupation by our army, and I had the most enthusiastic reception. I do not know how long I shall stay here. It depends upon circumstances. I trust, however, that my presence here is useful, if not even indispensable . . . I have been very content in reading the speech of Mr. Asquith delivered at the Guildhall on 9 November. He had the courage to be quite outspoken. I hope that he is fully interpreting the opinion of the British Government. I am not aware of the opinion of the Governments of the

other Great Powers, but I think it would be difficult, if not impossible, for them to overlook the claims of the Balkan countries, which undertook such great sacrifices and shed so much blood. As for us, we may be glad and proud of our great successes, which constitute a triumph for Hellenism. For the time being, I am of opinion that we must be very cautious and avoid taking sides on questions such as the autonomy of Albania and the cession to Serbia of a port on the Adriatic. The attitude of Roumania looks rather strange, I cannot understand it."

In another letter dated 11-24 December the King reports his meeting with King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, who visited Salonica: "King Ferdinand, who was here only for 24 hours, said to me that owing to the arrogance of the Turks, he did not believe that the Conference would reach satisfactory results. In his talks he seemed to think exclusively of Adrianople. 'If they do not surrender it to us,' he said to me, 'we resume hostilities.' But he never said to us, 'If they do not surrender to you Janina, or to the Montenegrins Scutari, we are resuming the war.' He has been very amiable. He said that he must be very cautious because he is considered as a Philhellene and public opinion in Bulgaria is not always favourable to him. I remarked that I myself had to consider public opinion in my country. In his talk with the Crown Prince he told him that 'Salonica meant for the Bulgarians what Mecca meant for the Turks!'" (The point of exclamation is from His Majesty's pen.) "I told him also that the armistice was a mistake, and that if he had accepted the assistance of the Greek and Serbian Army for capturing Tchataldja, which constitutes the last bulwark of the Turks, we would have now ended the war! We could do that then without many sacrifices. On the contrary victory had now become much more difficult. We have given to the enemy time to be reinforced by fresh reserves and a great number of guns and abundant ammunition brought from Germany, via Constantza."

We know now from the recently published memoirs of M. Maurice Paléologue, not only that Russia was strongly and menacingly opposed to the entry of the Bulgarians into Constantinople, for which King Ferdinand was dreaming as an isolated achievement of his army, but that its defences were quite impregnable, even for an army stronger than that of a Balkan State.

"I am so glad to hear that Clemenceau is favourably disposed to us," continues the King in the same letter. "Let us hope that he will influence the French Government in this sense. I see, however, nothing to encourage me in the belief that France will

support our claims. Until now, she insists only on the retrocession of Adrianople to Bulgaria, in order to meet Russian wishes. King Ferdinand is discontented with Russia. But Russia continues to support Bulgarian demands. France and England, however, have every interest to support Greece."

* The impression of the King about the attitude of France was not right. France and Britain finally supported Greek claims. France even went so far as to espouse later on the claims of Greece on Kavalla, thus endangering the cordiality of her relations with Russia. Curiously enough, Kaiser Wilhelm seconded France's attitude. He was issuing then a kind of blank cheque upon Greece and for this service he tried to cash it during the Great War.

King George continued to remain in Salonica, as the rival claims on the city did not weaken. "... The Bulgarians" (he writes in another long letter) "said that they will leave Salonica. But they do not think seriously of such a withdrawal. They are insatiable in their demands. They want to retain Serres and Kavalla, they ask from us Salonica, and from the Serbs Monastir and Ochrida. They want their new frontiers to form a wedge between Greece and Serbia, in order to separate us." Fresh clouds were already overcasting the horizon and King Ferdinand was preparing his fatal error, leading straight to the second Balkan War.

The hopes expressed by the King in his letters have been fulfilled. Britain and France, who assisted Greece in the cradle of her independence, thought they must not leave undefended the cause of a maritime nation, having so many affinities with their peoples, and constituting a champion of freedom and civilisation in the Eastern Mediterranean. Greece, on the other hand, must not forget that this is her principal title to the sympathy and support of these two liberal countries, in which admiration for classical Greece and a similar attachment to the humanities, has created a feeling of brotherhood with the nation dwelling on the same enchanted shores as witnessed the Golden Age of civilisation.

King George fell a victim to his royal duty, and his cruel death at the hands of a degenerate wretch, Greek by birth, but not by heart or mind, was the starting-point of many difficulties for Greece developing into unfortunate internal dissensions and troubles. No event could be more deplorable for Greece than to be deprived, at a critical moment in history, of her tried, able and cool-headed helmsman, who sacrificed during his lifetime even personal feelings or preferences in order to serve his people faithfully and according

to their own temperament and psychology, and to give even his life for the national cause.

I shall always remember the noble words the Marquess of San Giuliano, the Italian Foreign Secretary, wrote to me on the evening of the fateful day, informing me of the tragic death of King George : " Greece has lost a noble Sovereign, who during a long reign rendered to her the most valuable services. Coming from a distant foreign country, he identified himself in thought and feeling with the nation over which he had been called upon to reign, espousing his aspirations and untiringly working for their fulfilment. He fell a noble victim on the altar of the interests of the country. I am sure that I am truly interpreting the feelings of my nation in conveying to you, and through you to the Greek people, the expression of their distress and deep sympathy in the sad loss sustained by Greece." This was an eloquent epitaph from a distinguished statesman who, not having always favoured Greek interests, knew however how to discern and proclaim the talents of a King who has been a valuable champion in their defence.

III

The responsibility of the second Balkan War, so unfortunate for Balkan conciliation and union, lies exclusively with King Ferdinand, whose unjustifiable claims are clearly revealed in the correspondence of King George. In spite of the remarkable intelligence of the King of Bulgaria, the failure of his dream to be crowned as Emperor in Constantinople had altered his character and obscured his foresight. He wanted to obtain much more than he was entitled to. To retrieve the defeat of Bulgaria in the second Balkan War, he backed the wrong horse in the Great War and led his country into an unenviable position. One man among the Bulgarians had the courage openly to challenge the royal decision. It was Stambuliski. When summoned with other politicians to a sham consultation at the palace on the eve of the Bulgarian entry into the War in 1915, it is said that he fearlessly addressed the King as follows : " Your Majesty, you can order me to be beheaded. My head will continue to exclaim : Do not enter into this adventure." The wise advice was rejected. The politician was imprisoned and events followed their fatal course. Uncontrolled will in a state may lead to disaster. As Aristotle said : *"Αμεινον γὰρ κρίνουσιν οἱ πολλοί"* (The masses judge better.)

DEMETRIUS CACLAMANOS.

DENMARK, RUSSIA, AND THE SWEDISH REVOLUTION, 1480-1503.

THE first stage in the eastward expansion of Sweden began with the introduction of Christianity among the heathen Finns under the leadership of the English-born St. Henry and his royal patron, King Erik, in 1156 or 1157. It closed with the treaty of Nöteborg, negotiated with Grand Duke George of Novgorod in 1323 by the Swedish king Magnus. During these one hundred and fifty odd years the Swedes and the men of Novgorod came closer and closer to grips in the lake-studded forests of Finland.¹ The crusading missionary was presently followed by the settler and the trader, and so Swedish efforts were attracted in increasing measure to Finland's eastern border. The Novgorod trade and the routes that gave it an outlet in western Europe were determining factors in Sweden's eastward expansion. The Novgorod route had been known and used for centuries by the Swedish Vikings or Varangians. But with Lübeck's rise to power in the twelfth century, especially with the taking over of Wisby on Gothland by German merchants, the Swedish position in Finland was threatened not only by the rivalry of the Hanseats, but by the efforts of Russian merchants to penetrate into Baltic lands. The Swedes had built a church in the Novgorod market-place in 1156;² but twenty-six years before that, the First Chronicle of Novgorod tells of seven boats of Novgorod merchants that were wrecked on their return from visits to Denmark and Gothland.³ Later in the 12th century, after clashes between Swedes and Russians in the Lake Ladoga region, "Carelians," presumably in part Russians, pillaged the shores of Lake Mälär and killed Archbishop John of Uppsala.⁴ A decade later, Russians burned Åbo in south-west Finland—the first mention of that town in any record.⁵ Perhaps connected with this episode is a treaty made about 1197-1199 between Prince Yaroslav Vladimirovich of Novgorod and "Germans, Gothlanders and all the Latin people" for regulation of trade.⁶

¹ M. G. Schybergson, *Finlands Historia* (2 vols.; Helsingfors, 1903), I, 23-71, gives a good survey.

² "First Chronicle of Novgorod," quoted in *Finlands Medeltidsurkunder* (7 vols.; Helsingfors, 1910-1933; R. Hausen, ed.) Hereafter cited as *F.M.U.*, I, 11.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 15, quoting *inter alia* "Erikskrönikan."

⁵ Schybergson, *op. cit.*, I, 35.

⁶ O. S. Rydberg (ed.), *Sverges Traktater* (Stockholm, 1877), I, 106-109, gives the Russian text and a Swedish translation.

The thirteenth century saw a continuance of Russian invasions into Tavastland and of Swedish aggression on Lake Ladoga's shores. Even while the Tartar invasion of Russia was getting under way, Alexander Nevsky of Novgorod was able to frustrate an attempt of Swedes and Livonians to establish a town on the Narva river in 1256.⁷ But the Swedes were not idle, and under Birger Jarl they consolidated their gains in Finland by building Tavastehus about 1250.⁸ The climax of this phase of Swedish expansion was reached in 1293, when Tyrgil Knutsson set out with a large expedition and built the castle of Wiborg on the northern shore of the Finnish gulf and about sixty miles in direct line north-west of present Leningrad and the Neva river mouth.⁹

The commercial strategy of Wiborg's founding appeared almost at once. Within two years King Birger II granted limited trading privileges to Lübeck and other towns trading in the Baltic, forbidding them from bringing any weapons, iron, or steel into Russian territory, except what they needed for themselves.¹⁰ When the same Tyrgil Knutsson tried to build "Landscrona" on the Neva itself, Grand Duke Andrew of Novgorod promptly destroyed fort and town.¹¹ The first two decades of the 14th century saw a repetition of invasions and reprisals. The Russians again plundered Åbo, the Swedes once more invaded the Ladoga region,¹² and finally Grand Duke George mustered his forces, including six catapults, and attacked Wiborg.¹³ The Swedish defence held, and in the following year, 1323, Grand Duke George made the treaty of Nöteborg with King Magnus Eriksson of Sweden.¹⁴ This first formal treaty between Sweden and an independent Russian State was to become the basis for future treaties and boundary discussions for a long time to come. The original text has been lost, and the copies that survive, Russian, Swedish, Latin, present variations in their descriptions of the boundary, that have not been satisfactorily explained from the fragmentary data that have survived. The Finnish place-names, for example, cannot all be identified. There

⁷ "First Chronicle" of Novgorod, in *F.M.U.*, I, 45-46.

⁸ "Erikskronikan" and "Erici Olai Krönika," in *F.M.U.*, I, 39-40.

⁹ *F.M.U.*, I, 76-79.

¹⁰ *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck* (11 vols.; Lübeck, 1843-1905), I, 570-571.

¹¹ *F.M.U.*, I, 84-95.

¹² *F.M.U.*, I, 99, 104-105.

¹³ *F.M.U.*, I, 120-121.

¹⁴ Rydberg, *Sverges Traktater*, I, 434-454, gives the texts of the Nöteborg or Orekhovets treaty, genuine and forged, that survive, and provides a penetrating and exhaustive discussion.

was, no doubt, some haziness in nomenclature on the part of the negotiators. It became possible, depending on individual interpretation, either to extend Russian territory into East Bothnia on the north-eastern shore of the Bothnian gulf, or to limit it to a line running from Lake Ladoga northward to the White Sea. It was a Latin version of this treaty that the elder Sten Sture secured from the bishop of Åbo and Nils Eriksson, knight, in 1493,¹⁵ when that ardent Swedish patriot was moving heaven and earth to delay the coronation of King Hans, and to arouse the Swedes against the union of his country with Denmark and Norway.

The beginnings of that last revolt in Sweden against Denmark, that finally resulted in Gustavus Vasa's elevation to the Swedish throne in 1523, centre about the careers of two remarkable figures, King John (or Hans) of Denmark and his regent or *riksförståndare* in Sweden, Sten Sture the Elder.

If the turbulent history of Sweden's attempts to dissolve the Union during the interval after Queen Margaret took possession of the three crowns is passed over in this discussion, it is because the Russian question with which we are here concerned had its genesis in the earlier series of events culminating in the peace of Nöteborg of 1323. The great contest between King John and the Swedish regent, Sten Sture, hinged largely on the Russian question. It seems appropriate, therefore, to confine this paper mainly to tracing the story of Russia's influence upon the relations between Denmark and Sweden in the period of Sten Sture's active political career, which closed with his death in 1503. On the history of Russian-Scandinavian relations preceding the break-up of the Scandinavian Union, much remains to be done. As for Sten Sture, he still awaits a biographer.

When King John succeeded his father, Christian I, in 1481, Ivan III of Moscow had already brought the "republic" of Great Novgorod under his dominion. The north-western border of Great Russia and the eastern boundary of Swedish Finland thereby became contiguous, and with the conquest of Great Novgorod came Muscovite control of the ancient Swedish-Hanseatic trade routes that radiated from the Valday highlands over portages leading to the river courses connecting with the Caspian, Black, and Baltic seas.¹⁶

¹⁵ Bishop Magnus Stjernkors and Nils Eriksson to Sten Sture, 23 February, 1493, in *F.M.U.*, I, 391.

¹⁶ The leading route used by Swedes and Hanseats in reaching Novgorod went over the gulf of Finland, the Neva, and Lake Ladoga to the Volkhov, and thence to Novgorod and Lake Ilmen. With the Russians on the Neva,

Just before Ivan's *coup*, the Swedes had built a fort at a strategic point in the interior between Carelia and Savolaks, and some twenty-four miles directly north of the fort and town of Wiborg, which they called Nyslott, or "Newcastle."¹⁷ Up to the time of King John's accession, the Swedish defence against Russia, centering at Wiborg, had been in the hands of a member of the powerful Thott family, Erik Axelsson, who was succeeded in March, 1481, by his brother Laurits Axelsson. These brothers, interested in trade as well as defence, had tried to claim the waterways to the Neva river and to Narva for the Swedish crown, and to divert the trade of the Livonian and Hansa towns to Åbo and Wiborg. The towns, which were at peace with Russia and were trying to save the German factory in Novgorod from extinction by Ivan, challenged Wiborg's claims.¹⁸ A temporary solution was reached when Sweden and Russia, or more accurately Wiborg and Great Novgorod, made a four-years' peace at the latter place on 17 January, 1482, accepting once more the boundaries designated in the old treaty of Noteborg.¹⁹

We turn now to Scandinavia. In 1483, the members of the Swedish Council of State were invited to add their signatures to those of the Danish and Norwegian plenipotentiaries at a meeting to be held in Calmar, to arrange for John's acceptance by Sweden, but through Sten Sture's adroit move, official approval by the Swedes was withheld pending acceptance of reservations. Without assent of the Swedish Council, John could not attain the Swedish throne, and for fourteen years the resourceful regent managed to keep him from being crowned in Sweden. Between John and his Swedish crown stood this persistent, fanatically patriotic, and not the control of the Narova river, where Narva was the key, became of prime concern to Sweden. For early cultural and economic connections between Sweden and Russia, see T. J. Arne, *Det Store Svitjod* (Stockholm, 1917), especially pp. 37-63. The Narva question assumed fresh importance in the reigns of Gustavus Vasa's sons, Erik and John. Cf. Nina Bang, "Til Narva-Handelens Historie i det 16de Aarhundrede" in the Danish *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 7 Række, Bd II, 541-558; C. Sprinchorn, "Om Sveriges politiska förbindelser med Frankrike" in *Historiskt Bibliotek*, VII (1880), 1-35; G. O. Fr. Westling, "Den nordiska sjuårskrigets historia," in *ibid.*, VI (1879), 421-604, and VII, 41-112, C. F. Bricka (ed.), *Indberetninger fra Charles de Dançay . . . 1567-1573* (Copenhagen, 1901) L. K. Goetz., *Deutsch-Russische Handelsgeschichte des Mittelalters* (Lübeck, 1922) 5-10, 195-245, describes the medieval routes and gives numerous references to the literature

¹⁷ *F.M.U.*, IV, 482 (No. 3733). First called "St. Oloffzborgh."

¹⁸ Livonian Master to Reval (3 letters), 14 Apr., 30 May, 3 June, 1480; Lübeck to Reval, 15 June, 1480, in *Recesse und Akten der Hansetage* (23 vols., Leipzig, 1870-1910. Hereafter cited as *H.R.*), ser. 3, vol I, 235-236, L. Axelsson to Reval, 4 Sept., 1481, *F.M.U.*, V, 19-20, Reval to L. Axelsson (7 Oct.) 1481, *ibid.*, V, 21-23. Erik Axelsson died in March, 1481.

¹⁹ Rydberg, *Sverges Traktater*, III, 360-362.

always too scrupulous regent. Sture was a political agitator of the first rank and had a remarkable hold upon the common people. In pursuing his aim, he had to face the hostility of powerful Swedish leaders and the Danish Court. But the lever which finally enabled him to move the "peace and union" party in Sweden in his direction was Russia.

In his eagerness to cow the crafty regent and force the Swedes to acknowledge him as king, John entered into a treaty with Ivan III on 8 November, 1493, by which Ivan pledged himself to help John to put down the Swedish rebel in return for Danish assistance against Lithuania.²⁰ The old boundaries of King Magnus and Grand Duke George were to hold, and rights of hunting and fishing were to continue as in times past. For a Roman Catholic king to enter into a solemn treaty with the "heretical," "cruel," Russians against whom popes had hurled their anathemas and whom emperors had threatened with crusading armies, was too startling an event to publish to the world. The revelation of this secret treaty eight years later, and towards the end of Sten Sture's career, was to prove enough to fan the Swedish rebellion into fresh flame. The Swedish treaty with Russia had expired in the previous year.²¹

Sten Sture knew the Finnish situation at first hand. In the early part of his regency, he had visited Finland at least four times. Before the expiration of the five-year peace of 1487, he was urging the bishop of Åbo and his captain in Wiborg, Nils Eriksson, to try for a peace of long duration with the Russians.²² The Russians, who had not yet been approached by King John, showed willingness to conclude a ten-year treaty. Though the text is lost, we know that a treaty was signed early in 1493 providing for a one and a half or two years' peace.²³ Two factors seem to have influenced Sture to change his policy. First, the regent's advisers in Finland stood out for a peace of brief duration, as the Russians could not be trusted. Second, the Livonian Order was already negotiating for a ten-years' peace with Russia and was now ready for a "re-insurance" treaty with Sweden.²⁴ With the air full of alliance projects, the

²⁰ E. Grönblad (ed.), *Nya Källor till Finlands Medeltidshistoria* (Köpenhamn, 1857), 85-88. Also published in Rydberg, *op. cit.*, III, 701-702; and in *F.M.U.*, V, 424-426.

²¹ For the Swedish text of the treaty with Russia, signed November, 1487, at Novgorod, see Rydberg, *op. cit.*, III, 404-407.

²² Bishop Magnus Stjernkors and Nils Eriksson to Sten Sture, dated at Wiborg, 23 February, 1493. *F.M.U.*, V, 389-392.

²³ Rydberg, *op. cit.*, III, 420.

²⁴ C. G. Styffe (ed.), *Bidrag till Skandinaviens historia* (5 vols.; Stockholm, 1859-1884) IV, 155-158; E. Grönblad, *op. cit.*, 84-85.

regent fell in with the views of his Finnish counsellors. Small wonder, then, that King John should call on Ivan for aid against the recalcitrant Swedes, or that Ivan, who had a score to settle with Lithuania, would welcome an excuse to challenge Swedish occupation of western Carelia—on the convenient basis of the old Nöteborg treaty. It is significant that in the year following this treaty with John, Ivan closed the Hanseatic factory in Novgorod. The Hanseats were usually on the Swedish side in the latter's efforts against King John.

With a situation growing increasingly tense, a break was well nigh inevitable. Yet the Russian invasion of Finland did not take place until 1495, that is, after the expiration of the recent Swedish treaty. It was impossible to conceal the movements of the numerous diplomatic missions that were constantly entering or leaving Russia. The Swedes in Wiborg were kept informed of events in Russia through a spy in the upper circles there.²⁵ All manner of rumours gained currency in Sweden. Sten Sture found, for example, that he was reported as planning to seize the Danish king.²⁶ King John learned that a merchant in Sweden had said that the king had promised the Muscovite ruler both Finland and Livonia, to which he replied that he could hardly promise to give away what he did not have.²⁷ Sten Sture took the story seriously, and Archbishop Jacob Ulfsson asked him to bring written proof of its veracity to the Calmar meeting.²⁸

The widespread anxiety was reflected in the Swedish Council of State. The Archbishop of Uppsala became increasingly critical of Sten Sture's policies, and a movement was inaugurated to end the crisis by accepting the Calmar agreement of 1483, by urging the king to send an embassy to Moscow to negotiate a peace, and finally, by indicating the Council's willingness to accept John as king.²⁹

A meeting between the Swedes, Danes and Norwegians was scheduled for the summer of 1495 at Calmar. When King John and his Danish and Norwegian councillors came with their fleet,

²⁵ Bishop Magnus to Nils Eriksson (Wiborg), 3 Sept., 1493, in *F.M.U.*, V, 420-421; Bishop Konrad Rogge (Strengnas) to Bishop Magnus, 12 Sept., 1493, in *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia* (40 parts; Stockholm, 1816-1860; index vol., 1865. Hereafter cited as *Handl. rör. Skand.*), pt. 22, pp. 27-30.

²⁶ *Handl. rör. Skand.*, pt. 18, pp. 5-7, 12-15.

²⁷ King John to Swedish Council, 10 Jan., 1495, in *ibid.*, pt. 22, 17.

²⁸ Archbishop Ulfsson to Sten Sture, early summer, 1494, in *ibid.*, pt. 18, 13.

²⁹ Confirmation of Calmar agreement of 1483 by Swedish Council, 29 Aug., 1494, in C. F. Wegener, *Aarsberetninger fra det Kongelige Gehejmearchiv* . . . (7 vols.; Copenhagen, 1866-70), IV, 276-277; King John to Swedish Council, 10 Jan., 1495, in *Handl. rör. Skand.*, pt. 22, pp. 15-16.

the most important of the Swedish councillors had not arrived, and had sent no word as to when they would come. Many of the envoys present had waited five weeks. After three days of formal notification, the king set sail just after 31 July. The same breeze that carried his fleet off to Copenhagen brought in the belated Swedish councillors. The delay was ascribed to the need of replacing the recently deceased Nils Eriksson in Wiborg, and to unfavourable wind. To the followers of Sten Sture, it had been clear since the meeting held at Linköping in March, 1495, where representatives from Swedish towns and country districts met to counsel with one another, that the main business at Calmar was to find some means to bring John's connection with their country to a close.³⁰ At Calmar the Swedish councillors had reminded their Danish colleagues of the frequent trips of Russian envoys to the Danish king during the past year.³¹ But the way was still left open for further negotiation, when on 1 September a state of peace between the Scandinavian realms was proclaimed and a meeting at Lödöse designated for 24 June, 1496

Peace had been preserved among the Scandinavians for a time, but on the Finnish border the war clouds looked more menacing than ever. Beginning in August, 1495, with small Russian forays to the north, by September the scene of action showed large Russian forces concentrating on Wiborg and Nyslott, and by mid October the war in the east was in full swing. Sten Sture, already on the defensive within the Swedish Council, found himself obliged to set sail in November to succour his harassed countrymen on the Russian border, with the holy banner of St. Erik floating over his men. The Russian forces, according to their own chronicles, came from Moscow, Novgorod and Pskov. The Russian attack on Wiborg failed, and their forces withdrew before Christmas, 1495. But the countryside had suffered woefully. The Swedes ascribed such partial success as they had to the appearance in the sky of the cross of St. Andrew, a phenomenon that the Russians seem not

³⁰ On 25 Mar., the Swedish Council proclaimed the need of unity at the coming Calmar meeting and its faith in Sture's leadership. Styffe, *Bidrag* . . . IV, 188-190. About the same time, it sent to the governors in Finland its view as to separation from King John, and promised to urge Riga and Livonia to join Sweden against any threat from Russia. A. I. Arwidsson, *Handlingar till upplysning af Finlands häfder* (10 vols; Stockholm, 1846-1858), II, 146-148. Cf. Styffe, *op. cit.*, IV, 192-194 (Swedish Council to Danzig, 1 Sept., 1495). Danzig politely declined to send representatives. Danzig to Swedish Council, 5 June, 1495, *M.S.*, Stadtarchiv Danzigs, 300, Abt. 27.

³¹ Danish to Swedish councillors, 15 Jan., 1496, in *Handl. vor. Skand.*, pt. 22, p. 18.

to have observed.³² For the damages done by the Russians to the inhabitants and defenders of Finland, the Swedish councillors laid the blame at the door of the Regent, who was also made responsible for the suggestion that Sweden should give up part of Finland to the Russians. This they strongly opposed. They wanted the regent to stay in Finland and see the sorry business through, even to making peace with the Russians, though not by giving up any Finnish territory, as they said he had suggested. They tried to reassure him that no advantage would be taken of him in his absence from Sweden.³³ The high point of Sten's 1496 campaign was the seizure and destruction by Svante Nilsson of the newly erected fort of Ivangorod, opposite Narva—an ephemeral victory, as the Russians reoccupied it later in the year.³⁴

The man who could afford to play a waiting game while his chief opponent was struggling against tremendous odds, internal and external, was King John. While he does not seem to have instigated the Russian attack on Finland, there is no evidence to show that he tried seriously to prevent it. At the instance of the Swedish Council, he had sent his envoys to Moscow, among them, a Scotchman named David Cochran, who became from now on a sort of perpetual perambulating diplomat between Denmark and Russia.³⁵

Happily for Sten Sture, the Russians indicated in the early winter of 1497 their willingness to treat for peace.³⁶ The Regent had authorised the Wiborg captain, Knut Posse to act for him, and on 3 March, 1497, peace for six years was concluded at Great Novgorod.³⁷

³² Sture to Jacob Ulfsson, dated at Stockholm, ca 20 Nov., 1495, *F.M.U.*, V, 504-505; *Sturekrönikan*, and *First Chronicle of Pskov* in *ibid.*, 507-514.

³³ J. Ulfsson to S. Sture, Sept., 1496, and Swedish Council to same, 20 Sept., 1496, in *F.M.U.*, VI, 42-46. Also in *Handl. rör. Skand.*, pt. 18, pp. 40-42, 34-39.

³⁴ *Sturekrönikan* and *Voskresensky* chronicle, in *F.M.U.*, VI, 34-36, cf. *Liv- Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch* (15 vols., Reval, Riga, Moskau, 1853-1914. Hereafter cited as *L.E.C.*), ser. 2, vol. I, pp. 291-293, for an account of the battle before Ivangorod in August; and the Prussian Master to Procurator in Rome, 15 Oct., 1496, in *ibid.*, pp. 312-313.

³⁵ The "herald," David "Kock" (Cochran) went on missions to Russia and Poland in the years 1496, 1497, and practically every year during 1501-1519 (possibly excepting 1512 and 1518), and he remained in the service of Christian II after his exile. Cf. A. Heise, "David Kock" in *Bricka's Biografisk Lexikon*, IX, 319; *Dansk Magazin*, ser. 3, vol. III, 105, 139, C. F. Allen, *Breve og Aktstykker til Christian II's og Frederick I's Historie*, I, 483; *F.M.U.*, VI, VII, *passim*. In vol. VII of *F.M.U.*, Cochran is incorrectly indexed as "David von Koran." See Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*, 117, for reference to Cochran's activities in 1496.

³⁶ Bishop Magnus (Borga) to Archbishop Ulfsson, 5 Feb., 1497, in *F.M.U.*, VI, 72.

³⁷ Rydberg, *Sverges Traktater*, III, 448-451.

Again the boundary accepted was from the Systerbäck to the "Koen" or "Kajane" sea, without any attempt to locate that sea. Matters were left *in statu quo*, with each side in possession of the regions and towns it had held before. But for Sten Sture, while peace was being achieved in Finland, the cause of independence, the great objective of his career as regent, seemed doomed. The party of union, led by Archbishop Jacob Ulfsson, Arvid Trolle, and Svante Nilsson, the hero of the Ivangorod campaign, decided, before news of the conclusion of the Russian peace had reached Stockholm, to take the decisive step, namely to remove Sten Sture from the regency, ostensibly because of his mismanagement of the Finnish situation, and his failure to come to an agreement with the Danish King. He was, however, to be left in charge of the Finnish situation which he had allegedly mismanaged, because, said the Council, he could not "divide himself in two" as between Sweden and Finland.³⁸

King John, when he saw the turn of events in Sweden, set out with a large fleet and promptly declared war on Sten Sture on 13 March.³⁹ Within three weeks the Dalesmen from Dalarne were urging the Swedish Council and burghers of Stockholm to come to Sten Sture's support against the Danes, and in May Sture wrote to the Archbishop declaring that this was no time for conference and that he (Sture) had made promises to the Dalesmen and the commonalty that he would raise the people against the King.⁴⁰

It was now the Archbishop's turn to worry. He withheld his knowledge of the peace with Russia, and tried to spread the idea that Finland was again in danger and that Sten should go thither. But Sten had kept in touch with Bishop Magnus of Åbo and could not be bluffed.⁴¹ Sture made bold to lay siege to Stäket, the Archbishop's castle in Lake Mälare; but when John's army approached Calmar, Sture withdrew to the castle in Stockholm and after a brief battle, he gave himself up and formally surrendered the regency to

³⁸ Sture's "nine articles" and Ulfsson's replies, March, 1497, in *Handl. rör. Skand.*, pt. 18, pp. 91-97; Council's truce with Sture, 13 Mar., in Rydberg, *op. cit.*, III, 454-457; Council's demands, 8 Mar., and Sture's reply, in *Handl. rör. Skand.*, pt. 18, pp. 84-86; Council to Erik Turesson and Eric Johnsson, 9 Mar., in *ibid.*, 74-77. Hausen, *F.M.U.*, VI, 77, gives date of Council's truce as 7 Mar.

³⁹ Rydberg, *op. cit.*, III, 457. The presence of King John's fleet in the Baltic caused the Hansa and Livonian towns to take precautionary measures for the protection of their commerce. Cf. *L.E.C.*, ser. 2, vol I, 372, 376, 389.

⁴⁰ Styffe, *op. cit.*, IV, 219-221; *Handl. rör. Skand.*, pt. 18, pp. 106-109.

⁴¹ Bishop Magnus to Council, 29 Mar., 1497, in *F.M.U.*, VI, 81-83; Ulfsson to Sture, 25 May, and Sture to Ulfsson, 26 May, in *Handl. rör. Skand.*, pt. 18, pp. 109-111, 113-115; also *ibid.*, pt. 18, pp. 118-122

the King. In return he was promised large fiefs.⁴² On 25 November, the Council of State, the laity and the towns hailed John as their sovereign. Sture received all of Finland and its castles, and valuable fiefs in Sweden besides, and was granted the title of *Rikshovmästare*, Court Steward. But his rival Svante Nilsson received the higher distinction of *Marisk*, Lord High Constable.⁴³ The climax of the celebration was the acknowledgment of the King's fifteen-year-old son, Christian, as his successor.⁴⁴ In 1498 and 1499 King John had indeed reached the apex of his career.

But even at the moment of the King's triumph, indications of a fresh breach with Sten Sture began to appear. A number of nobles, in and outside of the Council, were disappointed in the King's distribution of fiefs.⁴⁵ Svante Nilsson and Sture showed readiness to draw together and forget their old feuds.⁴⁶ In the summer of 1500, Svante revealed what was going on in his mind, when he wrote to the King objecting to the presence of Russian envoys returning from Denmark through Sweden and spying on the country just when Russian raids were going on in Finland.⁴⁷ That autumn Dr. Hemming Gadh arrived in Sweden from Rome. He had for many years been a student of statecraft at the Roman Curia, and he was now candidate for the bishop's seat at Linköping. Gadh lost no time in getting in touch with both Svante Nilsson and Sten Sture. The news of the King's defeat in Ditmarsken, Holstein, gave zest to their discussion. The bishop-elect of Linköping was the proper person to bring Sten Sture and Jacob Ulfsson to a reconciliation. With the leaders on friendly terms with one another, King John might well take heed of his step.⁴⁸

In March, 1501, occurred the event that was to have fateful consequences for Sweden and Denmark. A Russian diplomatic mission numbering thirty persons appeared in Stockholm before the King and the assembled council of state and brought to the King a message from their sovereign that seemed to confirm earlier fears and to bear out Sten Sture's suspicions expressed in his letter to

⁴² Styffe, *op. cit.*, IV, 117-128 (introd.); convention between John and Sture, 6 Oct., 1497, in Rydberg, *op. cit.* III, 459-460; see also *ibid.*, III, 461-462.

⁴³ Styffe, *op. cit.*, IV, 234-235 (introd.).

⁴⁴ Rydberg, *op. cit.*, III, 482-486.

⁴⁵ See note 43.

⁴⁶ Sture to Svante Nilsson, 13 Dec., 1499, in Grönblad, *Nya Källor* . . ., 113-114; (S. Nilsson) to Sture, spring (?), 1500, in *ibid.*, 90-91, and in *F.M.U.*, VI, 169-170; Gottfrid Carlsson, *Hemming Gadh* (Uppsala, 1915), 64, n. 2. Carlsson's scholarly account has corrected many traditional errors respecting Hemming Gadh.

⁴⁷ Grönblad, *op. cit.*, 96-97, and in *F.M.U.*, VI, 170-171.

⁴⁸ Cf. G. Carlsson, *op. cit.*, 65.

Archbishop Ulfsson seven years before.⁴⁹ The councillors gained the impression that Denmark and Russia were still in close alliance, that John was prepared to give up the districts of Egrebbe, Jesche, and Savolax in Finland, claimed by Russia under the old Nöteborg treaty, that the recent invasions of Finland continued to be connected with the Danish-Russian treaties, and they were prepared to believe the rumour that Jens Beldenak Andersen, John's envoy, was empowered to negotiate for a marriage between Ivan's son, Basil, and John's daughter, Elizabeth. The situation thus set forth was laid before the Danzig authorities in a letter of 1 August, 1501, by a united Swedish Council. Archbishop Jacob Ulfsson had now aligned himself with the insurgents, Hemming Gadh, Sten Sture, Svante Nilsson, and the leader in the recent revolt in northern Uppland, Sten Kristersson, in definitely throwing off their allegiance to King John.⁵⁰

At the close of March, 1501, the King left Queen Christina and a garrison in Stockholm, and proceeded by land to Denmark. While still on the way, he learned of the uprising led by Sten Sture's close friend, Sten Kristersson. By early autumn, a new revolt was in full swing. It was clear that the patriotic party needed the prestige of Sten Sture's name. The Council of State made him regent once more, a position that he held until his death on 14 December, 1503. The Swedish patriots made strenuous efforts to bring Danzig, Lübeck, and their Hanseatic confederates to their assistance. The councillors brought to the attention of Duke Frederick, the Master of the Teutonic knightly order, the danger of a Danish-Russian matrimonial alliance.⁵¹ Nor had King John wasted any time in seeking allies in Germany, Scotland, and in Rome, where he sought to undo the work of Hemming Gadh.⁵² Stockholm and Calmar had meantime been cleared of their Danish garrisons, along with most of the Swedish mainland. After the evacuation of Stockholm, the Danish

⁴⁹ Ulfsson to Sture (autumn, 1494), in A. I. Arwidsson (ed.), *Handlingar* . . . , pt. 1, pp. 67-70, *F.M.U.*, V, 463-465. See also Swedish Council's letter to Luneburg and Hamburg, 16 May, 1496, in *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, XI, 580-582, for evidence that Archbishop Ulfsson was aware of the secret negotiations between King John and Russia, and connected them with the recent Russian attacks on Finland.

⁵⁰ Articles and proposals of Russian envoys to King John and Swedish State Council, Mar., 1501, in *F.M.U.*, VI, 194-197 (in Latin); for a nearly contemporary Swedish version, see Grönblad, *op. cit.*, 118-122. For the Swedish Council's story of the Stockholm meeting, see its letter to Danzig, 1 Aug., 1501, in *H.R.*, ser. 3, vol. IV, 470-472, and note, 473.

⁵¹ Styffe, *op. cit.*, IV, 326-328.

⁵² King John to H. Krummedige, 28 Oct., 1501, in *Danske Magazin*, ser. 3, vol. II.

Queen was removed from the castle as a virtual prisoner to Vadstena cloister. The efforts of the Prussian Grand Master, the papal legate, Cardinal Raimund, the Dukes of Mecklenburg and Schleswig, and the town of Lubeck, brought about the Queen's release.⁵³ It was on Sten Sture's return from his mission, where he delivered the Queen to the Danes, that he fell ill and died. Hemming Gadh was with him at the end, and kept his death a secret until he could secure the election of Sture's former rival and recent friend, Svante Nilsson, as regent.

The arrival of Hemming Gadh in Sweden had brought the old opponents of the Union together. The revelations of the Russian envoys in Stockholm had determined them to oppose King John and the Union to the bitter end. Sten Sture, shrewd and resourceful statesman that he was, lived long enough to strike a last great blow at the hated Union in the interest of Swedish independence. Though twenty years were to elapse before Sten Sture's great objective was reached, his work of foundation was to receive the grateful acknowledgment of the man who completed the national structure, Gustavus I Vasa. Sture was interested in the realisation of an immediate aim; but in the commercial relations of Swedes, Danes, and Germans, all seeking a share of the rich Russian market, later generations were to discern the seeds of a Swedish Baltic empire. Those remote frontiers—Novgorod, Wiborg, Narva, the Neva—may well be called "nurseries of expansion," breeding-grounds of the imperialists of later centuries.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

⁵³ Swedish Council to Duke Frederick, 31 Dec., 1502, in Styffe, *op. cit.*, IV, 334-335; the Prussian Grand master to John, 22 Feb., 1503, in *L.E.C.*, ser. 2, vol. II, 361-362; Duke Magnus of Mecklenburg to Sten Sture, 24 June, 1503, in Styffe, *op. cit.*, IV, 340-341. On Queen Christina's stay in Sweden and her departure, see G. Carlsson, *Hemming Gadh*, 95-99.

EAST AND WEST IN HUNGARIAN LITERATURE¹

THE isolation of the Hungarian people in Europe linguistically and, to a certain extent, culturally has results which can be followed down the centuries since the first Hungarians rode over the Carpathians in 896 and looked out upon the great plains which were to be their home. Embedded in the centre of a racial mosaic, Hungary is the representative of an outlook and temperament largely alien to her Indo-European neighbours. Ever since it broke away in the semi-mythical past from the common Finno-Ugrian stock, the Hungarian nation has preserved distinctive features sufficiently marked to differentiate it from all other Central European peoples. Partly the cause and partly a result of this has been the intense racial and national consciousness of the Hungarian people, which reaches an almost ecstatic height in statesmen like Széchenyi and poets like Ady.

In its final form, nationalism represents the conscious memory of a common descent and the organised will of a political and historic unity. In its essence, it springs from an unconscious instinct of the race for self-preservation. As far as literature is concerned, this side of the Hungarian genius finds its most obvious manifestation in folk-poetry and art. Hungarian peasant art, unaffected by foreign literary influences, has living traditions which point back to a remote past, when the various peoples of the now scattered Finno-Ugrian family were still in contact with one another. In rhythm, versification and structure, the products of Hungarian folk-poetry show a striking resemblance to the epic fragments which are still being recited in Arctic Siberia by the Vogul and Ostyak tribes, who are the nearest relatives of the Hungarian people. Recent investigators of Hungarian music have discovered the close relationship which exists between Hungarian popular melodies and the ancient bear-songs of the Voguls. This ethnic traditionalism, however, is by no means limited to the peasantry. Some of the leading figures of Hungarian literature—Arany, Kemény and Ady, to name only three—though saturated with western culture, express a mood and form of thought utterly foreign to the European mind.

For all its intensity, however, this attitude represents only one aspect of the Hungarian outlook. The forces making for the

¹ A lecture delivered on 2 June, 1937, at King's College for the inauguration of Hungarian Studies in the University of London.—ED.

perpetuation of Hungary's national personality could not have secured the survival of a small ethnic group in an ocean of uncongenial races, had they not been balanced by an equal power of adaptation to environment. This adaptation was rendered easier by the fact that the Hungarians were by no means a homogeneous race when they occupied the basin of the Danube at the end of the 9th century A.D. The Finno-Ugrian early Magyars who settled about the 14th century B.C. on the eastern slopes of the Ural Mountains together with the Voguls and the Ostyaks, with whom they formed the *mānši* group, came under the domination of the Ogur-Turks about the beginning of the Christian era. The close mingling of the two races can be proved by linguistic evidence. The history of the Hungarian tongue shows that Turkish loan-words have entered the language in several distinct strata. The first wholesale borrowing was the result of this Ogur-Turkish domination, whereby the most easterly branches of the Finno-Ugrians were united with the most westerly representatives of the Altaic family. A symbol of this union is the composite character of the name which the Ogur conquerors gave to the conquered tribes. To the ancient Ugrian *mānši* which included the Voguls, Ostyaks and early Hungarians, the conquerors added a Turkish word *eri* meaning *man*, thus obtaining the Ugrian-Turkish compound *mānši-eri* which later became *mogy-eri*, *magyeri*, now Magyar.

In the second half of the fifth century, after the fall of Attila's empire, we find the Hungarians between the Caucasus and the river Don. It was here that the Ogur-Bulgar contact furnished the Hungarian language with a second stratum of Turkish loan-words, clearly distinguishable from the first by the fact that each represents a distinct stage of phonological development. In the following centuries, the Hungarian tribes became constituent parts of different political formations, such as the kingdom of the Avars (6th century), the Onogur-Bulgar empire of Kurt (7th century), and the kingdom of the Kazars (7-9th centuries), each of which implied in turn the overlordship of a Ural-Altaic race. In the course of this migratory period, the essentially Turkish culture of the Hungarians was enriched by the assimilation of Iranian, Arabic and Greek elements, all of which contributed to the formation of the Hungarian national character. The ethnical structure of the Hungarian nation becomes even more complex after the Hungarian Conquest of 896 A.D. The Slavs and Bulgars, Germans and Italians whom the conquerors found in their new home, soon began to coalesce with the Ugrian-Turkish ruling race, modifying and

enriching its racial structure and culture. The effect of these external influences was a loss of rigidity in the national character. While leaving intact the strongly marked Ugrian-Turkish basis of this culture, the foreign influences enabled the Hungarian mind to turn westwards after the Conquest. The fruitless wars waged with the German princes and the Byzantine Empire for nearly a century after the Conquest proved the necessity of peaceful collaboration with the western peoples. By the second half of the 10th century, the Hungarian nation was ready to receive the ideas of Christianity and the political and social institutions of the West. This new tendency was initiated by Prince Géza, who first invited German missionaries to his country and consolidated the existing ties of friendship with Bavaria by the marriage of his son Vajk to the Bavarian princess Gizella.

The work begun by Géza was completed by his son St. Stephen who accepted his new name on his baptism. During the latter's reign the country was reorganised on western lines, and Hungary entered the commonwealth of Christian kingdoms. The forces of traditional paganism did not surrender without a struggle. The pagan rebellions offer a flagrant proof of the stubborn resistance of the old creed. Western culture remained for a long time the privilege of the King's Court and the monasteries. In spite of the unceasing efforts of the monks and priests to extirpate the last remains of the old pagan religion, the bulk of the population remained faithful to its traditional customs and pagan outlook. Though prevented from finding articulate expression in literature the forces of the past lived on. The gap separating the higher culture of Court and monastery from the traditions of the masses was made wider still by the fact that the monastic Orders, the pioneers of the new Christian culture, were not of native, but of foreign—German, French, Italian—origin. Town life in Hungary began when the first kings encouraged German and Italian settlers by the granting of substantial privileges. Owing to the jealous seclusion of their inhabitants, the towns thus founded remained alien to the spirit and language of the people.

Here we have the germs of that fundamental division which henceforth characterises the whole field of Hungarian culture. On the one hand, there are the racial memory of the past, the ancient Ugrian-Turkish traditions and mentality, which feel the Latinised Christian culture to be superimposed and alien. On the other hand, one observes a tendency to assimilate the forms and material of Western culture, to break the barriers of racial seclusion

and to co-operate with the European nations. For a while it seemed as if the two opposing tendencies would admit of reconciliation. After the lapse of a few centuries, Christianity had ceased to be an exotic flower on the Hungarian soil. The Bible was translated into the vernacular and became the treasured property of the whole people. The culture of the Court was transmitted to the citizens of the towns in which, during the later Middle Ages, an increasing number of Hungarian families began to settle beside the descendants of their German and Italian founders. Foreign literary inspiration and popular historical tradition are inextricably blended in the chronicle of "Anonymus," a Hungarian cleric of the 12th century who, like others of his countrymen, had studied in Paris and was familiar with the historical writings of Englishmen such as Geoffrey of Monmouth. The chronicles of Anonymus and Simon de Kéza, with their pictures of a glorious past, furnished material for later poets and strengthened the bonds between the various members of the national community.

The feeling of unity was further reinforced by the legends of Hungarian saints, which reveal the gradual transformation of the communal spirit. In the form of Latin hymns and legends, Hungary offers her contribution to the religious literature of the world. These tendencies making for an active collaboration with the West reach their height in the age of King Mathias Corvinus, that of the Hungarian Renaissance. We cannot pass over the rôle which King Mathias played in the development of the problem of East and West. The cultural foundation upon which he planned to make his nation great was that of the Italian Renaissance. His humanists were mouthpieces of a foreign culture; the one great original genius connected with his Court, Janus Pannonius, was a passionate lover of the Italian soil, who complained bitterly of the homelessness and lack of appreciation which he experienced in the country of his birth. Janus Pannonius was the first Hungarian who gave literary expression to that yearning after foreign forms of living which has been a constant motive of subsequent Hungarian literature, and which was to find its supreme expression in the lyrics written by Ady on the eve of the Great War.

Nevertheless, in spite of the Italianate tendencies of his Court, King Mathias was a truly national monarch. Like his Italian contemporaries, he was an absolutist in politics, but his autocratic rule was governed by the desire to raise his nation to a position of cultural and political leadership among the peoples of Central Europe. It was the national character of the Italian *rinascimento*

which appealed most to his imagination. His stubborn resistance to the claims of Emperor and Pope shows him to have been a watchful guardian of Hungary's national independence. For him, however, the latter did not imply national isolation. Mathias was the first king of Hungary who, while preserving Hungarian supremacy, endeavoured to combine the Danube States in a single unified whole. The king's political initiative in this connection was taken up and given a cultural significance by the *Sodalitas Litteraria Danubiana*, founded by Conrad Celtis in 1497. The establishment of this humanistic Academy was only one of the many phenomena pointing to the growth of a better understanding between the nations of the Danube basin.

These new departures, however, were one and all frustrated by the battle of Mohács. In 1526, the "shield of Christianity" was broken after defending Europe for over a hundred years against Turkish invasion. Hungary was divided into three parts, the central portion being subjected to the Turks, Transylvania becoming an independent State under the protectorate of Turkey, and the western and north-western counties passing under a hardly less severe Habsburg rule. In the districts occupied by the Turks, an enormous decrease occurred in the Hungarian population. Before Mohács, the county of Somogy included nearly 60,000 unmixed Hungarian inhabitants. After a century and a half, their number had decreased to below 1,000.

Political disruption was accompanied by the rise of Protestantism, dividing the population and engrossing its attention in interminable theological disputes. It was this age, however, which saw the first great manifestations of the Hungarian genius and the rise of such commanding figures as Balassa, Zrinyi, Pázmány. The smoothness of courtly culture is replaced by a more vigorous note; suffering has laid bare the recesses of the Hungarian soul. The ideal of a peaceful collaboration in the Danube basin has proved to be a premature dream. Bitterly disappointed, the best minds of the age turned back once more to the popular traditions of the Hungarian soil. The first conscious artist of Hungarian prose, Cardinal Peter Pázmány, composed his theological masterpieces in the language of the common people. His appeal was made to the nation as a whole, with the object of educating it to a sense of its mission. Balassa, though deeply influenced by contemporary foreign poets, reproduced all the freshness of Hungarian folk-poetry. The spontaneity which pervades all his songs makes him the first great Hungarian lyric poet.

Pázmány's life was dominated by the service of religion; all his works were written to further the cause of the Counter-Reformation, upon which he was convinced that the welfare of the country depended. The activity of Zrínyi, who in many respects reminds one of Sir Philip Sidney, was, on the other hand, entirely devoted to the service of his country. A nobleman of Croatian descent, he was one of the finest examples of Hungarian culture and of the Hungarian national spirit. In poetry, his outstanding achievement was the creation of the Hungarian epic, which attains unexpected heights, in contrast to the dry "chronicle-songs" of his predecessors. But it was in his prose tracts that Zrínyi gave the most reasoned expression to his anxiety for his country's fate. The tragic dilemma of the Hungarians, exposed on the one hand to the attacks of an enemy allied to them by blood, but widely separated by culture and religion, and on the other to the treacherous friendship of the Habsburg Court, ever anxious to put an end to the country's independence, fills Zrínyi's pages with a passionate ardour; he exhorts his people to be true to themselves and to rely entirely on their own resources.

The tragic loneliness of his people did not deter the poet-politician from exerting all his power to win foreign assistance for them in their struggle for life. It is a significant fact that the problem of East and West presents itself in a new aspect to the Hungarians of this period. Christianity had done its work in the preceding centuries with evident success. The Turkish protectorate over Transylvania and Thokóly's alliance with the Sultan in his war of independence were inspired solely by political considerations, and did not in any sense amount to an acknowledgment of the ties of blood between Hungarians and Turks. Hungary had bound up her destiny with the West; the lure of the Orient, even when the Turkish rule was at its height, never manifested itself. Hungarian priests and noblemen visited western universities in a feverish endeavour to preserve those cultural values, the destruction of which they were forced to witness every day. In the 16th century, the German universities attracted most of the Hungarian youth; the victory of the Reformation was followed by an enormous advance of the German spirit in Hungary. Schools were reorganised on the German pattern, the greatest Prince of Transylvania, Gabriel Bethlen, invited German scholars to teach in his school at Gyulafehérvár. Hungary would have become, mentally and perhaps also politically, a vassal-state of Germany, had not the victorious march of the Lutheran religion been stopped

by the Calvinist faith. By the beginning of the 17th century, the bulk of the Hungarian population in Transylvania and the territory occupied by the Turks had adopted the teaching of Calvin, which was henceforth to be known as the "Hungarian faith." Calvinism performed one great service for Hungarian culture, by freeing the Hungarian mind from the one-sided influence of its dangerous western neighbour, it opened the way for the teachings of the more distant West. Henceforth the universities of Switzerland and Holland are visited by an increasing number of Hungarian students. The philosophy of Descartes finds a Hungarian adherent in John Apáczai Csere, a Protestant preacher of Transylvania, who makes an attempt, unique in his time, to adapt the undisciplined Hungarian language to the expression of philosophical ideas. The attempt was doomed to failure: the graduate of the Dutch universities experienced the same difficulty in his endeavour to bend the language to his own uses as he met with in his other attempts at reform. His missionary ardour sprang from the discrepancy he perceived between the flourishing institutions of the West and the backward condition of his own country. His outspoken criticism won only ridicule and hatred from his complacent adversaries. John Apáczai Csere is one of the first examples of the "western reformer" in the field of culture; the pathos of his figure springs from the arduousness of his aim and the relative insignificance of his achievement. In his "Hungarian Encyclopædia," his object was to offer his backward countrymen all the knowledge garnered in happier lands. The sources he chose were not, however, always reliable. Their scientific merits were not seldom on the level of the medieval bestiaries. With a disarming naivety, he informs us in his natural history that the elephants are animals of such intellectual power that they can almost be taught to speak and write. If compelled to fight, he assures us that they marshal themselves in battle-array. They extricate the arrows from their wounded gently, like barbers, and carry their exhausted companions into the middle of the army. He wishes us to know that they give their dead a stately burial. When taken to sea, they are unwilling to embark until their director has sworn an oath that they will return.

At the end of the 17th century, the Turks were almost entirely driven from Hungarian territory as a result of the joint effort of Western Christianity. Free after a century and a half of Turkish rule, the nation hoped to enter a new phase of peaceful development. But these hopes were doomed to disappointment and the

seeds of a fatal internal dissension were sown. The Habsburg dynasty, claiming sole credit for the expulsion of the Turks, treated Hungary and the Principality of Transylvania as a conquered province. The problem of East and West assumes once more a new form. Those who embraced the Western outlook were henceforth active partisans of Habsburg rule. Their attitude was based on the belief that the Hungarian nation, weakened as it had been by the ceaseless wars of the preceding centuries, could maintain its old position in the Danubian basin only by means of a close collaboration with the Habsburg Empire. This "labanc" or Germanophil attitude, common chiefly amongst the Catholic population of the western counties, was strongly resented by the "kuruc" or nationalist party which regarded Hungary's independence as the *sine qua non* of all further development.

The war waged by Francis Rákóczi II, Prince of Transylvania, for "God and Liberty" against the Emperor Leopold, found the nation divided and ended in failure. In spite of this defeat, however, and of the resulting Habsburg ascendancy, which culminated in the Germanising endeavours of the Emperor Joseph II, the defenders of the "kuruc" attitude, recruited chiefly from among the Calvinistic gentry of Transylvania and the Hungarian Plain, carried on a relentless struggle for national independence which ended only with the collapse of the Dual Monarchy in 1918. This conflict between the Habsburg partisans, impelled by the worldly wisdom of practical politics, and the fervent Magyar nationalists, striving to preserve racial, intellectual and linguistic continuity, is, in its essence, tragic: it is a conflict, such as Hegel postulated, between irreconcilable, but equally justified forces. The position of the Hungarian people, surrounded as they are by foreign races, renders each of the conflicting forces making for self-assertion and adaptation equally necessary. This self-division of the Hungarian spirit continues to engage some of the best minds on both sides and to introduce an element of complexity and contradiction into Hungary's intellectual and political life.

During the eight years when a poor and divided nation was fighting for its life under the leadership of Rákóczi against a great European Power, Hungarian popular poetry burst out in a sudden blossoming. Exultation, despondency and patriotic pride are expressed with inimitable force and simplicity in these masterpieces of Hungarian verse.

After the Peace of Szatmár, Rákóczi chose to live in France, and it is a fact worthy of note that even this Hungarian nationalist

par excellence, whose life had been devoted to resisting Western encroachments, was no enemy of occidental culture and actually wrote his memoirs, not in his mother tongue, but in French.

The defeat of the national rising left Austrian absolutism free to work its will in Hungary. The Emperors began a conscious policy of settling foreign minorities in Hungary, with a view, wrote Cardinal Kollonics, "to tempering with German blood the Hungarian race, which is prone to revolts and unrest." The schools were reorganised on German lines, and the sons of the Hungarian nobility were lured to the Court of Maria Theresa in the hope that they would forget even their mother tongue.

The courtly culture of Vienna, which was intended to be the grave of Hungarian national culture, unexpectedly became, however, a new source of inspiration. The Queen's Hungarian officers became acquainted with the literary products of French enlightenment and were shocked to realise the backward state of their country's culture. A new tendency appeared in Hungarian literature which, unconnected with the traditions of the country, sought to open new channels of foreign influence for the nation. The leader of this foreign school was George Bessenyei, who became acquainted while in Vienna with the ideas of Voltaire, Rousseau and the French Encyclopedists. His works were little more than translations, and his whole activity was directed to raising his country to the level of his beloved France. He outlined the first scheme for a Hungarian Academy of Sciences, united his officer-friends in a literary society, and entered into an extensive correspondence with the writers of the day. This circle of western innovators was counterbalanced by the eternal opposite pole of the Hungarian mind, the traditionalist school. In the 18th century, the defence of national traditions was undertaken chiefly by the Catholic clergy. In the field of literature, the Jesuits played a leading rôle. Jesuit scholars collected all data referring to the past and became the first pragmatic historians of the country. In imaginative literature, the chief representatives of the traditional-popular school were, it is interesting to observe, two writers of non-Hungarian origin: the Serbian Dugonics and the Italian Gvadányi.

Both of these movements were necessary and correlated. The traditional school enriched Hungarian poetry by the inclusion of popular elements; the innovators, standing for the aristocracy of the mind, opened the way for Western influences. The two tendencies intermingle and produce a poetic personality of in-

imitable freshness in Michael Csokonai Vitéz. Csokonai is one of those personalities in whom the synthesis of the Hungarian and the European mind is fully achieved. Like his more famous brother-poet Petöfi, whom he resembles in many respects, he had a restless youth. Both had the supreme gift of lyrical spontaneity, but Csokonai stands for the pensive grace of the rococo, while Petöfi is the passionate idealist of the age of reform. In spite of his premature death, Csokonai possessed a wide literary culture, stretching from the great classics of antiquity to the playful poems of his Italian contemporaries. These literary influences, however, touch but the surface of Csokonai's lyric poetry; the inspiration of his art comes from the depths of the Hungarian soul. Like his great English contemporary, Wordsworth, he is among the first to preach that the regeneration of the literary language must be based on the language of the folk.

The regeneration of the language became, indeed, the central problem of literature at the turn of the 19th century. Owing to the predominance of Latin as a literary medium throughout the 18th century, the Hungarian literary language lost its suppleness and became inadequate for the expression of the more complex ideas of the new age. The need for regeneration was felt by all schools of literature, but the manner of its realisation once more awoke passionate disputes. The traditionalist forces were marshalled under the flag of Alexander Kisfaludy, a Catholic Trans-danubian landowner, the sweet singer of unrequited love. The leader of the reformers was Francis Kazinczy, a Protestant nobleman who spent seven years in Austrian prisons for his advanced opinions. After his release in 1801, he united all the threads of literary life in his hands and by carrying on an extensive correspondence became, like Coleridge, the chief fertilising influence of his age. In the days when Austrian absolutism seemed to have succeeded in completely extinguishing Hungarian national culture, Kazinczy made a gigantic effort to counteract these Germanising influences, and to save and renew the Hungarian language. His independence of traditions appalled the conservative writers grouped around Kisfaludy. He regarded the language as a mere rough material which he was at liberty to mould, provided that his creations obeyed the principles of beauty. The new style was developed in the long line of his translations, ranging from "Hamlet" to the works of Marmontel, in which the poet sought to introduce his countrymen to the highest expressions of the European spirit.

Though devoid of creative originality, Kazinczy's work was to smooth the language and pave the way for the coming generation. The latter broke with the cold, international classicism of Kazinczy and directed the current of Hungarian literature into the channels of romanticism. Under the leadership of an inspired genius, Michael Vorosmarty, this school recreated the glory of the past on the plane of romantic imagination, thus evoking a feeling of active nationalism which destroyed the ancient barriers between Catholic and Protestant and between the Hungarians of the East and of the West. The new romantic generation was free of all complacent illusions and self-glorification, their feverish desire for activity sprang from the dreadful vision of national destruction expressed both by Vörösmarty and Kolcsey. The romantic poets pitted all their strength against that menace, assisted in their efforts by that man whom his chief political antagonist called "the greatest of all Hungarians": Count Stephen Széchenyi. Széchenyi is the first of the Hungarian writers and prophets whose message is not merely a matter of past history; he propounded a political and national programme which is still a living reality for a devoted band of followers. Széchenyi's horizon and conception of nationalism transcends that of the romantic poets, with whom he has otherwise many points of contact in outlook and temper. In one respect especially his attitude implies a vital advance. The romantic generation was at one with past historical ages in identifying the Hungarian nation only with its sons of gentle birth. Széchenyi is the first to demand justice for the serfs, the first to call for their recognition as full members of the nation. With his contempt for the country's feudal organisation and his consciousness of Hungarian racial unity, Széchenyi stands alone in his age.

Széchenyi's public activity marks the beginning of a feverish effort to make up for the negligence of past centuries and to bring the political and social structure of the country to an up-to-date level. The writers of the new generation of the eighteen-thirties, headed by Joseph Eotvos, give a European meaning to the romantic nationalism of Vörösmarty and his companions. Imaginative literature became the mouthpiece of political ideas; the novels of Eötvös were a passionate plea for the oppressed peasantry. This union of nation and folk became a living reality in the poetry of Petöfi and the writers of "Young Hungary" who made their appearance early in the eighteen-forties. In the eyes of Petöfi, the folk is the permanent source of national life and the figure of

the Hungarian peasant becomes a symbol of the life-force of the nation.

Through the works of Petöfi, Arany, Jókai, Hungarian literature becomes part of the world's literature; the special problems and mentality of the Hungarian race are fused with the eternal problems of humanity and find expression in literary works of permanent value and of universal appeal.

The War of Independence in 1848-49 was hailed by the poets of Young Hungary as a promise of the fulfilment of all their dreams. Its failure was followed by the political and spiritual collapse of the country. The powers of Austrian absolutism endeavoured to stifle the last remains of national consciousness. To these dark days Hungarian public opinion reacted in a manner which seems to point back to the eastern origin of the race: it chose the weapon of passive resistance. The representative statesman of the period was Francis Deák. The clearest minds of the country were soon grouped about him. Among them we find John Arany, perhaps the poet who has most profoundly expressed the sober realism of the Hungarian genius. At his side was also the great master of the psychological novel, Sigismund Kemény, who expressed the tragic character of his race in a series of novels dealing with the history of Transylvania. The third member of this triad was Imre Madách, author of the celebrated philosophical poem *The Tragedy of Man*, which raises on to the cosmic plane certain problems that beset both the poet and his race.

The Compromise with Austria in 1867 brought about a reconciliation with the reigning dynasty and marked the beginning of a rapid economic development, which was, however, accompanied by a distinct falling-off in the general quality of literature. The successors of Petöfi and Arany took shelter in conservative literary institutions, and their poetry became a mere academic exercise. It was only in prose narrative that such masters of the novel and short story as Mikszáth, Gárdonyi and Herczeg heralded the birth of a new realistic school.

The antagonistic forces which had been gathering strength during these decades of stagnation came into open conflict at the beginning of the present century. The champions of the new spirit gave the name of *Nyugat*—"The West"—to their periodical, in order to indicate the source from which they sought to rejuvenate the literature of their country. The early collaborators of the *Nyugat* formed a somewhat heterogeneous company, ranging from the restless, inquiring spirit of the younger Jewish intelligentsia to

the scholarly European humanism of Babits and the racial mysticism of Ady. They were welded into unity only by the violent attacks of conservative critics and the opposition of the ultra-nationalistic press. As to the great merits of the *Nyugat* movement, there can be no doubts today. If we consider the leading figures whom this school produced—Ady, Babits, Móricz, Kosztolányi—we might compare their activity with that of Kazinczy and call their “westernising” tendencies, not a break with Hungarian tradition, but the opening of a wider horizon embracing the modern literatures of the world.

The greatest figure of this circle, Andrew Ady, though a member of the “*Nyugat*” group, transcends its aims and scope at every point. The times have passed when Ady could be accused of an unpatriotic attitude by his critics. We all realise now that those poems in which he mercilessly lashed the faults of the nation are an expression of his deep solicitude for the future of his race. His nationalism bore the tragic stamp which we have seen to be characteristic of Zrinyi and Széchenyi. A seer among the blind, he warns his nation in vain of the precipice which it is approaching. Ady’s poetry delves down below the surface of a chaotic society and culture to the roots of his race.

What conclusions can be drawn from this brief historical survey of Hungarian literature? We have seen that the latter draws its strength from a tension between the traditional, Eastern culture of the peasantry and the Western culture of its rulers. The process of history seems to be tending towards a convergence of these two lines. Equilibrium has already been achieved in a few rare instances—Pázmány, Csokonai, Ady—but the somewhat disorganised character which is typical of Hungarian literature in the last seventy years will be made more uniform only by a more intimate fusion of the two forces, by raising the popular to the level of the literary. There are many indications that this movement is already taking place.

Though hardly less important, a second noticeable tendency is rather more vague. Ever since the age of Reform attempts have been made to bridge the gulf which separates Hungary from the surrounding races. The understanding shown by Széchenyi for the cause of the nationalities and the tolerant humanity of Eötvös were only two manifestations of this tendency. In post-war years, the outlines of a new Central European mentality, common in a varying degree to all Danubian nations, seem to be

emerging more clearly. There is a tendency to regard the various racial cultures, not as obstacles to international understanding, but as integral elements in a new and richer synthesis.

The convergence of popular and higher culture in Hungary itself, on the one hand, and a *rapprochement* between the various Central European cultures on the other, may hold out the possibility of a new mission for the Hungarian race. During the Middle Ages, the Hungarians were regarded as the eastern outpost and bulwark of Christianity. Having performed this task at the cost of much Hungarian blood and of a consequent assimilation of foreign elements, Hungary's future mission would seem to be to serve as the nucleus of a new collaboration in Central Europe. The rôle of mediator would accord well with the composite character of the Hungarian nation and culture, and would in no sense fall short of the programme set before the nation by Stephen Széchenyi. That programme was "to preserve a nation for humanity, to guard its characteristic virtues as holy relics, to give them free play in their unsullied purity, and thus, by ennobling the power and qualities of a people and shaping these to ends hitherto undreamed of, to lead the nation to its ultimate goal, which is the greater glory of man."

N. J. SZENCZI.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE POLISH INSURRECTION OF 1863 (I)

- NOWADAYS it is not generally recognised what part Poland—albeit defeated and dismembered—played in the British political life of the 19th century. In 1863, for example, the British newspapers of every shade and variety of opinion were teeming with articles on that country. Leading journalists discussed the Polish insurrection as a primary interest of the British state. Huge meetings were held at St. James's Hall and throughout the provinces, at which the demand was made that Britain should forthwith engage in war, if necessary, to save Poland from her oppressors. The illustrated papers presented their readers with full-page woodcuts in which youthful Polish insurgents, with scythes grasped firmly in their hand, were represented as driving Russian gunners away from their guns with the most accomplished agility and ease. On 19 March of this same year of fate, Lord Bloomfield, the British Ambassador at Vienna, enclosed to Earl Russell, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, a translation of an article which had appeared that morning in the Austrian official paper, the *Botschafter*, and that article showed plainly that enthusiasm for the Polish cause was not even confined to a single country or government.

“Poland,” reported the *Botschafter*, “possesses many parliamentary friends. Wherever the representatives of the people have now assembled, words of sympathy for her and wishes for the removal of her wrongs are expressed. In Russia, England, in sunny Italy, and on the banks of the Seine, Government is everywhere called on to help Poland. Even in Berlin, where people are in the habit of demanding great sacrifices in the name of freedom, when other States are thereby to suffer loss, whilst they are Prussians to the backbone whenever Poland is mentioned—even in Berlin many expressions favourable to Poland have issued from the ranks of the Fortschritts-Partei, though they perhaps have only appeared in the shape of an attack on the Russo-Prussian Convention. We may add that the Pope in his late Allocution expressed sorrow for the state of things in Poland. This sympathy is universal; and whether we consider the declaration made the other day to Lord Palmerston by a deputation from the people ‘that the British nation was ready, if necessary, even to take arms against Russia for Poland,’ or turn our eyes to the above-mentioned words of the Pope,

the thought which animates the whole of Europe is the same—help Poland.”¹

That was how the situation struck a not over-friendly journalistic observer on 19 March, 1863; but by the end of that year the output of parliamentary and journalistic energy, in Britain at any rate, had sensibly declined. On 4 February, 1864, in the course of a debate on the Address in the British House of Commons, it was necessary for Mr. Disraeli, the leader of the Opposition, to inform the Ministers of the Crown in a quizzing and satirical tone that, “It would have been satisfactory for us to have had some official declaration of the views of Her Majesty’s Government on the subject of the Polish insurrection.”² On 16 February the *Daily Telegraph* declared that “Poland is out of fashion and bleeds without a word of pity. . . . It is odd, too, for three months ago we were all intensely sympathetic for her; indignant dispatches were flying about Europe, generous things were said at Blairgowrie and Paris, and Poland had the consolation of pity and the hope of succour. Now all that is changed; the Russian bear is left to crunch her bones at leisure and drink her blood; and the only public feeling shown that it takes so long to do.”³ By 1865 even that public feeling had ceased to trouble, and the references to the Polish insurrection were confined to a few mournful paragraphs about risings among the Polish exiles who had found a last home in Siberia. What was the cause of this sudden change of attitude? Why did Poland sink gradually out of sight in Britain? Surely an attempt to answer this question by the simple registration of events may afford some instruction to those who are studying the somewhat spiral progression of history.

I

In the very first dispatch, dated 9 March, 1863, which Prince Gortschakov sent to Lord Russell in reply to the first remonstrance of the latter, some attempt is made to connect London with the initiation of the 1863 insurrection. “The Polish insurrection,” said His Excellency, “was the result of a conspiracy deeply laid and widely organised in foreign capitals, from which he could not except London. . . . Of the origin, development and objects of that conspiracy, the Imperial Cabinet had been well informed. It was a democratic and anti-social movement, conceived in the pernicious notions of which Mazzini was the author and the symbol; and in

¹ See “Confidential Correspondence of the British Government respecting the insurrection on Poland 1863” Edited by Titus Filipowicz, page 54. Paris, 1914.

² *Times*, 5 February, 1864.

³ *Daily Telegraph* leading article, 16 February, 1864.

these designs the Poles had been enlisted by flattering their national illusions, which pointed to very different objects from those which the practical policy of English statesmen regarded—to the severance of Poland from the Russian Crown, to national independence, to the restoration of the limits of 1772 ”⁴

This account of the so-called conspiracy in foreign capitals was not absolutely correct as regards London, and it certainly did not reflect abundance of credit on the powers of detection of the Russian Imperial Cabinet. But Prince Gortschakov on all occasions spoke so confidently that he often ended by carrying conviction, and Earl Russell, who, in general, traced the beginning of the insurrection of 1863 to the failure of Russia to implement her undertakings of 1815, and to the ill-advised conscription of the Marquis Wielopolski, was once betrayed into the assertion that the rising had been organised by the “Cosmopolitan Party of Revolutionists,” especially by Mazzini and his friends who were at that time resident in London, and that the aim of these conspirators was the introduction of Communism. On all these points both Prince Gortschakov and Earl Russell were undoubtedly wrong. Mazzini, as Karl Blind afterwards pointed out,⁵ was not a cosmopolitan but an ardent nationalist, and his most convinced antagonist could hardly have regarded him as anti-social or addicted to the propagation of Communism.

Still, there did collect in London, at the beginning of the year 1863, a large number of exiles of whom Mazzini and Ledru-Rollin were distinguished members. These fellows in misfortune were at times accustomed to consort together, and their advice was occasionally sought by those who planned to foment national risings in any of the countries of Europe. The Polish Secret Committee of Warsaw, which afterwards became the Polish National Government of 1863 and 1864, had a delegate in London—his name is given as Cwierciakiewicz—and this delegate occupied some rooms on the third floor over a baker’s shop in Piccadilly. Mazzini would sometimes be informed of what had come to the notice of this delegate, and sometimes even he would be asked to give advice. All this is on the authority of Karl Blind, himself one of the members of the society of exiles; though at the same time the latter emphatically

⁴ See “Correspondence respecting the Insurrection of Poland” 1863. Page 90. This White Paper contains the different dispatches which were presented to Parliament in 1863, but does not contain the Confidential Correspondence. It will hereafter be quoted as “correspondence.” See also Annual Register, 1863; page 332.

⁵ See Karl Blind *General Langiewicz and the Last Polish Rising*, 19th century, July 1887, page 42.

asserts, on the strength of a letter he had from Mazzini, that the great Italian regarded an armed rising in Poland at that particular time as a premature undertaking, which he could not possibly recommend.

But there were numbers of true friends of Poland all throughout the British Isles, and when the insurrection actually began, a committee was formed in London, with smaller committees in provincial towns, to raise funds for the Poles and to render such other help as it was in their power to give.⁶ It was called "The Central Committee of the Friends of Poland"; and was distinct from the older "Literary Society of the Friends of Poland," because it regarded itself as more democratic and claimed to act directly with the authority of the delegate of the Polish National Government. It did not last long, and was succeeded in July, 1863, by the "National League for the Independence of Poland," of which Edmond Beales (the best known name at this time among the sympathisers of the Polish cause) was the President, and which continued till the year 1865. But though the Central Committee of the Friends of Poland, with its Headquarters in Southampton Street, was short lived, it had once amongst its members Joseph Cowen, Sergeant Parry, Professor F. W. Newman, Sir John Bowring, John Stuart Mill, George Moore and William Charles Macready, the famous tragedian. It was also instrumental through one of its members, Mr. George Potter, the editor of the Labour paper, the *Bee Hive*, in organising a great Trade Unionist meeting in favour of Poland in St. James's Hall on 28 April, 1863. This meeting, besides being bold and uncompromising in its advocacy of the Polish cause, was also of fundamental importance, as we shall afterwards see, because it connected the Polish insurrection with the beginnings of the famous International.

However, though all these committees were strong and staunch, and rendered a great deal of help when the insurrection actually broke out, it cannot be said that the evidence favours the thesis of Prince Gortschakov that London had anything to do with the actual preparations before the event.

More important as regards the inception of the 1863 revolution, and well-known and active in London, was the ex-Dictator General Marian Langiewicz. The *Annual Register* of 1863, indeed, calls him "the most distinguished leader of the Poles in the early part of the revolt." Langiewicz was in friendly intercourse, while he dwelt in London, with both Mazzini and Ledru-Rollin, though, as

⁶ See W. E. Adams, *Memoirs of a Social Atom*, Vol II, page 442. Mr Adams was the Secretary of this Committee.

Karl Blind tells us, they both looked on him not as representative of the Warsaw Committee which actually was planning the revolution, but of what they called the Polish "White Party," of Count Andrew Zamoyski and of Prince Czartoryski. He was a remarkable man, addicted to sudden fits of abstraction and equally sudden and mysterious disappearances. "I remember," says Blind, "a dinner party with him and an Irish Liberal friend, Mr. Joseph Snowe, the former Editor of the *London Observer*; in whose tiny but well-appointed house in Elm Tree Road, Italian and French party leaders, such as Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, Irish Members of Parliament, eminent men and artists, now and then gathered. After dinner General Langiewicz suddenly disappeared. Though a considerable time elapsed, he could not be found. In vain the house was searched all over. The host at last bethought himself of looking for him in the garden, whose dimensions were rather of Pompeian smallness. And there indeed the Dictator was discovered walking up and down, smoking in apparently melancholy mood. Soon afterwards he took leave somewhat abruptly." This habit of his of sudden disappearance must, there can be no doubt, have been present to the minds of some of his British friends, when they read later on of his subsequent abdication and withdrawal to a Galician prison at an early stage of the struggle.

The outbreak of the insurrection led immediately to a great increase of interest in Poland and Polish affairs. Before 1863 there were certain indications that public interest in Poland was waning, and in the voluminous report of the Annual Meeting of the Literary Associations of the Friends of Poland, held at Duke Street, St. James's, on 5 July, 1859, it was disclosed that, as a result of the Crimean War, several valued friends of the Association were desirous that it should cease to conduct any political agitation and become a purely literary society. But this suggestion was vetoed by the Council of the Society, and events showed that their decision was right. Sir William Hardman, who wrote a diary during this period and has been called the Mid-Victorian Pepys, shows in an entry, dated during the earlier part of March, 1863, how the situation affected his debonair and somewhat conservative mind. "Poland," he writes "attracts the largest share of attention at present. The newly appointed Dictator, Langiewicz, seems an able man with a capacity for organisation and considerable strategic skill. He has declined the services of Garibaldi, since the Polish rising is not of a revolutionary character. Our information from Poland is of a very imperfect and unsatisfactory nature, but it would seem that the Russians are getting the worst

⁷ *Nineteenth Century*, July 1887, page 33.

of it. Prince Napoleon has addressed one of his most eloquent speeches to the French Senate in favour of Poland; he wishes, if not absolute intervention, at least a strong expression of opinion by France in favour of the oppressed nation. It is impossible to predict what the Emperor will do. I fancy he likes his cousin to make these half-imprudent speeches, as he thereby gets a sort of reflected credit, even if he does not take any active step. Our English papers are a little excited about the sending of two of our best detectives (Walker and Witcher) to Warsaw, at the request of the Grand Duke Constantine, to confer with and advise the Russian authorities on the subject of police organisation.”⁸

Here we have revealed, as in a nutshell, the influences which agitated and swayed the British mind on the question of Poland at the beginning of this year of revolution. There was, first—and this perhaps was consoling to the men and women of high degree who at that time in Britain espoused the Polish cause—the idea that Langiewicz, though by accident a revolutionary, was at heart a conservative. There was, second, the fact that the friends of the revolution had gained a certain control of the British press and that the earliest bulletins had conveyed an impression favourable to the insurgents. There was, third, the suspicion rather than the conviction that, though France might be naturally expected to take the lead in some strong action in favour of Poland, the Emperor’s mind was not to be trusted; or that at any rate the British people must beware lest they be lured into isolated action and then left remorselessly in the cold. And there was, fourth, the melancholy revelation that then as now the newspaper world was all agog for a stunt, and that the journey of two star detectives could be made to vie in interest with the spectacle of a nation struggling for its very existence.

Taking the first of these, the idea that Langiewicz was a moderate and steady influence in the revolution—in this respect contrasting favourably with Mierosławski—we have only to read through the British records of this time to see how widely it was diffused. When he was appointed Dictator, Colonel Stanton, H.M. Consul-General at Warsaw, wrote to Earl Russell, his chief, on 21 March, 1863, that “This step on the part of the leaders of the insurrection may be looked upon as having been taken for the purpose of proving to the rest of Europe that the insurrection is now a national movement, and to show that the assertions of the Russian Government that it is merely the act of the revolutionary party in Europe are

⁸ See *The Letters and Memoirs of Sir William Hardman (The Mid-Victorian Pepys)*, Vol. I, page 291.

not correct : as well as from the desire to rally openly to the national standard the nobles and others of the Moderate Party in the kingdom. These have hitherto kept aloof from the disinclination of declaring themselves for an unknown programme, but they were at the same time known to be ready to declare themselves as soon as a favourable opportunity for so doing may present itself. And the withdrawal of Mierosławski from the movement must also be considered as having been decided upon in deference to the views of the Moderate Party in the kingdom."⁹ Under this impression, considerable space was given in the organs of public opinion in Britain to the doings and prospects of Langiewicz. He was represented as having his forces stationed in the district of Radom in pursuance of a concerted plan. In his earlier operations he was conceded some considerable successes; and when, after a desperate encounter with the Russians on 18 March, he immediately and mysteriously disappeared from his comrades in arms, the impression made on the public mind was profound. Those who had known him as an exile before the war might, as has already been pointed out, understand his tendency towards sudden disappearances, but average British minds like Sir William Hardman, who had no such personal acquaintance, could only soliloquise as he does : "Sunday 22 March, 1863. Wallah ! Wallah ! Ichabod ! The glory has departed. Langiewicz has been defeated and is a prisoner in the hands of the Austrians, into whose territory he fled. Poor Poland ! This is indeed most mouldy."¹⁰

It cannot be doubted, then, that the disappearance of Langiewicz created a most unfortunate impression on the masses of moderate and conservative opinion in Britain, which had previously supported the Polish cause. Langiewicz was looked upon as a confident and experienced soldier, and the manifestos of the Central Committee had given the impression to those of conservative mind that they were much more rash and revolutionary. There was no longer the same general sympathy for the insurrection in the organs of the press. In 1859 the Report of the Literary Society of the Friends of Poland acknowledges the services rendered to the British nation by the *Daily News*, *The Morning Advertiser*, the *Morning Post*, the *Morning Herald*, the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Examiner*, the *Sun*, *The Standard*, the *Weekly Dispatch*, *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* and *The Illustrated London News*—practically all the leading British newspapers of that time except the *Times*.¹¹ But, as the months

⁹ Correspondence No. 115 ¹⁰ See Sir William Hardman, Vol I, page 293.

¹¹ The exception, of course, was serious; for though the *Times* had then a circulation of not much over 70,000, its prestige was great.

of 1863 passed on their course, and Earl Russell started his series of dispatches, the newspapers began more and more to arrange themselves for or against Poland according as they were for or against the Government. An exception was the *Morning Post*, which though generally regarded as the organ of Lord Palmerston, often came out with leading articles which described the issues of the insurrection as involving the issue of freedom against autocracy; and therefore as demanding a much more animated action in protest than was conveyed in the somewhat turgid paragraphs of the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs. On the other hand, the conservative newspapers declared that, for the sake of Poland, the British Foreign Secretary was leading the nation straight to war.¹² The Russian Fleet had been ordered to sea, and it was believed that this course was taken as a measure of precaution against an easy destruction in Baltic waters in case the trouble with Poland should lead to such a declaration of hostilities on the part of France and Britain.

When it became plain that certain organs of the press were wavering, the Russian secret agents redoubled their efforts to put the action of Russia in a most favourable light. In a dispatch dated Cracow, 27 April, 1863, the *Times* came out with a report "That on the 3rd May, the anniversary of the celebrated Polish Constitution of 1791, some sort of a constitution will be proclaimed for the kingdom of Poland, and it is even said for the Russian Empire, including of course the Polish provinces."¹³ This was evidently a carefully calculated announcement, especially in its reference to the 3rd of May; but how little it had reference to the facts themselves may be gathered from the dispatch which was written to his paper from Breslau the very next day by the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*.¹⁴ This, as it is dated from Breslau, was as realist as the dispatch from Cracow was romantic; for it told not of a constitution but of a coming war to the knife between the Russian and the Polish Governments. Civil government was to be superseded by a martial administration. Poland was to be ruled by 68 military governors in the separate provinces. On the other hand the National Government retorted by issuing an order forbidding any Pole to remain in the service of Russia. Thus, according to Breslau, it was not peace but the sword that was now to be offered to Poland.

II

But what are the real facts about the insurrection? That is a question which might well have been put by the perplexed reader

¹² For a strong expression of this opinion see leading article *Evening Standard*, 30 May, 1863.

¹³ See the *Times*, 5 May, 1863.

¹⁴ See *Daily Telegraph*, 4 May, 1863.

of British newspapers as he perused the confused reports of innumerable guerilla engagements after the retirement of Langiewicz! Was there any co-ordination of them all? Or was every band simply fighting for its own hand? There certainly did seem to be a Polish Government just as there was a Russian Government, and it was admitted that the insurrection had been extended beyond the kingdom to the limits of the Polish territory of 1772. But how far did the Polish Government really govern?

It was fortunate that, just at this critical time, the contributions of the *Daily News* correspondent began to attract attention. His name was W. H. Bullock; and he afterwards collected his dispatches in a book, *Polish Experiences*, which even such an unsympathetic critic as the late Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff declared to be by far the best of the occasional volumes which the war had called forth. Before he started—Bullock applied for a voucher of credit to the association meeting at Southampton Street which has already been mentioned, and when he arrived at Cracow it was their passport which he presented to the insurgents. There are many things which predispose us in his favour as we read his dispatches, and which induce us to believe that he faithfully reported all the things which he had himself seen and heard. In the first place, he diligently applies himself to the arduous task of learning Polish—he was not of the number of those who pick up their crumbs casually from a foreign table. In the second place, he does not confine his journey to the great cities; he wanders out to the country where small bands were gathered, and he does not object to endure hardships if he can thereby obtain just the information which he wants. He tells us that, at times, he passed along his way through pools of slush, and understood the German saying that there are five elements in Poland, earth, air, fire, water—and slush. He adds, however, and the remark will be appreciated by everyone who has ever been a wayfarer in Poland, that “If you arrive with a good deal of mud on your clothes, you meet with such a welcome at your journey’s end that you soon forget all about it.”

His journeys, at any rate, were always full of surprises. His idea, before he started, was that the insurgents would be “desperate powerful fellows, with gleaming scythes, who would take at least two or three men to hold them.”¹⁵ But when near Ołomuniec he really came on a railway carriage full of these same insurgents he could only describe them as “innocent-looking beardless boys, sitting in a third-class railway carriage, with a single soldier to guard

¹⁵ See Bullock *Polish Experiences during the Insurrection of 1863–1864*, page 49.

them." "They seemed," he wrote, "to be mostly students and apprentices; and although we could have affirmed of hardly one that he was a gentleman's son, there was a pleasant fresh look about their faces, which, until that moment, I had believed confined to English boys." But what were their hopes of success? Mr. Bullock has no doubt that for one thing they were sustained by the hope of some intervention from abroad. "A student of law," he tells us, "who was himself serving in the ranks, asked me if I was not struck with the sansculottic appearance of his comrades; remarking at the same time that he perfectly well understood the hopelessness of driving the Russians out of the country with the means at their disposal, but that the only chance of aid from without lay in raising the standard of revolt." He, for one, would willingly sacrifice himself for the good of his country—a remark which he was at that moment carrying out to the letter; "for what situation could be more painful for a young man of refined taste and good education than to lie hidden in the woods, with nothing to eat, drenched through several times a week, in the company of those with whom he could have nothing in common?"¹⁶

But was there no leader of these insurgents—no name which, like that of Kosciuszko, could move the hearts of men? Carlyle, not a friend of Poland, had taught this age his gospel of "Heroes and Hero worship"; and perhaps it was because he found no hero in the Polish guerilla warfare that, throughout the year of 1863, he stuck to Frederick of Prussia, though he declared at the same time that he "could never love the man," and Mrs. Carlyle wished "that Frederick had died when a baby."¹⁷ Our correspondent of the *Daily News* was ever out for a hero who could lend a winning appeal to his pages, and he made a bold attempt with Jezioranski, whose first brush with the Russians took place on 1 May, 1863. "In Jezioranski," he wrote, "I found a little man of about forty, with keen piercing eyes, a pleasant smile, and engaging manners, but by no means of military appearance. You could pass him by quite unnoticed in the street and be surprised to meet him in the camp, so unmilitary is the air he carries about him; yet if you could watch him in moments of difficulty, you see his lips contract and an immense amount of character play about his mouth. Wearing a great morning coat and waistcoat, there was nothing about his dress to mark him out as the General but a broad band of red, white and blue which crossed his breast."¹⁸ This was the general, and with

¹⁶ Bullock *Polish Experiences*, page 194.

¹⁷ Carlyle *Three score and ten*, 1853–65, by D. A. Wilson, pp. 502 and 507.

¹⁸ Bullock *Polish Experiences*, page 117.

him was Waligorski, formerly of the Polish Military College at Piedmont, and a chief of staff, who were both the subjects of equally searching pen and ink portraits.

These three are the leading actors in this drama, but when they come into battle before the woods of Kobylanka, we find ourselves amongst a few hundreds of men engaged in a contest, which ended in an evacuation, and left the British correspondent with no other resource than to find his way back again into Galicia. Yet he had not found the fight of Kobylanka unwanting in interest. With sympathetic power he brings before us the insurgent position "in the shape of a bow to which the Austrian territory acted as a string, while on the Russian side, it was rendered difficult of approach by a bog and moat, varying in width and depth, never exceeding three feet of water. On the present occasion, the Russians repeated their violations of Austrian territory and again planted their batteries in the same position as in the former battle. The insurgent infantry, numbering 416 effective men, were disposed in companies of forty at both horns and at the centre of the bow, while the reserves of cavalry were drawn up in the heart of the position. . . . On the left, where General Waligorski commanded, the Russians made a tremendous onslaught, on this side, too, pouring a flank fire and from guns planted on Austrian territory. Thus the Polish position was assaulted from every side, and but for the extraordinary bravery of its defenders, must have been effectually carried. An officer who was present at the battle of Fredericksburg assured me that the fire on that day was never so heavy as that on this occasion. . . . When the fight was at its hottest, a priest, Bulsiewicz, raising his cross aloft, put himself at the head of a desperate band and threw himself on the dense masses of the enemy. In one of these charges young Waligorski, rushing madly forward, was laid low by a bullet which struck him on the jaw. Badly, but not mortally wounded, he was left lying on the ground, when some Russian soldiers dispatched him with the bayonet, filling his mouth with earth to drown his cries. An insurgent named Reinburger, coming up too late to save Waligorski, pursued his murderers; and firing at him who had shot his friend, brought him down and carried off his musket in triumph. . . . Towards the end of the day the Russians seemed to gather up their strength for one more desperate effort, and this time they drove the whole Polish force before them half a mile into Austrian territory, where a most severe fight ensued. . . . The position of the Poles was indeed desperate, but notwithstanding that his own troops barely amounted to 300 men, while the Russians numbered at least 15,000, Jezioranski ordered a general advance.

As soon as the enemy saw the Poles coming on with renewed vigour, they did not wait to cross bayonets but fled indiscriminately; and the Poles, pursuing them, regained possession of their camp and at 2 30 p.m. remained masters of the field."¹⁹

Bullock was the only British correspondent who displayed a desire to make an epic of the insurrection, but in this ambition he was continually baffled by the force of events. He succeeded in impressing the British public with the personality of Jezioranski, but as that leader had to give up his position after the resounding success just chronicled, the correspondent was compelled also to put an end to his epic. Henceforth in his dispatches he had little to say of Jezioranski, and the only other soldier of the revolution who succeeded in impressing his personality on the people of Britain in 1863 was Lelewel. General Bozak-Hauke, of course, became known at a later time, and there were some references to the name of Traugutt, which in Poland today remains most conspicuously associated with the insurrection of 1863. But Traugutt was in these days a secret and unavowed influence working behind the concourse of events, and there were no British correspondents present with the insurgents when Bozak-Hauke performed his most daring exploits. There is in the *Times* of 22 September, 1863, however, a description of Lelewel's last fight, in which an effort is made to bring this hero as a more distinct personality before the minds of British readers. There had been statements elsewhere that he had once been a working shoe-maker, that he knew nothing of military matters and that this ignorance was the reason why he had been so successful. The *Times* correspondent industriously combats such an insinuation as that he had sprung from a shoe-maker's bench, and maintains instead that Lelewel had served in the Hungarian campaign of 1848-49. He has not the graphic touch of Bullock, and he is inclined to speculate about events rather than to describe them, but he tells us that Lelewel was a man "40 years of age, tall and powerful, with black hair and a black beard, and eyes which announced all the energy and determination which he showed so plentifully in action. . . . He had confidence in himself and he knew how to inspire confidence in his men."

But have these British correspondents anything to say about the part played by the peasantry in the insurrection? Or about the cruelties which were said to have been practised on those who

¹⁹ Bullock, *Polish Experiences*, page 122, *et seq.* It may be here pointed out that the Lelewel who is mentioned in this page is evidently not the famous Polish historian of the time who in fact died some years before 1863. I suspect it must be an assumed name of a revolutionary who wished to hide from the Russians his real identity.

fell into their hands? Bullock, the *Daily News* correspondent, has some information which he gleaned during perilous journeys in Volhynia and Podolia. The Russian government, he shows, had been making extraordinary efforts to win over the peasants. Handbills were circulated amongst them, and of these Bullock appends the following specimens—"I have long been waiting to have a talk with you, my good Ruthenian people. . . Don't believe in the free gifts of land which your enemies make you. . . . You will get but a barren tract; in return for which you will have to work so many days a week on your masters' lands, that the festivals of the Church will be no holiday to you. Instead of praying to God and attending Him with your wives and families in His house of Prayer, you will be forced to sweat through the day, slaving for your masters, who look upon you as cattle. . . . And they talk of cheap brandy and instruction for your children, and make other enticing promises. Do not be taken in. Fly from their embraces and Judas kisses. I adjure you, by Christ, to have nothing to do with these people, to whom an oath is a joke and murder a virtue." These handbills further give us the following original account of the insurrection. "On the night of 22-23 January, a night which will be forever choric in hell, throughout the kingdom of Poland the inhabitants rose and murdered or suffocated the sleeping Russian soldiers. . . . Do you not know that they have hung up Russian soldiers by their own entrails, and performed hell dances over the bodies of our Generals whom they have killed? . . . Helpless women too have been murdered in cold blood, and churches have been converted into manufactories of arms." With such hateful incitements liberally distributed amongst them, no wonder that the ignorant peasantry broke out into manifestations of horrid cruelty. "In the neighbourhood of Winnica," says Bullock, "a district town in the northern division of Podolia, numbers of persons had their noses, ears, and lips cut off, and then, spitted through the cheeks were drawn to prisons in herds at the point of goads and pitchforks before the infuriated peasantry. Plucking the eyes out of some, the peasants poured vitriol and spirits of wine into the bleeding sockets and then set fire to them. Others they took and scalped, and folding the skin down over the eyes and nose, left their victims exposed to the burning sun,"²⁰ This is only one of the instances which the British correspondent gives, but it is sufficient to show the grave import of events in Volhynia and Podolia.

J. H. HARLEY.

[To be continued.]

²⁰ See Bullock, *Polish Experiences*, pp. 154-157.

THE SALE OF ALASKA¹

THE resumption of American diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union inspires an interest in the intercourse of the United States with the Russia of the Romanovs, of which comparatively little has been written, except of a "popular" variety.

Historically, the subject that has occupied the centre of the stage in Russian-American diplomacy seems to have been the negotiation by which Alaska was ceded to the United States²—an incident in which William H. Seward, then Secretary of State, played the central part. Indeed, so closely has Seward's name been interwoven with the purchase of the territory, that the parts of the other players in this significant event in American diplomacy have remained obscured. Highly enlightening phases of the Alaska cession could be framed around various personalities of post-Civil-War Washington. Undoubtedly the most absorbing of these stories would be that detailing the part in the affair of Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi.³

The agitation for the acquisition of the Tsar's American possessions has been mentioned as originating with Walker, who, as early as 1845, is said to have urged President Polk to secure them.⁴ Having deserted Martin Van Buren in his fight for a presidential nomination in the Democratic Convention of 1844, primarily because he was not "right" on the Texas annexation question, Walker, then a United States Senator from Mississippi, steered his large personal support to Polk. For this service he was tendered the post of Secretary of the Treasury in the new administration.⁵ In accepting the cabinet portfolio in March, 1845, he maintained in

¹ For aid in research in the preparation of this paper, the present writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professor Harry J. Carman, of Columbia University. The suggestions of Professor J. Fred Rippy, of Duke University, and of Professor Charles C. Tansill, of the American University, Washington, D.C., are deeply appreciated.

² A Soviet historian has referred to the sale of Alaska to the United States as "an unpardonable blunder." Serebrovsky, A., "Aliaska," *Krasnaya Nov*, March, 1929, p. 169.

³ For scholarly accounts of Walker, see Dodd, W. E., *Robert J. Walker, Imperialist* (Lynchburg, Va., 1915); Jordan, H. Donaldson, "A Politician of Expansion: Robert J. Walker," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIX, 362-381.

⁴ Callahan, James M., *The Alaska Purchase and Americo-Canadian Relations* (Morgantown, West Va., 1908), pp. 3-4; Thomas, B. P., *Russo-American Relations, 1815-1867* (Baltimore, 1930), p. 145.

⁵ Dodd, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; Learned, H. B., "The Sequence of Appointments to Polk's Original Cabinet . . .," *American Historical Review* (October, 1924), XXX, 78-79; Claiborne, J. F. H., *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State* (Jackson, Miss., 1880), I, 420-421, 451-452.

later years, he wrote Polk that the expulsion of the English from the Oregon country was vital, for it "would leave no European power upon our Pacific coast except Russia, whose well-known friendship for us would, it is hoped, induce her then to cede to us her North American territory"⁶

Before accepting the claim of Walker to agitation for Alaska at such an early date, it is well to consider that no evidence has been uncovered thus far to warrant this contention, beyond the word of Walker himself; and he wrote this in 1868, under circumstances which will be recounted in the following pages. Although Walker's old crony in Mississippi politics, Senator William M. Gwin,⁷ of California, was the first to engage in activities to bring Alaska into the American domain, the Mississippi politician was close on his heels. There is adequate evidence that Walker was agitating for the purchase of the territory in 1863.⁸ But it was Walker's work after Secretary of State Seward's treaty with Russia was ratified by the United States Senate in 1867, that is of major significance.

According to the traditions of American diplomacy, approval of the Alaska purchase treaty by the Senate⁹ should have closed the issue. The necessary legislation in the House of Representatives to appropriate the sum of \$7,200,000, with which to pay Russia, was supposedly a foregone conclusion. But it became apparent long before the close of the year 1867 that the payment was to be strenuously resisted.¹⁰

Undoubtedly the two most troublesome snags set up against the Appropriation Bill in Congress were the tactics of ardent anti-expansionists, and the intrigues of certain members who were pressing

⁶ *Letter of Robert J. Walker on the Acquisition of Alaska, St. Thomas, and St. John* (Washington, 1869), *Washington Daily Morning Chronicle*, 28, 29, 30 January, 1868.

⁷ Matrosov, E., "Sudby Byvshikh Russko-Amerikaniskikh Vladenii Pod Vladichestvom Respubliki Soedinennikh Shtatov," *Istoricheskii Vestnik* (St. Petersburg, 1902), vol. 90, p. 712; McPherson, Hallie M., "The Interest of William McKendree Gwin in the Purchase of Alaska, 1854-1861," *Pacific Historical Review*, III, 34 ff.

⁸ William S. Hodge to Sumner, 30 March, 1867, Charles Sumner Papers, Widener Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; Clay to Seward, 10 May, 1867, MSS., Department of State, Russia, Despatches; Statement of Robert J. Walker in *House Report*, no. 35, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, serial no. 1388, p. 19.

⁹ *Executive Journal, U.S. Senate*, 1867, XV, 675.

¹⁰ The first two American scholars to reveal the interesting aspects connected with the Alaska payment were the late Professors Dunning and Golder. See Dunning, William A., "Paying for Alaska," *Political Science Quarterly*, XXVII, 385 ff.; Golder, Frank A., "The Purchase of Alaska," *American Historical Review*, XXV, 411 ff.

a shady litigation against the Russian government known as the Perkins Claim. In November the House of Representatives had approved a resolution sponsored by Cadwalader C. Washburn, of Wisconsin, which emphasised the inexpediency of territorial acquisitions and placed the House on record as being "under no obligation to vote money to pay for any such purchase unless there is greater present necessity for the same than now exists."¹¹ To the advocates of the Alaska Treaty the sympathisers with Perkins in Congress were also most distressing. Led by General Benjamin F. Butler, Member for Massachusetts and best known for his notorious military administration of New Orleans during the War, the Congressional satellites of this fraudulent claim were insisting that the House refuse to vote money to pay for the territory unless the Russian government would agree to "settle" with the widowed Mrs. Perkins for fire-arms alleged to have been furnished to the Russian Army by her late husband. In introducing a resolution, which would withhold no less than \$500,000 from the Alaska payment for "the widow," Butler, in an eloquent appeal, had informed his colleagues in Congress that Mrs. Perkins was pleading with them: "If you are going to send \$7,200,000 out of the country, hold enough of it back for me and my orphan children, that I may get justice done me against this autocrat (the Tsar)."¹²

Seward was naturally alarmed. He feared, and with good cause, that this renaissance of anti-expansionism, as expressed in the passage of Washburn's resolution, would wreck his programme of territorial aggrandisement. Butler and other calculating Congressmen, suddenly concerned for widows and orphans, by no means made the situation simpler. The predicament was doubly embarrassing to Seward, inasmuch as ratifications of the treaty had been exchanged with the Russian Government and the territory had been formally handed over to the authorised American commissioner in October.¹³ At this time the Secretary of State was reported by an observing newspaper correspondent to be "wonderfully troubled."¹⁴

The Russian Minister at Washington, Baron Stoeckl, was likewise becoming decidedly uneasy. The matter of payment for Alaska was intensely personal to him, for he anticipated a reward from his government should he succeed in foisting the unwanted territory

¹¹ *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, 1st Session, p. 792.

¹² *Ibid.*, 40th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 4052-53; also *Appendix*, p. 403.

¹³ Ludecke, Edward, "Our First Troops in Alaska," *Alaska-Yukon Magazine*, IV, 146; Bloodgood, E., "Eight Months at Sitka," *Overland Monthly*, II, 175 ff.

¹⁴ *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, 23 December, 1867.

on the United States.¹⁵ In September, Stoeckl, in an official despatch, had confided his anxiety to Seward regarding the tactics of the advocates of Perkins in Congress.¹⁶

The outcome of a conference between Seward and the Russian Minister was a decision to enlist the aid of outside influences. And the principal ally drafted for service was Robert J. Walker. Seward had the utmost respect for the Mississippian, whose hunger for land was as insatiable as his own. "If his bold and enlightened statemanship could have ruled in his time," so the Secretary of State eulogised Walker, "the republic would now be the continent of North America."¹⁷

At the time when he was approached with the proposal to carry on the fight for the Alaska Appropriation Bill, Walker was embarrassed financially and threatened with the loss of his Washington estate, "Woodley."¹⁸ As if to add to his despair, his daughter had been stricken with an ailment which necessitated costly treatment. He had even appealed to the noted Washington banker, W. W. Corcoran, to aid him in his economic distress.¹⁹ This unhappy personal situation, added to his jingo ideals that called for a greater portion of the western hemisphere over which the American eagle could spread its wings, had recently induced him to accept the offer of the Danish representative to influence public sentiment in favour of Seward's Treaty with Denmark for the purchase of the West Indian islands of St. Thomas and St. John; a document that lay collecting dust in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.²⁰ Accordingly, Walker was in a receptive mood when he was approached by Stoeckl, working on Seward's suggestion. The former Secretary of the Treasury readily agreed to draw the sword in the parliamentary struggle for Alaska.

Walker set to work immediately. By the close of January, 1868, he had completed his first effort to stimulate sentiment. He prepared a lengthy brief in which were condensed the arguments for the Russian and Danish Treaties. It was printed in the

¹⁵ Golder, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

¹⁶ Stoeckl to Seward, September [no date], 1867, MSS., Department of State, Notes from Russian Legation.

¹⁷ Savidge, Eugene C., *Life of Benjamin Harris Brewster* (Philadelphia, 1891), p. 16.

¹⁸ Walker to Corcoran, 16 April, 1867, W. W. Corcoran Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁹ Walker to Corcoran, 30 April, 1867, *Ibid.*

²⁰ Tansill, Charles C., *The Purchase of the Danish West Indies* (Baltimore, 1932), pp. 126-127.

Washington *Daily Morning Chronicle* in three instalments.²¹ For the use of his newspaper, John W. Forney, Editor of the *Chronicle*, received no less than \$30,000, according to both President Andrew Johnson,²² and his private secretary, Colonel Moore.²³ John Bigelow, intimate friend of Seward, recorded in his diary at the time that the Secretary of State confided to him that Forney's price was \$20,000.²⁴

In addition to appearing in the *Chronicle*, Walker's brief was published in pamphlet form, under the title *Letter of Hon. R. J. Walker on the Acquisition of Alaska, St. Thomas and St. John*. In this piece of work, Walker saw fit to devote most of his space to the Danish Treaty, for he had ascertained that the chances in Congress for Denmark's West Indian islands were less promising than those for Alaska. In his arguments in favour of the appropriation of \$7,200,000, with which to settle with Russia, Walker dwelt on the pleasant climate and the richness of the natural products of Alaska. "It must be the great fur country of the world; it abounds in gold and copper." The ultimate struggle for command of the world, argued Walker, would be decided on the Pacific. The acquisition of Alaska, with the Aleutian Islands, carried America half-way to China and Japan. The cession could be opposed only by those narrow-minded individuals and cranks who would have liked to see the Ohio River the western boundary of the United States.²⁵

Other articles that appeared in the *Chronicle*, mostly from Walker's pen judging by the style and composition, made Alaska particularly alluring. There were in the territory countless valuable mines and an overabundance of fisheries.²⁶ White men were there collecting gold "by the handful," and the weather at Sitka was "charming."²⁷ By July many intrepid American pioneers were forsaking California and rushing to the Alaskan gold "diggings."²⁸ Then there was to be considered the extension of Christianity to China and Japan—traditionally a favourite argument for the

²¹ Washington *Daily Morning Chronicle*, 28, 29, 30 January, 1868.

²² Memorandum, undated, in President Johnson's handwriting, Andrew Johnson Papers, Library of Congress, cited in Dunning, *op. cit.*, p. 386, and in Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-160.

²³ William G. Moore Diary MS., undated, Library of Congress.

²⁴ John Bigelow Diary MS., 22 September, 1868, New York Public Library.

²⁵ *Letter of Hon. R. J. Walker on the Acquisition of Alaska, St. Thomas and St. John* (Washington, 1869).

²⁶ Washington *Daily Morning Chronicle*, 25 June, 1868.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*

²⁸ Washington *Daily Morning Chronicle*, 1 July, 1868.

expansionists. "Commerce," the *Chronicle* emphasised, "like St. John in the Wilderness, will be the precursor, but the Bible and Christianity will soon follow."²⁹

Walker did not confine his activity to the newspaper columns. Through long experience in political life at Washington, he had a clear conception of the depths to which he might be forced to submerge if he were to achieve his objective; well he knew that the ethical standards and criteria of private life were often ruled out of politics. The pen was a mighty weapon, but tactics of a less academic nature than coming elegant phrases would have to be employed. And since his freedom from scruple was on the same titanic level as the rest of his intellectual complexion, his conscience did not intrude on his plans. He invaded the hall of the House of Representatives where, in his capacity as former Senator, he was permitted access to the floor—as was the rule in those days.³⁰ He was particularly active on the floor of the House during the days when the Alaska legislation was debated and voted.³¹ The Appropriation Bill was finally passed on 14 July, 1868.³²

While the parliamentary duel on the legislation was being fought bitterly—with the Alaska advocates pitted against a coalition of Washburn's anti-expansionists and Butler's Perkins brigade—another player entered the arena, Uriah H. Painter.

Painter was the Washington Correspondent of the *New York Sun* and the *Philadelphia Enquirer*. His deep interest was awakened when he heard rumours that Baron Stoeckl was to distribute an attractive lobby fund and had retained Walker as "counsel" to assist in steering the Alaska Bill over the dangerous legislative reefs and shoals that imperilled its course in Congress. Of Painter's motives in rudely intruding on the understanding between Walker and Stoeckl, two accounts are available—that of Walker and that of Painter.

According to Walker, his law partner, the former Representative, Frederick P. Stanton, of Tennessee, came to him one day while the Alaska debates were raging and declared that he had received a message from Painter who had heard that the Russian Minister had engaged him, Walker, as counsel; that Painter demanded of

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 13 July, 1868.

³⁰ For a denunciation by one Congressman of allowing Walker and other former members on the floors of Congress, see *Providence Daily Journal*, 27 February, 1869.

³¹ *Baltimore Sun*, 15 July, 1868; *Providence Daily Journal*, 15 July, 1868; *New York Sun*, 15 July, 1868.

³² *Congressional Globe*, 40th, 2nd Session, p. 4055.

Stanton that he be "employed" to use his influence with the newspapers and Congress on behalf of the Bill. Walker's story, given under oath, is as follows :—³³

Mr. Stanton told me that he was requested by this Mr. Painter to inform me that he could influence the Press to a great extent for or against the Bill; that he could control the votes of a good many members for or against it (which I did not believe) and that he understood that the Russian Government had placed in my hands any amount of money to aid the passage of this Bill. I told Mr. Stanton to tell him that I had no money for any such purpose. . . . Mr. Stanton called upon me again and told me that he had delivered my answer, and that Mr. Painter seemed to be quite angry about it, and had said that if I did not employ him he would defeat the Bill. . . . I became a little excited—perhaps more so than I ought—and I told Mr. Stanton to tell him that I had no money for any such purpose, . . . that if any money were used in that way to carry the Bill, I should retire from the case altogether, and that if he, Painter, called at my office and made such a proposition to me, I should kick him out of it.

Painter, for his part, gave a decidedly different version of the incident. Portraying himself as a public-spirited champion of reform and relentless foe of corruption in political life, Painter made the following statement :—³⁴

I heard that Mr. Walker was interested in it at the time; some one told me that he was writing articles that were published daily in the *Chronicle*, and that he was engaged in advocating the matter; and I knew that he was a man that would not do a thing of that kind without money. . . . I asked him [Stanton] . . . if Walker was not in it. He said he did not know. I said I guessed he was and told him the first time he met Walker to put it right to him and see if he would acknowledge it. I thought it was a big swindle, and that they were running it through with a bold hand. . . . I had attacked it [the Alaska Treaty] from the day the Treaty came to the Senate, as one of Seward's jobs. . . . I told several members of Congress that all this money was not going to Russia, and I thought if I could get at those who were at the bottom of the affair it would do some good.

Of the two accounts, there is little from which to draw a confident conclusion, or to decide whether Walker or Painter was the more careless purveyor of the facts. Walker's version seems the more authentic, although some of his allegations must be accepted with

³³ *House Report*, no. 35, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, serial No. 1388, p. 18.

³⁴ *House Report*, no. 35, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 38-9.

reservations—particularly that in which he declared: "If any money were used in that way to carry the Bill, I should retire from the case altogether." One of the more reliable Washington Correspondents of the period, in writing his memoirs, was also inclined to discredit Painter's story. He quoted Painter as saying: "I have some friends in Congress—not to mention my two newspapers, both daily—who are opposed to this appropriation. But if Mr. Walker will retain me I will be able to influence them to vote for it."³⁵

And valiantly did Painter endeavour to defeat the Alaska Bill on the eve of its passage through Congress. He wrote a despatch to one of his newspapers, the *New York Sun*, in which he reported that Seward, in his programme of expansion, was completing negotiations with Denmark for the purchase of Greenland and Iceland³⁶ Painter made sure of sending this absurd news to his journal while the temper of the House of Representatives was at white heat over the issue whether it shared the treaty-making power equally with the President and the Senate. In fact, on the very day when Representative Delano, of Ohio, proposed a resolution which expressly denied to the President and the Senate the right to acquire territory, "except by the will of the nation, given by express grant or implied acquiescence."³⁷ Painter likewise furnished to Washburn, who still led the anti-expansionist offensive in the Lower House of Congress, this fictitious story that Seward was about to announce the purchase of Denmark's two polar colonies.³⁸ The *Sun* Correspondent also attacked Walker personally in his columns shortly before the approval of the legislation. One of his despatches to his newspaper read: "Robert J. Walker is in charge of the lobby at work to secure the Alaska appropriation. He appears boldly upon the floor of both Houses plying his vocation."³⁹

The controversy between Walker and Painter subsided with the passage of the Alaska Bill. But it was not the end of the Correspondent's warfare against the former Secretary of the Treasury: merely an armistice adopted by Painter until further developments.

On 1 August Baron Stoeckl was presented by the Treasury Department with a warrant for \$7,200,000 in payment for Alaska. On the same day the Russian Minister endorsed the warrant in

³⁵ Townsend, George A., *Washington, Outside and Inside* (Hartford, Conn., 1874), p. 516.

³⁶ *New York Sun*, 1 July, 1868.

³⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 3616.

³⁸ *House Report*, no. 35, *op. cit.*, p. 39; *New York Sun*, 2 July, 1868.

³⁹ *New York Sun*, 20 July, 1868.

favour of his financial agent, George W. Riggs⁴⁰ A noted Washington banker and partner of Corcoran, Riggs had been on terms of friendship and intimacy with Walker ever since the old days of the Polk administration.⁴¹ In return for the warrant, Riggs drew from the Treasury in Washington transfer checks on the New York sub-treasury. On 1 August he drew out two checks for \$7,000,000 and \$100,000; on the 3rd, one for \$25,000; on the 4th, another for \$35,000; the rest of the money was drawn from the Treasury by Riggs during the following month.⁴²

Estimates vary as to the amount that Walker received for his lobbying labours in support of Alaska. On receiving the money from Riggs, Walker merely wrote to Corcoran on 7 August: "When the money was handed me by Riggs, I requested him to write and inform you of my good fortune"⁴³ Secretary Seward confided to both President Johnson⁴⁴ and John Bigelow⁴⁵ that Walker's price was \$20,000. Later Walker himself admitted: "After paying . . . \$5,000 in greenbacks to Mr. Stanton I had remaining \$21,000 in gold, and about \$2,300 in greenbacks which I retained on the request of Baron Stoeckl as an additional fee."⁴⁶

As soon as the "fee" was paid to him, Walker, with gold and greenbacks in his pockets, proceeded to New York. There a sad fate overtook him. In some mysterious manner his pocket was

⁴⁰ Treasury Warrant no. 927, MSS., General Accounting Office, U.S. Treasury Department, Washington, D.C. The present writer was permitted to examine this original warrant for the Alaska payment, with Baron Stoeckl's endorsement in favour of Riggs, underneath which is Riggs's endorsement, under date of 1 August, 1868. The fact that there is a single warrant for \$7,200,000 would seem to contradict the statement made in 1912 to Franklin K. Lane by Charles Glover, president of the Riggs National Bank and once office employee in the banking firm of Corcoran & Riggs, to the effect that two warrants for the Alaska purchase passed through his hands: one for \$5,800,000 and the other for \$1,400,000. If Lane understood Glover correctly, two explanations suggest themselves: 1. That the two supposed warrants which Glover handled in his duties as a subordinate in the Corcoran & Riggs office were some other form of financial transfers used in the firm's system of book-keeping. 2. That the book-keeping in the Treasury Department was conducted in such a way as to cover up some unusual method of effecting the payment to Russia. See *Letters of Franklin K. Lane* (New York and Boston, 1922), p. 260.

⁴¹ The late Professor Justin H. Smith, in his classical work, *The War with Mexico* (New York, 1919), II, 488, emphasises Walker's "too intimate" relations with the firm of Corcoran & Riggs.

⁴² *House Report*, No. 35, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁴³ Walker to Corcoran, 7 August, 1868, W. W. Corcoran Papers.

⁴⁴ William G. Moore Diary MS., undated; Dunning, *op. cit.*, p. 386; Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁴⁵ John Bigelow Diary MS., *op. cit.*, 22 September, 1868.

⁴⁶ *House Report*, no. 35, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

"picked"—and \$16,000 worth of gold Treasury certificates were stolen from him.⁴⁷

In all New York that night no one must have slept worse than Walker. The police set to work immediately, and within a few days the thieves were detected in Buffalo and brought back to New York.⁴⁸ Naturally Walker was in an ecstasy of relief at recovering the certificates. But, determined that the episode must end right there if publicity were to be avoided, he declined to prosecute the criminals.⁴⁹ The imagination may well conceive how the pickpockets were startled at this paternal kindness. So confused and bewildered was a leading New York daily at Walker's refusal to press any charge against the thieves, that it printed the story under the headline: "A Police Case With A Mystery."⁵⁰

Meanwhile, Painter had not been idle in Washington. From the time when Walker departed on his ill-fated trip to New York, the Correspondent devoted time and energy to peering into the more informal details of the manner in which the Alaska payment had been made. When word came from New York of the robbery of Walker's Treasury certificates, Painter redoubled his efforts. He testified later:—⁵¹

I met Mr. Stanton and asked him if he knew of Mr. Walker's pocket being picked in New York. He said he did not. I then related to him the circumstances, that I had seen it in one of the New York papers. He said it was all news to him. I asked him what he supposed Mr. Walker was using these \$5,000 gold checks about, and if he did not think it was some of the Alaska money held by him. He said he did not know.

His suspicions aroused more than ever by the strange ignorance of Walker's law associate, Painter hastened to the Treasury Department and sought Treasurer Francis E. Spinner. Painter's story, which corresponds in major detail with the sequence of events, may be quoted in part:—⁵²

I went in there [to the Treasury Department] one day and asked him [Spinner] if he could inform me in regard to the time that the money was drawn from the Treasury for the payment of the Alaska matter, stating that I had noticed in a cable dispatch that about five million only of it had gone through London to Russia; that

⁴⁷ New York *Herald*, 27 August, 1868.

⁴⁸ Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, 25 August, 1868.

⁴⁹ New York *Herald*, 27 August, 1868.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *House Report*, no. 35, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁵² *House Report*, no. 35, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

I had never believed the thing was an honest legitimate transaction ; and that I would like to know when the money was drawn from us , and, as it was about six weeks or two months before its reception in London, I thought it had taken a long time after the money was appropriated for it to get there. He replied, " I have been expecting for some time that that thing would be stirred up " I said, " Why ? " He replied, " The day that the papers were signed, after the money was appropriated, Mr. Riggs went to Mr. McCulloch [the Secretary of the Treasury] and told him that he must have \$200,000 that day in currency, and wanted Mr. McCulloch to let him have it in gold. Mr. McCulloch said that he would have to see me I at first declined to have anything to do with it, but subsequently, on their agreeing to leave the gold and to draw out currency instead of gold, I thought there was no risk in that, as it was an accommodation to them and to the Russian Government. I had not thought so much about it at the time as I have since, and so I concluded to let them have the currency." And he continued : " Mr. McCulloch has been very anxious since to know what became of this \$200,000, and where it was distributed." I asked him, " Why did they not sell their gold and get the currency in that way ? " He replied, " They were in too big a hurry. Congress had just adjourned and they wanted it right off that day." I then asked him when the rest was drawn, and he sent for one of the clerks and referred me to him—a Mr. Tuttle. I went in with Mr. Tuttle, and we got out the checks showing that it was drawn out in various sums, from the 1st of August to the 16th of September.

After completing this diligent inquiry into the disposition of the money, the indefatigable Painter proceeded to enlist the aid of General Butler. The latter, it will be recalled, had led the Perkins forces in Congress in the attempt to withhold a portion of the Alaska funds ; Baron Stoeckl had named the Massachusetts soldier-politician as the holder of \$30,000 worth of shares in that unsavoury claim.⁵³ Therefore, Painter believed, he would lend an eager ear to the sensational news. Accordingly, the Correspondent dispatched a confidential letter to Butler, who was at his home in Massachusetts. The letter read thus :—⁵⁴

I have in my possession some facts in connection with the corruption by which the Treasury was robbed of the \$7,200,000 to pay for Alaska and if you desire will show you how to uncover the biggest lobby swindle ever " put up " in Washington. The men who got the huge slices are in great trepidation at the leaking out

⁵³ Golder, *op. cit.*, p. 422 n.

⁵⁴ Painter to Butler, 27 November, 1868, Benjamin F. Butler Papers, Library of Congress.

of the fact that only \$5,000,000 went to Russia. *Secy. McCulloch* is somewhat disgusted because, after loaning Riggs \$200,000 in currency to make some of his payments for the Baron, he did not get a "thank you, sir." "Little Bobby Walker" who wrote against and worked against impeachment and ran the Chase movement got \$20,000 gold. When will you be here?

In emphasising Walker's part in opposing the impeachment of President Johnson and his sponsorship of Chief Justice Chase's fight for the Democratic presidential nomination, Painter was appealing to deeply rooted prejudices of the extreme Republican, Butler, who had led the fight for impeachment and had violently assailed Chase's ambitions to occupy the White House. From his Massachusetts home Butler answered: "My dear Painter: Will be there on Monday. Yours, B.F.B."⁵⁵

To narrate what occurred when Painter and Butler met in Washington, would be only to conjecture. But it soon became evident that the adroit New Englander, despite his hostility to Walker, had no intention of pressing for an investigation by Congress, as was obviously desired by Painter. An associate in the Perkins Claim revealed that Butler, for a financial consideration, had deserted his colleagues in the Perkins camp; that in the last days of debate on the Alaska Appropriation Bill he had been giving mere lip service in a sham battle on behalf of the Claim.⁵⁶ If this be true, it is scant wonder that Butler was loth to listen to Painter.

Eluded by Butler, Painter was not yet vanquished. Determined to give his findings the widest publicity, he sent to the *New York Sun* a lengthy and detailed account of his suspicions. He related that on the day when the major portion of the Alaska money was drawn from the Treasury by Riggs, over \$200,000 had been divided among certain "patriots" who had been most eloquent in declaring that the national honour would be degraded if Russia remained unpaid. Painter did not mention Walker by name, but in the despatch to his paper he alluded to the Mississippian in the following words:—⁵⁷

An old gentleman of some distinction, who sat upon the platform of Tammany Hall when Seymour was nominated, was put in to the extent of \$20,000 in gold, yet it is doubtful if he really influenced the vote of a single member of the House. When Congress meets, the whole question will doubtless be investigated.

⁵⁵ Copy of Butler's reply, in his handwriting, on reverse side of, *ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Washington Evening Star*, 28 January, 1869, *New York Herald*, 27 January, 1869.

⁵⁷ *New York Sun*, 30 November, 1868.

Painter was seeking to call down on Walker the wrath of civic reformers and Republicans alike in linking him with the Tammany element of the Democratic party, merely because the former Secretary of the Treasury had finally supported Governor Horatio Seymour, of New York, for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Other newspaper correspondents took up Painter's cry of "corruption." One in particular, Richard J. Hinton, who conducted a column in the Worcester *Daily Spy* under the appropriate *nom de plume* "Observer," wrote a particularly lengthy account on 7 December, shortly after the convening of Congress. Walker had received a *douceur* of \$25,000 in gold and "some of the Riggs \$300,000 appears to have passed into his hands";⁵⁸ so Hinton alleged, in giving the substance of "rumours" that had been heard from the lips of a certain newspaper correspondent in Washington.

Although Painter's revelations in the New York *Sun* of 30 November had preceded the appearance of those of Hinton by a full week, it was the latter's Worcester *Daily Spy* article that directly inspired an investigation by Congress. Ironically enough, it was the saintly dignitary, Representative Fernando Wood, whose political virtue had been deeply stained by a term as Mayor of New York city, who sponsored the motion for the inquiry.⁵⁹

The investigation into the Alaska payment was conducted by the Committee on Public Expenditures of the House of Representatives.⁶⁰ Walker was summoned to appear on 17 December. Painter, fearing the worst, now assured his readers: "He (Walker) says he will charge the attacks upon him for his part in the case to envy of those members and newspapers that failed to get a slice."⁶¹

When Walker gave his evidence, he suspected the whole "misunderstanding" to be the work of certain individuals who desired to share in his "counsel fee." As for his services on behalf of the legislation, Walker testified:—⁶²

' Well, I told him [Baron Stoeckl] I had never lobbied Congress in my life, and that I never meant to, and that if he wished me to lobby Congress generally I must decline. He said . . . his object was to get me to argue and discuss the question as I had done successfully many others, to print pamphlets, and write articles for the newspapers, presenting all the arguments in favour of the

⁵⁸ Worcester *Daily Spy*, 7 December, 1868.

⁵⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, p. 75.

⁶⁰ The proceedings of this investigation have been drawn on by the present writer only in so far as they relate to Walker.

⁶¹ New York *Sun*, 14 December, 1868.

⁶² *House Report*, no. 35, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 14.

appropriation. He said he wished me also to confer with Mr. Sumner (Senator from Massachusetts) and General Banks (Member of Congress from Massachusetts), who were warmly supporting the measure. I told him if that was all that was required of me, I could consider it entirely professional, and that I would do it. After some other conversation he proposed to pay me for such services, as I have stated, \$20,000 in gold, to which I assented. He was good enough afterwards voluntarily to increase that sum. . . . He paid me in the first place through Mr. Riggs, on a gold check which Mr. Riggs gave me on his house in New York for \$26,000. . . . After paying the \$5,000 in greenbacks to Mr. Stanton I had remaining \$21,000 in gold, and about \$2,300 in greenbacks, which I retained on the request of Baron Stoeckl as an additional fee.

On 2 February of the new year, Stanton was called to give evidence. Naturally, he corroborated Walker's statements in the main, adding that Painter had desired to be engaged to assist in securing favourable action on the Alaska appropriation; that he and Walker would have nothing to do with the correspondent.⁶³

When Painter gave evidence, his story was an emphatic denial that he had sought to be associated in the lobby. He avowed :—⁶⁴

I never dreamed of such a thing; I couldn't take such employment because, when the matter first came into the Senate, I put myself fairly and squarely against it; and several despatches I sent to Philadelphia and New York, assailing it as a job, were cut down by the editors as too severe. I never could have gone into the matter without destroying my honour and reputation.

After which testimony, the *Sun*, voicing its confidence in its Washington correspondent, adorned its first page with the headline : "The Conspiracy Against Mr. Painter,"⁶⁵ while Painter himself assured his readers : "Your correspondent will be completely vindicated."⁶⁶

It cannot be said that the members of the Alaska investigating committee were particularly enthusiastic in their conduct of the hearings and in the summoning of key witnesses. Their printed report is truly a unique document and is remarkable chiefly for what it does not show. With the exception of Walker and Stanton, it did not tar with a broad stripe any of those obviously involved in the bounty of the generous Tsar. As one reads the entire report,

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-5.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁶⁵ *New York Sun*, 8 February, 1869.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 9 February, 1869.

numbering forty-one pages of contradictory charges, denials, and counter-charges, one is quite apt to agree with the leading Washington daily that summed up the results of the investigation in the flippant words :—⁶⁷

What Mr. Stanton says Mr. Painter said—What Mr. Walker said about what Mr. Stanton said Mr. Painter said—What Mr. Painter said when Mr. Stanton said what Mr. Walker said about what Mr. Stanton said Mr. Painter said.

Certainly no other episode in Walker's crowded political career summarises better than the Alaska affair the pith and marrow of some of his principles and characteristics ; the union of love for gold and country, intellectual gifts, recklessness and carelessness in money matters—all combining to result in a dramatic scandal in the last year of his life. Engaged in other work during his crowded public and professional career, Walker emerged in a happier position. His manipulation of the Alaska affair, his political swan-song before passing to the other side, was the final application of careless genius in the service of its profession. Within a year following his humiliation in the witness box, death overtook him—but not before he managed to grind out a pamphlet advising the Canadians to crawl from beneath the claw of the treacherous British lion and come under the more desirable wing of the American eagle ⁶⁸

The rôle of Walker in the Alaska purchase suggests certain historical conjectures. If the Appropriation Bill had failed of enactment, if Painter had succeeded in his efforts to defeat the legislation, and Alaska had remained a Russian colony to this day, what would have been the consequences arising from a Soviet base on the mainland of North America? The complications resulting from its close proximity to the Pacific coast territory of the United States would undoubtedly have placed Russian-American relations in an utterly different diplomatic setting than hitherto, particularly from the fall of the Romanovs to the present day.

Columbia University.

REINHARD H. LUTHIN.

⁶⁷ *Washington Evening Star*, 27 February, 1869.

⁶⁸ *Letter of Hon. Robert J. Walker on the Annexation of Nova Scotia and British America* (Washington, 1869).

OBITUARY

KAREL KRAMÁŘ

THE death of Karel Kramář removes the most eminent of the purely political figures of pre-war Bohemia, a man who for over two decades before the catastrophe was accepted both inside and outside the Habsburg Monarchy as the typical representative of Czech nationalism, and was the leader of the largest Czech party in the Reichsrat at a time when Masaryk belonged to a tiny group of three. Born on 27 December, 1867, at Vysoké, of a wealthy industrialist family, he was educated at the Universities of Prague, Strasbourg and Berlin and at the École des Sciences Politiques in Paris, and already at an early age decided to devote himself to a political career. Thus, in the early 'eighties—the period following upon the abandonment of Czech abstention, and marked by such preliminary concessions on the part of the Taaffe Government as the establishment of a Czech University at Prague, side by side with the ancient but long since Germanised Caroline University—he joined with Kaizl and Masaryk in forming the so-called Realist party. This curious partnership was dissolved in 1890 when Kramář and Kaizl joined the dominant “Young Czech” party, which, drawing its strength from the new and increasingly prosperous bourgeoisie, was rapidly driving the all too conservative “Old Czechs” into the background: while Masaryk preferred to concentrate once more upon academic studies and did not re-enter the political arena for a decade and a half. In 1896, when Kaizl accepted the portfolio of Finance in the Thun Cabinet and henceforth followed more and more a policy of compromise with Vienna and of piecemeal concession, punctuated by a positive mafia of intrigue, Kramář took his place as the outspoken leader of the Young Czechs and held it unchallenged till the outbreak of war. This he owed not merely to his perfervid patriotism, party skill and eloquence and uncompromising tactics, but to his capacity for envisaging the Czech problem in its wider Austrian and European setting. On the one hand he accepted the political *status quo* and believed in the survival of Austria as a Great Power, but looked upon the Dual System as a passing aberration which unduly elevated Hungary at the expense of Bohemia, and long believed in the possibility of reconstituting the Monarchy as a predominantly Slav State. This aim, he recognised, could not be attained without a reversal of the alliance between Vienna and Berlin: and it followed logically that he desired to substitute an Austro-Russian alliance, no longer on the old basis of

parallel action in the Balkans and the defence of Conservative principles in Europe, but on the basis of a Slavdom emancipated from German control or influence. From the standpoint of internal politics he once summed up his attitude as follows :—" Any weakening of Austria means *rebus sic stantibus*, a strengthening of the influence of Germany, but for our people [i.e. the Czechs] the weakening of its importance and the strengthening of those who dream of nothing else save how to subject us to a ruthless régime of Germanisation."

This reliance upon Russia as the greatest of Slav States, and a keen sympathy for Russian traditions—alike cultural and political—coloured his outlook throughout life, and underlay the doctrine of " Neo-Slavism," which he propounded so eloquently as a modernised version of the old Panslav ideal.

Nor was this a mere theory eloquently propounded in set speeches : it took the highly practical form of Slav Congresses, at Prague in 1908, at St. Petersburg in 1909, and at Sofia in 1910, at each of which Kramář was the moving spirit. But for the romantic Kramář there was no escape from the horns of a dilemma which the more realist Masaryk set himself from the outset to avoid. As a genuine democrat at home, the spokesman of a democratic party and nation, Kramář found himself inevitably relying for the achievement of his programme upon the might of Tsarist Russia, and frowning upon both Pole and Ukrainian as traitors to the Slav cause, because their utter repression by Russia rendered them disinclined to attend Slav Congresses side by side with such rabid reactionaries as Bobrinsky or Spiridovich. Needless to say, his activities were looked on with extreme disfavour by the Ballplatz and the Emperor, who rightly attached a still greater importance to the periodical speeches on foreign affairs which he delivered at the Austrian Delegation. Here he spoke to an international forum, and even his enemies could not gainsay the fact that his was the voice of a statesman and not a mere politician. His Russophil leanings were still further strengthened by his marriage with a Russian lady, Nadezhda Abrikosov, daughter of a wealthy Moscow manufacturer : they built themselves a villa in Crimea, which of course went the way of all villas in the Russian Revolution.

The extent of Kramář's Russian hypnosis became apparent on the outbreak of war. It is quite true that he had never played the traitor to Austria or worked in those pre-war years for her overthrow : he had hoped to save her from ruin on those federal lines which he loyally accepted as the heir of Palacký, and he was far too wedded

to the ancient State Rights of the Bohemian Crown (on which he wrote more than one valuable, if highly controversial, essay¹), ever to propound a revolutionary or separatist policy. If the great decision had been in his power, he would have left Bohemia with her own historic identity (and not neglecting her Slovak kinsmen) inside the framework of the ancient Habsburg Monarchy—little as he or any Czech really cared for a House that had for five centuries shown its detestation of them. But all his warnings had fallen on deaf ears, and now that the catastrophe which he had foreseen and feared was upon Europe, he was content to wait passively until the tramp of Cossack hoofs sounded on the pavement of Olmütz and Brünn and Prague itself. While an uninformed public opinion in England talked glibly of the Russian steamroller, Kramář out of the fulness of his knowledge and political illusions drew the same false conclusion. He was not in the least disturbed by the Tsarist manifestos to the Czech nation, or by the crass incomprehension shown by the Russian occupying authorities in Galicia, and was perfectly prepared to welcome a Russian Grand Duke as Governor of the Czech lands. If the war had ended with a speedy Russian victory and the overthrow of the Habsburg throne, it is certain that he would have favoured a Russian candidate for the restored crown of St. Wenceslas. A republic probably never entered his mind at that stage.

It was at this point that his political tactics already diverged so radically from those of Masaryk and his pupil Beneš. Masaryk had a no less profound knowledge of Russia than Kramář, but approached all Russian problems from a more realist angle and never surrendered to the glamour of what he himself has well-named "Caesaropapism," or to the mystic emotions of "the Third Rome." He knew the essentially democratic outlook of his own people and foresaw that not all their Slavophil sympathies would prevent the danger of friction with the Tsarist representatives. But above all he felt profoundly convinced that a victorious issue of the war depended not on Russia, but upon the Western democracies and America, and hence that if the Czech cause was to obtain a hearing and achieve decisive results, a long and arduous task of enlightenment must be undertaken in Paris, London, Rome and Washington. And so Masaryk went into exile, while Kramář waited for the Russians to arrive.

Nothing illustrates more clearly the statesmanlike realism of Masaryk than this outlook towards Russia, whom he too loved

¹ See especially *Anmerkungen zur böhmischen Politik* (Vienna 1906).

deeply, but more discerningly. I remember how during our two days' conversation at Rotterdam in October, 1914, he took it for granted that under the then circumstances of Europe, Bohemia could only hope for a separate existence if she had a strong and regenerated Russia upon which she could lean. It was the acid test of Masaryk's and Beneš's courage and adaptability that under the utterly changed circumstances of 1917 and 1918 they achieved the full programme of Czech independence without a Russia to lean against, and have ever since remained true to the democratic western orientation.

During the first two years of war the High Command was all powerful in Austria, and nowhere was its action more repressive than in Bohemia. One by one the Czech leaders were imprisoned or interned, and every expression of the national life rigorously muzzled. It was inevitably against Kramář that the military pundits turned their fiercest wrath, and after long detention in the fortress of Mukačevo he was tried for high treason in Vienna and sentenced to death. The private protests of those Austrian politicians who had not lost their sanity secured a reprieve, but the trial had everywhere been understood as an arraignment of the whole nation in the person of one of its most distinguished sons. A few zealots have criticised Kramář for his cautious reserve and professions of innocence: but this was utterly unfair, and his dignified conduct entrenched him in all Czech hearts as a martyr to the national cause. When in the spring of 1917 the Emperor Charles decided to check the extravagances of militarist rule and to convoke the Austrian Parliament, a free pardon to Kramář was an indispensable preliminary. Then, without the slightest hesitation, he resumed his political work, rechristening his party as "Constitutional Democratic"—a name which was in itself a significant enough programme at a moment when the Cadets and Social Revolutionaries still held power in Petrograd after the first Revolution. But events were less and less taking the course foreseen or desired by Kramář. During his imprisonment the Czech National Council under Masaryk, Beneš and Milan Štefánik had continued its task of establishing close contacts with the West, of identifying its cause with the triumph of democracy and of organising those volunteer armies which eventually proved to be the decisive argument that convinced the Allies. On the other hand Kramář's whole Russian world was crumbling before his eyes, and the growing hopes of Czech independence were marred by his grief and anxiety at the vast tragedy of the Bolshevik revolution and the civil war.

Thanks to the contacts successfully maintained between the secret Mafia in Prague and the National Council in Paris, it proved possible to maintain complete harmony between the Czech movement at home and abroad: and the striking proof of political ripeness which this supplied was in no small degree due to the absolute loyalty and statesmanship of Kramář. When the final crash came in October, 1918, he was universally accepted as the obvious leader of the delegation which went from Prague to Switzerland to meet the delegates of the National Council from Paris and plan the foundations of the new State. Under the circumstances of the day, with Russia eliminated and even hostile, and America taking a lead in the recognition of Czechoslovak and Yugoslav independence, a Republic was the only possible solution, and from this it followed logically that Masaryk, then still in America, should be the first Chief of State, that Beneš should continue, as Foreign Minister, his wonderfully successful co-operation with the Allied leaders, and that the formation of a coalition cabinet of all the talents should be entrusted to Kramář as a man of unrivalled parliamentary experience, and that he should as soon as possible join Beneš as delegate to the Peace Conference. In Paris he played a part of great distinction, but he lacked the suppleness and tactical realism of Beneš, and never felt at his ease or penetrated to the heart of things in that welter of conflicting races and policies. It was not merely that his views were too essentially conservative for so revolutionary and dynamic a situation: once more his peculiar Russian orientation brought him into acute conflict both with his colleagues and with the Supreme Council. To him, Czech independence seemed hardly worth having, if Russia were to go down in chaos. He had every reason to resent the unworthy conduct of the Allied chiefs in Paris towards White and Red Russia alike—glad to see her unrepresented that they might the more easily settle their own affairs, jumping from such foolish amateur experiments as the abortive idea of a Conference with the Bolsheviks on the Turkish island of Prinkipo, to the opposite extreme of military help to Kolchak and Denikin, and then losing all interest and leaving Tsarist and Liberal and Social Revolutionary and Socialist alike to their fate. But Kramář went far beyond the most ambitious designs of White enthusiasts: he advocated Allied intervention, pushed to the uttermost, as nothing less than Europe's bounden duty to the Ally which had risked all in a common cause, and indeed as the only sure means of saving all Europe from Bolshevik infection. He never forgave the Allies for rejecting such a cause

or Beneš for accepting their views, and he never ceased to describe all the subsequent woes of Europe as a just nemesis for their criminal folly. In 1921 he published a bulky volume in Czech and German on this theme (*Die russische Krisis*), which gathers up all the passionate love of Russia which possessed him throughout life, and which ends with the conviction that nations are eternal if they know how to learn from their mistakes, and the simple *credo*, "I believe in the depth of my soul, I know that Russia will live."

Kramář remained in office till July, 1919, waiting in Paris to sign the Treaty of Versailles. But he was already out of sympathy with his colleagues in the Coalition, almost equally in foreign and internal policy: and he allowed himself to be replaced by the Socialist leader Tusar. It is to be remembered that it was Kramář's closest associate in the National Democratic party, Alois Rašín, whose far-sighted financial policy was a decisive factor in stabilising not only Czechoslovakia but the greater part of Central Europe. The whole structure—racial, social and economic—of the new state combined to impose upon the new governing class that curious compromise, the Pětka—a coalition of the five main parties, each forced to sacrifice something of its special programme for the sake of upholding national unity: and Kramář, no doubt somewhat reluctantly, realised the absolute necessity of this, and kept his Party—now reconstituted as the National Democrats—inside the magic circle till as late as 1934. But he never again held office, though he delegated members of his Party to represent it in this or that Cabinet: as time went on, he made less and less concealment of his profound disapproval alike of Masaryk's philosophy of the State and of Beneš's conduct of diplomacy. Of the details it would be painful to write, but he vigorously opposed all the main features of Beneš's policy—his various activities at Geneva, his recognition of the Soviets, his attitude to sanctions, and finally devaluation. But the overwhelming sense of the nation was against him, and never was this more clearly evidenced than when a National Democrat opposed Beneš's candidature for the Presidency in 1935 and only obtained twenty-six votes. Already in 1933 Kramář's health began to fail, and at his last appearance in Parliament he had to be assisted to his place and asked permission to sit as he spoke. To failing health were added heavy financial losses. His wife, whose political views were still more intransigent than his own, but who was untiring in good works and generous sympathy to her less fortunate compatriots, died last winter. His party had shrunk and its chief organ, *Národní Listý*, was no longer the unquestioned leader of

Czech journalism. Kramář left no heirs, and his famous house, built in a pseudo-Russian style (with at least one room copied from a Kremlin model) and occupying a commanding position above the river—as it were, jealously watching its rivals on the neighbouring castle hill—is to become the official residence of the Mayors of Prague.

It was impossible in this general estimate to avoid a certain critical note. but it is the barest justice to speak of Kramář as a great and fearless patriot, whose integrity and conviction not even his bitterest foe ever doubted, even as they winced before his impetuous polemics, and as in many ways a typical product of that tough, hard-headed, downright stock to which the Czech nation owes its survival. And even where to contemporaries his judgment may seem to have been at fault, it may perhaps be premature to pass any verdict. In 1960, perhaps even in 1940, it will be easier to estimate his views upon Russia; and in the meantime he has his niche in the Slav Pantheon.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

SIR PETER BARK

SIR PETER BARK, who died in the south of France on 16 January, furnished perhaps one of the strangest instances of the effects of revolution on an orderly and stable career.

Peter Lvovich Bark was born at Ekaterinoslav in South Russia in 1869. He was educated at the well-known Protestant School of St. Anne in St. Petersburg, and studied law for four years in St. Petersburg University. In 1891 he entered the Credit Chancellery of the Ministry of Finance, an appointment which was to determine the future spheres of his activity throughout life. Later, he acted as private secretary to the Governor of the State Bank of Russia, and in 1903 went to Berlin to study banking with Messrs. Mendelssohn and Company. On his return he was appointed Manager of the Foreign Department of the State Bank, of which after a very short interval, he became Deputy Governor. He resigned this post to accept a five-year appointment with the Volga-Kama Bank.

In 1911 Bark became Assistant Minister of Trade and Industry. It was a period in which Russia probably made greater economic advances than at any previous time in her history. Whatever else was mismanaged in Russia, the State finances had for many years been in peculiarly able hands and had regularly developed the enormous potentialities opened up by the emancipation of the

peasants in 1861. Intelligence, confidence and progress had been the motto of M. C. Reutern, who had a long turn in charge of this Ministry, from 1866 to 1878, and was a sturdy defender of the economic value of the great reforms. After a few rapid changes, reflecting the convulsions in the period of Nihilism and the assassination of Alexander II, N. C. Bunge (1881-1887), an enlightened and upright statesman, dealt early with the social questions raised by the advance of industry and capitalism in Russia, introducing labour legislation which was surprisingly modern in its appreciation of the new conditions. His successor Vyshnegradsky was also an intelligent developer of the resources of the empire, and was followed by the greatest Russian statesman of all this period, Sergius Witte, who, in his long administration of Russian finances (1892-1903), boldly put himself at the head of the vast changes in economic policy which had to be faced, secured the financial stability of the country by his gold standard and his gold reserve, vastly developed the railway system, and enabled Russia to bear the cost of the unhappy war with Japan, to which he had been throughout opposed. After two years he was succeeded by another remarkable Minister of Finance, V. N. Kokovtsev, a statesman of great soundness and probity, who carried the country without much financial disturbance through the troubled period which followed the Japanese war and set it running on lines which promised ever-increasing economic prosperity.

During this period, the international business world had greater confidence in Russian credit than ever before. There was an increasing inflow of foreign capital, and Russia was more and more becoming a regular and welcome partner in world finance. In particular, Peter Bark showed a bold initiative in assisting the development of material economic ties with Britain. He kept close touch with the new legislative institutions of Russia and with the new standing Congress of Trades and Industries, which had an importance something like that of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in this country. The first Chamber of Commerce founded in Russia was the Russo-British, established in this period, of which one of Bark's predecessors, the then Minister of Commerce, V. I. Timiryazev, was by the Emperor's own wish the President. My own first meeting with Bark was connected with the project for a Russian Exhibition at the White City, in London, based on parliamentary support in both countries and intended to illustrate in the broadest way the economic potentialities of the Russian Empire. Bark gave active support to this project, and by doing so definitely ranged

himself, in a period of comparative reaction, with those who stood for parliamentary institutions; and, in spite of opposition from the champions of an old patriarchal Russia, linked in exclusive ties of friendship with Germany, the project received the imperial approval, and would have been realised, but for the World War.

The period 1913-14 was one of reaction in Russia. Under the growing influence of his consort and of Rasputin, the Tsar was gradually parting company with the principle of a national representation. In fact, as is not generally known, shortly before the War, he even proposed to his Cabinet to limit the Duma to the functions of a purely consultative assembly. This reaction was fatal to his honest Minister of Finance, Kokovtsev, who in 1911 had also succeeded Stolypin as Prime Minister, and in February, 1914 he was replaced in both capacities—as Premier, by the effete and reactionary Goremykin, and as Minister of Finance by Bark. This, for Bark, was anything but a promising beginning in such high office; and though Bark's appointment was accompanied by a message of the Tsar forecasting fundamental reforms "for the welfare of my beloved people," there was at this time no unity of policy. Much worse was to follow, for within a few months the country was plunged into the perils of the World War.

For Russia far the greatest issue was the hope of a constitutional regime. Russia did not declare the War, and would have avoided it in any way that was reasonable and possible; but once the War was upon her, it was bound to exercise a critical influence on the greater issue which has just been mentioned. As far as Bark and finance were concerned, the War was a wholesale disaster; and all that could be done was to avert major troubles as far as possible by temporary expedients. For the first year, however, the War definitely brought nearer the hope of a constitution. The German challenge had brought sovereign and people into a far closer contact than before; clearly the War could not be won by the Russian Government alone, and clearly, in this period, all Russia was behind the army in meeting the challenge. The Tsar, himself, in a letter to his mother, had described in 1905 his manifest of October, 1905 with the words: "That of course would be a constitution." And though his consort was doing all she could to make him repudiate that idea, it seemed for a moment that the very reverses were completing the long process which had led up to its realisation and acceptance. After the great smash of the Russian front in conquered Galicia and the magnificent retreat of the broken army, the Tsar called for the full support of his people, summoned the Duma, agreed to the impeach

ment of the defaulting War Minister, Sukhomlinov, and set up a Defence Commission strengthened by representatives of the public. The Duma itself, though most imperfectly elected, was by now in thought and purpose worthily representative of Russia, and its majority consisted of what was called the Progressive Bloc, a union of the parties of progress. Dismissals of incompetent Ministers had also made the Cabinet much more representative of the nation. There remained one obstacle, but a crucial one, in the person of the antiquated Premier, Goremykin, who, supported by the Empress, regarded himself as a simple executive of the changing purposes of his sovereign, very much as a butler might take the orders of the master for the rest of the household staff. It was at this point that, again urged by the Empress and Rasputin, Nicholas took up the supreme command. The Cabinet, including even Goremykin, saw at once that the sovereign was thus identifying himself with all the reverses at the front, and that the rear would almost inevitably fall under the personal administration of the Empress. All the Ministers except two wrote a joint letter to the Emperor to dissuade him from his intention, and Bark was one of the signatories of this letter. Spurred on by the Empress, Nicholas summoned the Cabinet to Headquarters and, himself taking the chair, tore up the letter before them and announced that they would continue in their offices until he chose to replace them.

From this time revolution was inevitable. It is actually true to say that Russia, till it came, was under the personal government of the Empress and Rasputin or his nominees. An able Minister of Finance was more essential to Russia at this time than any other Minister, and it is a note of Bark's ability and of the coolness with which he met a vehement intrigue of Rasputin's to displace him, that he remained in office up to the actual fall of the Empire; but this was a purely defensive achievement, and it is easy enough to imagine the constant difficulties which he had to face. It is true that there were several other members of the Cabinet who showed both honesty and ability and the courage to warn the sovereign of the precipice which he was approaching; but throughout 1916 the Cabinet, as such, practically ceased to function; and under the mysterious Premiership of Stürmer all major questions were reserved for decision elsewhere.

When the crash came, Bark was in the same position as other Russian emigrants; but with the great difference that financial ability of a high order is an asset which could carry respect outside Russia. As has been described in other obituary notices, Bark's

advice was sought by firms and others in London, and he eventually became managing director of the Anglo-International Bank, which, under the title of Anglo-Austrian Bank, had already done valuable work in saving the new Austria from bankruptcy. He was employed on several missions where his great knowledge of the conditions and situation of the finances of Eastern Europe proved to be of such value that he received the honour of G.C.V.O. in 1929 and was knighted by the King in 1935. He had definitely won his place in the financial world of London.

Sir Peter Bark was a shrewd judge of other questions than finance. He played a dignified part in the Russian colony in London. He was fully alive to the great necessity of thorough academic study of his country. He had already begun to write his memoirs of the exceptional period in which his life was cast, and it is greatly to be hoped that he had had time to leave this record to history; for no other Minister remained in office in Russia throughout the most critical part of that period.

BERNARD PARES.

LOUIS EISENMANN.

IN recording with deep regret the death of Louis Eisenmann, I may be allowed to express in the name of all my colleagues of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies our deep sympathy with the sister Institute of Slav Studies in Paris, in their fresh loss, following so soon upon that of Antoine Meillet.

Louis Eisenmann was born on 31 July, 1869, at Haguenau, as a member of one of those Jewish Alsatian families which in the last century has given to France so many distinguished *savants*. After the tragedy of 1870 his parents moved to Paris and he was educated at the École Normale Supérieure and at the Sorbonne, mainly under Gabriel Monod. Almost from the first he began to turn his attention specially towards Central Europe, travelled in the Habsburg Monarchy and acquired a thorough practical knowledge of Czech and Magyar. His first serious work is to be found in the concluding volumes of Lavissee and Rambaud's famous *Histoire Générale*, and this he followed up in 1904 by *Le Compromis austro-hongrois de 1867*. This monograph, which has remained without a rival in any language, and which no student of the reign of Francis Joseph can possibly afford to ignore, is something much more than a mere analysis of the complex Dual System—already *en pleine crise* when Eisenmann first visited Vienna, Budapest and Prague. It provides many clues to the whole evolution of the Habsburg Monarchy, the relations of the

Crown and peoples, and not least of all the question of nationalities : its verdicts are cautious and well pondered, its proportions admirable, its style lucid. Indeed it is a very notable specimen of the new type of French historical monograph which, about the turn of the century, began to supersede the brilliant but too often superficial work of political publicists then still in vogue.

This book doubtless served to commend him when in 1905 he was appointed to a chair of history at the University of Dijon: and this he held till 1913, when he became the first occupant of a newly-created chair of Hungarian Literature and Culture at the Sorbonne—a testimony to the impartiality with which he held the balance between Slav and Magyar studies. But events were to play utter havoc with his hopes of normal academic research and publication. Early in the War he was attached to the French General Staff as an expert on Austro-Hungarian questions, and especially their economic bearings. and this automatically brought him into ever closer co-operation with Ernest Denis, the historian of Hussite Bohemia, and editor of the two French organs of the Czechs in exile, *La Nation Tchèque*, and *Le Monde Slave*. Denis was thus the link between Eisenmann and the Czechoslovak National Council, whose headquarters were established by Dr. Beneš late in 1915 at M. Strimpl's flat in the Rue Bonaparte. When the War was over Eisenmann went to Prague for a time as political adviser to General Pellé, who was sent as head of a French mission for the purpose of organising the new Czechoslovak General Staff. On the lamented death of Denis in 1920 Eisenmann was his obvious successor as Professor of Slav History and Culture at the Sorbonne, and secretary of the newly founded École d'Études Slaves, for which Denis' house in the Rue Michelet was made the headquarters. In due course he also became the first Director of the Institut Français in Prague, and this involved frequent visits and much thought and organisation. In addition to this he was the principal editor of *Le Monde Slave*, which had been conducted on temporary war lines by Ernest Denis and Robert de Caix, and was now founded as the regular organ of the Paris School. Like our own *Review*, it found itself forced to cover a vast and miscellaneous field which it would have been utter pedantry to attempt to circumscribe or define. But it possessed advantages as compared with its English fellow—in that it appeared ten times a year, and in that the School had a separate organ for philological and linguistic study, which went its own way under the brilliant direction of such men as Meillet and Mazon. Eisenmann and his colleagues on the editorial board

were far too alive, far too conscious of the vital contacts between the immense field of historical study which they had undertaken to explore and the evolution of West European culture, ever to restrict *Le Monde Slave* to research merely for the sake of research and I remember vividly more than one discussion with him in which, with truly French lucidity and realism, he admitted the cruel dilemma with which the vast happenings of our time had confronted us historians, and then, with more than one sigh of evident regret, went on boldly to maintain that the task of "*vulgarisation*"—of interpreting unfamiliar but essential facts and tendencies to a wider public than a few *savants* and specialists—must necessarily take precedence over all else. Opinions will doubtless differ as to how far he was right and as to whether a *juste milieu* could not have been achieved, such as would have left him time for further monographs worthy of his famous *Compromis*. Certain it is that *Le Monde Slave*, under the wise guidance of Eisenmann and of colleagues no less discriminating, has in these sixteen years acquired an almost encyclopædic value, and will remain a monument to his industry and devotion. The dilemma remains, and it may be imagined that I as I listened to him felt only too painfully conscious how much more acutely it presents itself on this side of the Channel, where there is probably not one person actively interested in such studies, for 500 or 1,000 in "ignorant" France.

As if all these various activities were not enough, Eisenmann in 1925 became joint editor (with Bémont) of the *Revue Historique*, and needless to add spared no time and effort to maintain its high standard of scholarship. The inevitable result was that his big book on modern Europe—which remained a mere torso, and his almost unique knowledge of post-war conditions in the Danubian countries and especially in Czechoslovakia, has to a large extent perished with him. He published two small monographs on *La Tchécoslovaquie* (1925) and *La Hongrie Contemporaine* (1928), and on the occasion of Beneš's fiftieth birthday, *Un Homme d'État Européen: Édouard Beneš*. Fortunately he has had an abiding influence upon more than one scholar of the younger French generation, and the hum of scholastic bees that surrounds the Institut Denis in Prague morning, noon and evening, bears witness to his labour for the cultural relations between Czechoslovakia and France.

His first visit to his British colleagues—when he delivered two lectures on "The Imperial Idea in Western Europe" and on "Francis Joseph"—coincided with the General Strike of 1926: and he never tired of recalling his first and last impressions of that occasion, when

his luggage was conveyed to Victoria Station in a colleague's perambulator and to the steamer at Dover by Oxford undergraduates. He returned more than once to England as a welcome guest of Chatham House and other institutions, and was a firm believer in an Entente Cordiale in which heart and head should be soberly blended, and by which the sanity of fevered Europe should be preserved.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

Sir Alfred Zimmern (Professor of International Relations at Oxford) writes —

During the last few years of his life Louis Eisenmann devoted much thought and much of his abounding energy to international relations as an academic study, and to the building up of an organisation to provide a means of contact for those working in this field. The International Studies Conference, which will be holding its tenth session in Paris on 28 June, owes more than will ever be known to his impulsion and guidance. The nucleus of the Conference was formed in 1927 when a number of French institutions, including the University of Paris and the *École Libre des Sciences Politiques*, formed themselves into the *Commission de Hautes Études Internationales de France*, with the Rector of the University of Paris as its President and Eisenmann as its Secretary-General—a position which he occupied until the end. The French example was followed in Great Britain, the United States, Germany and other countries, and in 1928 the first International Conference was held in Berlin, to be followed at yearly intervals ever since. In these gatherings Eisenmann, with his luminous intelligence, his close knowledge of Europe and his gift of vivid and salty speech, was a leading figure, and it is due as much to him as to any other man that the term “international relations” has come to be interpreted, academically, in the most comprehensive sense. His pronouncement on this subject at the London Conference of 1935 remains as a *locus classicus* on this subject. “In the present state of science and of the world,” he there said, “there can be no question of escaping from specialisation: the day of Pico della Mirandola is over, and perhaps this is not a misfortune. But specialisation should not signify the ivory tower or a pair of blinkers. It is good, and indeed necessary for his own specialism, that the specialist should have cast a glance on to domains adjoining his own, that he should have formed some idea of the leading conceptions that reign there and of the methods there applied. It is difficult, for instance, to conceive today of a good

historian who has not a general idea of the evolution of law and of economic life, or of a jurist of real authority who has not at least served his apprenticeship as an economist or philosopher or historian. Such an enlargement of the horizon can and ought to be demanded when the object of study is the international domain! Are not the problems of international relations all of them in the last analysis essentially problems of psychology? And is not the psychology of a people the result of factors often even more numerous and more complex, more difficult to discern and to evaluate than those of an individual?"

This effort to "discern and to evaluate" what someone has called the "altogetherness" of the life of a people Eisenmann devoted in the last years of his life in particular to this country. He soon discerned how hard it was to know England and the British Empire. But by applying his own method he ended by knowing us better than all but a handful of his compatriots, as those who have worked with him, or faced him in discussion at Geneva or elsewhere, will testify.

But if Eisenmann knew how hard it was to master a complex problem, he also knew how to make up his mind. He abhorred vacillation, and above all he abhorred cowardice and disloyalty. When he had taken his stand, he stood like a rock. His friends in Central Europe knew this, and so did his friends in the field of international studies. In the one camp and in the other his memory will be cherished and his place will not—for it cannot—be filled.

Professor Paul Vaucher (Professor of French History in the University of London) writes as follows:—

Louis Eisenmann, who belonged to an Alsatian family, was educated at the *Ecole Normale Supérieure* among a group of brilliant young students that included Professor Halévy, Professor Bouglé and, for a time, Léon Blum. He devoted himself to historical studies under the direction of Gabriel Monod and Professor Seignobos. From them he first learned to practise the most severe and critical methods of research. He also made a special study of law.

Monod always called the attention of his students to the work of German historians, and Eisenmann accordingly went to Berlin. Here, however, he took the unusual course of learning both Czech and Magyar. His interest in Central Europe made him write as his thesis for the doctorate an important book on "*Le Compromis*

Austro-Hongrois." He was eventually appointed to a Chair created at the Sorbonne owing to a special endowment made by the Hungarian Government. But after the war he took charge of the new Ernest Denis Chair founded by Czechoslovakia.

The leading part he played in promoting Slavonic studies in France did not prevent him from devoting much time to studies of general history. He had undertaken to write, and had nearly completed, a volume on the continental history of the 19th century in the "*Histoire des Peuples et des Civilisations*" In 1926, on the retirement of the great Alsatian scholar, Professor Pfister, he became co-editor with Professor Bémont of the *Revue Historique*. He was largely responsible for the transformation in the *Revue* which in the present year is now taking place, and among the last, but by no means the last, of the many services which he rendered to historical studies was to make their progress more easily accessible to the many readers of the learned periodical which Monod had founded.

JOSEPH REDLICH.

WHAT gave an added touch of tragedy to the downfall of the great Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was the fact that in pre-war Austria there were never wanting farsighted and enlightened men, not afraid to raise their voices in warning and to indicate the true paths of political salvation, in the sense of a federalist reconstruction, with full justice to the oppressed nationalities—in other words the creation of "a monarchical Switzerland," to use a phrase often quoted in those days. Foremost among these men were Dr. J. M. Baernreither, whose "*Fragments of a Political Diary*" is one of the most revealing of political documents; Dr. Carl Renner, the author of penetrating studies on the political and social structure of Austria, and after the catastrophe Chancellor of the Austrian Republic; the international jurist Heinrich Lammasch, who became the last Premier of Emperor Charles; Prince Charles Schwarzenberg and Count Heinrich Lützow; Edmund Steinacker the veteran German-Hungarian leader; and Joseph Redlich, who died last November at the age of sixty-seven.

Redlich belonged to a wealthy Jewish family, whose sugar factory was at Hodonín (Goding), the birthplace of Thomas Masaryk: and while his elder brother Fritz conducted the business and as Mayor of Goding was mainly instrumental in upholding a German majority in the Town Council of an increasingly Czech town, Joseph was free to pursue his legal and historical studies and to mix in the

social and political life of Vienna. His charming house in a northern suburb, looking out upon the Kahlenberg, was a relic of the Biedermaier period (shall we say a quintessence of Robert Adam, Chippendale, Schubert, Beethoven and Goethe?) and under his auspices became a real centre of culture, an intellectual exchange and mart, to which men of the most diverse views and a long procession of foreign students and politicians paid many a welcome pilgrimage. At his best he brimmed over with wit and anecdote, had an astonishing memory and gift for clear statement, comparison and analysis, and could hold his own in any company. Never shall I forget the comment of a famous Austrian statesman, who was referring to Redlich's conversational powers, and broke off smilingly with the comment, "Das ist ja kein Gespräch · das ist ein Wasserfall!"

From the first he was strongly attracted by constitutional law and municipal self-government, and the desire to study more closely the contrasts between the German and English conception of law and again of local government, led him year by year to Germany and to England, where he soon established many close contacts, which deepened with the years. And indeed the foundations of his great and deserved reputation rested upon two books—*English Local Government* (translated by his oldest English friend, Francis Hirst, then soon to become editor of the *Economist*) and *British Parliamentary Procedure*, which at once acquired the rank of standard works and will always remain indispensable guides for the period of transition which marked the turn of the century. In their preparation Redlich relied equally on a profound study of sources and a first hand acquaintance with the men who were shaping our constitutional development. Theory and practice so admirably blended in such a career as that of Sir Courtenay Ilbert, may be said to have represented his ideal: but he watched closely the workings of the parliamentary machine at Westminster and was on friendly terms with many members on both sides of the House.

The practical experience which he had gained in these years, drove him irresistibly in the direction of political life: and though he retained his Chair of Administrative Law at Vienna Technical High School, his centre of gravity shifted to the Reichsrat, to which he was elected in 1907, having already become a member of the Moravian Diet a year earlier. This was the last great period of Austrian parliamentarism, when the introduction of universal suffrage on a basis of exact national representation, coinciding as it did with a period of great material prosperity, roused in many quarters high hopes of successful democratic evolution. Redlich had studied

closely that most fruitful experiment in Austrian constitutional history, the sittings of the Parliament of Kremsier in 1848, and found in it a precedent for the solution of inter-racial co-operation. The tradition had to some extent struck root in the Moravian Diet, and from it there followed logically the great feature of the franchise reform of 1906, the establishment of separate voting colleges for the different nationalities. Redlich's advocacy and Renner's famous book may both claim a share in this turn towards sanity and conciliation.

Meanwhile Redlich soon came to occupy an altogether unique position in the Austrian Reichsrat. A member of the German Liberal Party, he had an infinitely wider outlook than his colleagues, and established contacts with many of the Slav deputies—among them Masaryk after his re-election in 1907, and the Dalmatians Smodlaka, Biankini and others. He was proud to claim that on his mother's side he came of Slovak peasant stock, and to this may be attributed his special sympathy with the Slovaks, then desperately struggling against a seemingly irresistible wave of Magyarisation—"a noble people," so he wrote to me on 15 October, 1908, "the most neglected and downtrodden of the whole European world." Redlich, like Renner, saw very clearly the baleful effects of Magyar chauvinism not merely on the internal situation in Hungary, but also upon the mutual relations of Hungary and Austria and even the foreign policy of the Habsburg Monarchy; and it was this which led him to devote more and more attention to foreign affairs. He was one of the few German diplomats who gave their unreserved support to Masaryk's exposure of the Zagreb Treason Trial and to his attacks upon Achrenthal and the Ballplatz. He was no less unreservedly delighted when Björnson issued his open letter to Count Apponyi on the treatment of the Slovaks, and gave to Steed and myself and others constant help and encouragement in our various writings upon the question of nationalities in Hungary and in Austria. "The only real progress in this Empire," he once wrote to me, "consists in the abolition of every 'imperium' won by one nation against the other." But though there were many who shared his views and who in their despair at the negative and opportunist policy of Francis Joseph turned as a last hope towards Francis Ferdinand (with Hodža, Blaho, Vaida, Aurel Popovici, Steinacker, Zagorac, who all had private access to the Archduke's Chancellory at the Belvedere, through Brosch and Bardolf, Redlich was also in constant touch), the chance for action never came, and the assassin's hand struck down the very man on whom the nationalities of

Hungary (but never the Czechs) had so pathetically relied. His constant warnings in the lobbies and on the floor of Parliament were not by any means unheeded, but never gained him the entrée to the throned bureaucrat in Schönbrunn, against whom even the masterful and impatient nephew was helpless. The dishonest attitude of the Jewish press in Vienna, in suppressing the facts about Magyar repression in Croatia and Transylvania, and its subservience to the Wilhelmstrasse, filled Redlich with special despair and drove him into relations with the more independent *Zeit*, so ably and courageously directed by Heinrich Kanner.

There was another practical direction, however, in which Redlich did obtain a hearing and attain practical results, which but for the final catastrophe, might have been of fundamental importance. In 1911, on his advice, an Imperial Commission was set up—so far as I know, the first avowed continental imitation of our British royal commissions—to inquire into the Austrian civil administration and recommend reforms. Of this Commission, Redlich, ably assisted by Hofrat Davey, was the life and soul and though unhappily the monumental report which it produced in 1913 was rendered nugatory by the cataclysm of 1914, it survives as evidence of the many saner currents which were working in pre-war Austria and might have prevailed under a less negative and fossilised sovereign than Francis Joseph. Meanwhile Redlich was appointed in 1907 as the first Austrian exchange professor at Harvard and found time to prepare courses of lectures on American constitutional problems, all the more original because they were supplemented by apt comparisons and contrasts with British and continental practice.

During the war he was reduced to inaction, especially during the first three years when Parliament was not allowed to meet: his memoirs will doubtless one day reveal his share in the attempts to check German methods of frightfulness, to save Kramář from execution and to forestall the Wilsonian propaganda by timely concessions. Latterly he and his friend Lammasch were consulted from time to time by the Emperor Charles: but it was not until the Monarchy was literally tottering to its fall, that the latter was invited to form a cabinet in which Redlich held the portfolio of Finance. It was now far too late, and none of its members had any illusions on the point, and within less than a fortnight it was swept out of existence by the revolution which proclaimed the "German-Austrian Republic."

Though his birthplace was now in Czechoslovakia, he opted for Austria and remained in Vienna, but with one brief interlude in

1931, when he again became Finance Minister in the Buresch Cabinet, he remained aloof from politics. The tide of events left him on one side, he was entirely out of sympathy with the extreme Socialist parties, he was far too much of an "Alt-Oesterreicher" ever to favour the Anschluss, and certain affinities which he had had, even in pre-war days, with the Christian Socialists were far more than counterbalanced by their increasingly illiberal and unconstitutional trend. Moreover Redlich, with a patriotic reputation and a deep learning which no sane Austrian could gainsay, suffered a handicap from his Jewish origin. He therefore fell back upon literary work and produced a fresh series of important books. *Das oesterreichische Staats-und Reichsproblem* (of which the first volume appeared in 1920 and the second in 1926) has unhappily remained incomplete: but we may at least be thankful for these 1,500 pages (with an additional 400 pages of analecta!), which unravel in the most masterly way and with a wealth of unpublished documents, the tangled history of the constitutional experiments of Francis Joseph's reign, from the upheavals of 1848-9 to the final adoption of the Ausgleich in 1867. It is strange that Redlich and Eisenmann, whose books so admirably supplement each other and tower above all else upon the same theme, should have died within a few months of each other, with their tasks unfinished.

In 1925 Redlich wrote for the Carnegie Foundation a valuable monograph on *Wirtschafts-und Sozialgeschichte des Weltkrieges*, and in 1929 what was undoubtedly the most popular of all his books, a Life of Francis Joseph. Failing health, and a profound disillusionment and pessimism, due to the realisation of all his worst fears as to the Habsburg Monarchy, and augmented tenfold by the course of events in Germany, and (though of this he seldom talked) the essential and deep-seated degeneracy which Nazidom's concentric attack upon the Jews seemed to reveal—all this combined to sap his energy, and at our last talk in the summer of 1936 he betrayed positive disgust at my renewed inquiries about the progress of his *magnum opus*. And so the man who of all men living could have best interpreted the Austria of Taaffe and of Koerber, of the Iron Ring and the nationalistic beargarden—an Austria so full of life and promise and lost chances—has gone from us, and no contemporary will ever fill the gap.

Redlich belonged to the same category as the very greatest of legal historians—the Maitlands, the Vinogradovs, the Diceys, and the Pollocks: but he had qualities that were all his own. The perseverance and minute precision of the scholar were blended with the

Schmeigsamkeit and perhaps even astuteness of some remote Jewish ancestors, but also with an absolute integrity of judgment, a readiness of repartee and argument, a flow of words, a courage of opinion and at times a rollicking *joie de vivre*, such as are not often found together.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

JOSEPH PEKAŘ

THE death of Joseph Pekař on 23 January, 1937, has deprived Czechoslovakia of the most original and in many ways the most gifted of her post-war historians, a man who blended a high critical faculty with imagination and literary skill, and did much to readjust the historical perspective of his people. Born on 12 April, 1870, in a small village near Turnov in Northern Bohemia, he completed his studies in Prague, spent a year at the Universities of Erlangen and Berlin and became, first Dozent, then Professor, of Austrian History at the Czech University of Prague. After the war, amid the reviving traditions of the ancient Caroline University, his Chair was transformed into one of Czechoslovak history. He had by then won universal recognition, even among the many who differed from him, as the senior member of a small group of disciples who owed their inspiration to the teaching of Jaroslav Goll, himself the most distinguished pupil of Francis Palacký, the creator of the modern school of Czech historians. Pekař travelled hardly at all, although he followed with the closest attention the events of the great world and the interpretations of the foreign press: he had the true scholar's reserve and had a complete indifference for pomp and circumstance. But he never allowed himself to lose contact with life, and he never consented to apply to history the dangerous dogma of "art for art's sake." On the contrary, he belonged, in the apt words of Professor Odložilík, to a type of historian "full of sensibility and *élan*, who took a lively interest in everything belonging to the past that could serve as an incentive or warning for the present," and therefore "never chose subjects remote from all contemporary preoccupations and events, or those distant epochs preferred by those who believe that the political personages and events, the moral and intellectual conflicts of the past, can be treated with the absolute certitude and impartiality that belong to the exact sciences." He had learnt from his master Goll the lessons of "historical realism," and like him had ranged himself on the side of Masaryk in the struggle against shams and theoretical reconstructions, even when—as in

the case of the forged MSS of Königinhof and Grünberg—their denunciation might seem an injury to the national cause. For the same reason, he never allowed his ardent national feelings to betray him into exclusive interpretations, and he did full justice to the vital part always played in Bohemian history by the Germans as second "Landesvolk."

There was, then, a certain method in all his historical writings, which can only very briefly be summarised here. In some ways his elaborate monograph on the Castle of Kost (*Kniha o Kostí* 2 vols., 1909–11) was the most characteristic of all; it was, indeed, intended as a reconstruction of feudal life on the eve of its dissolution, a picture of manners and customs, of political outlook and social aspirations. That he was very far from showing less interest in the social and industrial life of the masses than in other more picturesque aspects of life, is proved by another book which serves as supplement to the Kost volume, *The Land Register in Bohemia from the 17th to the 19th century* (1915). No book throws so much light upon the material conditions of Bohemia, those slow causes of decline without which the catastrophic collapse of 1620 would not have been possible, and which also explain the long interval before the national revival of the last hundred years. It was only natural that Pekař, with his keen sense of artistic values working upon a background of economic and social problems, should have refused to pay exclusive homage to the great Hussite era and should have pleaded for moderation and declined to condemn root and branch the social class which was inevitably made the scapegoat of post-war land reform. Some of his writings on these problems were the object of heated controversy, but with the calmer perspective of to-day, they are increasingly accepted on all sides as part of a common heritage, and worthy of the Masaryk and Goll tradition. His reading of Czech history was more Conservative than that of his two great forerunners, and his defence of the cult of St. John Nepomuk, though it successfully explodes some mere anti-clerical exaggerations, is certainly less defensible than his early book on *Die Wenzels- und Ludmila-Legenden und die Echtheit Kristians* (1906), in which he rehabilitates a chronicler abandoned by Dobrovský and most other authorities.

He will, however, doubtless be remembered by his two great monographs on Žižka¹ and Wallenstein²—two men who have left a permanent mark on all central Europe, but who are at opposite poles in character, in outlook, in aspiration, in achievement—the

¹ 4 vols. 1927–33.

² 1st Edition 1893, Revised Edition 1934.

inflexible "God's Warrior," holding all Europe at bay, and the superstitious, cynical soldier of fortune, playing for high stakes, betrayer and betrayed. It is true that his views on Žižka require to be taken with considerable reservations: the books of Krofta, Novotný and Urbánek provide a very necessary corrective. But as usual the truth lies near the middle, and while he goes much too far in his denial of democratic or progressive tendencies, his views are a useful corrective to those who have read modern democratic or nationalistic ideas into an essentially medieval situation. A revised German edition of the Wallenstein book was on the very point of appearing when its author died. and the hope may be expressed that at any rate a selection of his other works may yet be given to the world in some western tongue. Special mention should be made of his textbook of Czechoslovak history, published in 1921 and widely accepted as the best short survey, and of his share in making the *Český Historický Časopis* one of the best edited historical reviews of our time.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

LEON WYCZOŁKOWSKI

BUT a few months passed, after the serious loss sustained by the death of Ferdinand Ruszczyc in Wilno, when Polish painting was robbed of her oldest master; a veteran of four score and four years and rightly regarded as the last of the giants of yesterday, Leon Wyczółkowski. He could look back on exactly sixty years of unbroken activity and achievement. Surely almost a record! And at eighty-one he had dared to accept the position of Professor in the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts.

It is not easy to think of the tall and striking figure we saw so frequently on the streets of Cracow in the twenties, as a fellow-student, in the drawing school of Gerson, of Brandt, and of Maslowski, as long ago as 1870. Nor is it easy to realise that the man just deceased was one of the now world-famous group, which in 1897 founded the Secession "Sztuka" society in Cracow; of which the first president was Chelmonski, and the most illustrious member was Stanislas Wyspiański.

Born in 1852, he was a year older than Fałat. "Next to that master and to Chelmonski" says a German critic, "stands Wyczółkowski in that Triad of Stars which is Poland's gift to realism in European art." What does this mean? The Wyczółkowski whom we of the younger generation knew stood first

and last for one thing, namely, masterly production in the field of engraving—he was to us a draughtsman. The answer to the question is in his long and changing career, in the evolution of his powers and his passions. Few men have been more genuinely a part of all they have met than he. From Gerson's school he went for a year to Munich, still at that time the most sought-out training-ground for painters in Central Europe. Thence he returned to the "daughter" workshop of Matejko in Cracow (himself a Munich product), after which, by contrast, he buried himself for ten years in the wide open spaces of Ukraine. Thus he escaped from the studio's confinement, and came back at the end a mature artist, and with a treasure of canvases. Starting as a romanticist with a love for history, treading the path of his elders whose first principle was to make their paintings a tribute to patriotism, he moved swiftly toward a realism that made him paint what he saw, and taught him to see in all its forms the *plein air* of nature—"the beauty and the wonder and the power" of the world about him. This larger interest led him straight to the impressionism which was the chief mark of the "Sztuka" Secession. What the French masters had discovered, and the rest of the world were learning from them, Wyczółkowski was to puzzle out for himself: not copying others, but with his own eyes and at the very sources. As an unrivalled observer of nature, and of the simple village folk in their relation to it, he was to rank scarcely second to Chelmonski himself. Under his hand the marvels of light and shade were realised, and made convincing for the common man. First in oil, then in pastel, he proved his genius. To describe adequately "Rybak," the bare-foot fisherman, sitting on his hummock of grass in the full blaze of the continental sun, there is only one phrase known to me in English "the C Major of this Life!" By contrast, his "Morskie Oko" shews that astonishing freak of the High Tatras, without a trace of light in the picture at all; and yet it is the lake, and just as one has so often seen it.

Nevertheless, already at the end of the old century Wyczółkowski had abandoned colour for something else. He ceased, as someone has said, to be an artist of surfaces, to become—partly under the influence of Wyspiański, a master of line. From now on, his *grande passion* was to be engraving—draughtsmanship in all its forms. At the reorganisation of the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts under Fałat in the middle nineties he was appointed professor, and for a generation he made Cracow his home. As noted already, he helped to form the Sztuka group, which rescued Polish art from the now

no longer *actuel* style and philosophy of Matejko. The new school had two distinct sides to it: the one symbolist, the other realist. As is well-known, the former was brilliantly represented by Malczewski and Wyspiański, the other scarcely less well by Tetmayer and Fałat. It was to the second that Wyczółkowski belonged; and his work was to bring him fame both in the quieter years leading up to 1914 and in the troubled ones that followed. From Cracow he made his yearly excursions, and came back each time with a sheaf of sketches; these "teki" soon became prized possessions of a growing number of admirers.

Also, we must not fail to mention in passing his portraits, for they are numerous and are executed in every medium—whatever happened to be his absorption at the moment. Among them stand out his studies of the Highlander types, whose power and charm are unsurpassed. All the same, portraiture was not his chief concern. His etchings, *crayon* drawings, or wood and stone cuts, as know to us of the younger generation, are either of the great trees and stumps of the Białowieża Forest (in which he spent more than one summer of the twenties), or of architectural gems from Old Warsaw, Lublin, Danzig or Cracow, or of some other corner of the restored Poland; his last being a glorious series from the Pomeranian districts. Just as, while a member of the Legions during the war, he had immortalised many a scene, looked back on now by those who took part, with special pietism, so when seventy he renewed his youth with his re-born motherland, and became again—on a higher plane—a romanticist. Those who set about collecting his drawings, among whom Mr. Frank Savery, the British Consul in Warsaw, holds an honoured place, tell us repeatedly how nearly Wyczółkowski's technique approached the finest creations in india-ink of the Japanese masters.

It was fitting that he should be given a state funeral in the capital, and that not only his younger colleagues, many of them his own pupils, should pay him deserved tribute, but also representatives of the nation as a whole. But it was especially fitting that he should not be laid to rest amid the bustle of a great city like Warsaw, nor even in the quieter Cracow. At his own request his remains were taken to the open country-side he loved so well, and laid away in the parish church of Wtelnia, near Bydgoszcz, where some years back he had purchased a modest farm.

Of commanding physical stature, Wyczółkowski was no less imposing in mind and spirit. Brought up in the school of thinking of Świętochowski and Prus—that of Polish positivism, he was

bound to experience a severe tension right through his life, a struggle with the elements of romance to be found all about him. In the main he kept to the middle way, declining to be drawn either into mysticism in his thinking or, as already noted, into symbolism in his painting. He went part of the way with the French impressionists, becoming the great master of the *plein air* school—the word has given a new substantive to the Polish language; but there he stopped. What will never cease to astonish the student of his career, is the immensity of its range, where the length is multiplied by the breadth. Few men have left more work to posterity, and few Poles have left better. The nation remembers him as a worthy citizen, and a distinguished master of his arts.

W. J. ROSE.

WLADYSLAW NATANSON

I knew him as Rector of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow in those trying post-war years, when professors and students alike so often went without a square meal, when neither the one nor the other had books or instruments for the class-room or the laboratory, when the housing conditions in the city were fearful; and yet those in charge of schools and higher institutions went bravely forward, confident that a better “tomorrow” was at hand. No one showed more courage and resource than Natanson, in spite of his three score years and his already grey hair. Passing away a few months ago, at seventy-three, he could justly feel that, whether as a citizen or as a man of science, he had done his part in the rehabilitation of the Polish commonwealth.

Born in Warsaw in 1864, of a highly respected family, he took a doctorate in Physics first, and then another in Philosophy. In 1891 he became Dozent, and three years later Professor of Physics in Cracow; and here he worked without a break for over forty years. During that time he shared alike the highest honours and responsibilities. At thirty he was Corresponding, at thirty-six Active Member of the Academy of Sciences, and for seven years before the World War he was editor of the Publications in his own field. In the International Union of Physicists he rose to be a Vice-president.

But Natanson was more than just a learned physicist. He was a humanist of no mean stature. In his writings, and they are legion, one can distinguish two parts: those bearing directly on his own branch of science, and those embracing both nature and man.

Among the tributes paid to his memory there has appeared a series of letters he wrote in post-war years to his colleague, Roman Dyboski, which betray a world-wide range of interests and an unusual knowledge of English literature and thought—in particular of Shakespeare. He had studied in St. Petersburg, in Graz, in Cambridge and in Dorpat; and he brought back home a harvest of good things that grew with the years. All who knew him remarked his balance, in speech and in action. It was said at his funeral that he impressed his fellows with “a senatorial dignity.” Add to this an inborn gentleness, and on the other hand a fearlessness in defence of a righteous cause that would make him speak out with the voice of a lion. That was Natanson.

The Dean of Theology, Rev. Father Michalski, conducted the last rites for his colleague, and began his tribute by saying that those present were bidding farewell to one of the not large number of men they knew who were fitted to be members of Plato's Symposium. In so saying, he had in mind the man, the teacher and the seeker after knowledge—all three. He knew of Natanson's life-long communion with the masters of knowledge, from the earliest Greeks through Lucretius and Maimonides, and Bacon and Newton, to the latest age. Father Michalski knew what his colleague had written about these men, and how greatly he hoped that the “great tradition” of knowledge might be better known in his own nation and find a proper response there. Finally he knew of the man's capacity for personal friendships.

In this respect the Cracow professor could serve his generation as an example. What began as a group of four grew with the years into a larger circle, whose relationships with one another became a proverb. Malczewski, the master-painter, belonged to it, and he depicted it on paper as four hearts set in a plane, and united by a chain of massive, unbreakable links. Proof of this same capacity were his letters, already referred to. The range of his correspondents included his grandchildren, still at school, and such world figures as Planck and Einstein.

Like the historian Askenazy, who died two years before him, Natanson was by blood Jewish; but that did not hinder from being an eminent and loyal Pole. To have raised the question with either would be to court ridicule. The one was of Hebrew faith, the other a devout Catholic, but it made no difference to their place in the nation.

W. J. ROSE.

HERMANN WENDEL

SHORTLY before Christmas 1928 the University of Belgrade decided to confer the degree of honorary doctor on three foreign writers upon Jugoslav affairs—Auguste Gauvain for France, Hermann Wendel for Germany, myself for Britain. Only a few weeks later the royal dictatorship was proclaimed at Belgrade, and each of us in our different ways felt that the moment for formal promotion must be postponed. To-day I am the only survivor: in No. 28 of this *Review* I paid a tribute of admiration to Gauvain, and I now have the still more painful duty of recording the death of Wendel. Painful, for—unlike Gauvain, who reached a full age, fuller than his precarious health may have led him to expect—he died prematurely in grief and exile. A native of Metz, he came of mixed German and, French stock in the oldest debateable land of Europe; the renewal of the quarrel was a bitter experience for him, but he never lost his taste for the study of French history and provincial lore, and published more than one interesting study on aspects of the Great Revolution. His main work was done as a journalist in Frankfurt and as a deputy of the Socialist Right in the German Reichstag. But since the war he had come to occupy a unique position as interpreter of the Southern Slavs, and in particular of Serbia, to the German public; and though he shared the fate of all other critics of the present intolerant totalitarian régime and was flung ruthlessly aside, it is not too much to affirm that his books were a permanent contribution to that reorientation of German opinion towards Balkan problems which has been so much in evidence in recent years, and which is now taking the form of persistent political overtures from Berlin to Belgrade. He knew every district of Jugoslavia at first hand, had a good working knowledge of both Serbo-Croat and Slovene, and was no less interested in the literature than in the history and economies of the country. His big book, *Der Kampf der Südslawen um Freiheit und Einheit* (1925), is not merely planned on highly original lines, but presents in due proportions the complicated pattern of the movement for liberation in the various provinces, and despite a few mannerisms of style, is eminently readable, the work of a student, but never of a pedant or recluse. *Aus dem südslawischen Risorgimento* (1921) contains a series of admirable studies on Obradović, Gaj, Strossmayer, the Omladina, etc., for which there is no equivalent in any western language: and it says much for his breadth of vision, that the great Croat Bishop or the Slovene Clerical leader Krek should be portrayed

no less sympathetically by this mildly theoretical Marxist than his own more immediate affinity Svetozar Marković. A minor indication of this wide outlook is supplied by his two contributions to our own *Review*, on two subjects so far apart as "Marxism and the Southern Slav Question" and "Saint Sava." Other interesting collections of essays are *Sudslawische Silhouetten* (1924) and *Aus der Welt der Südslawen* (1926), and several minor books of travel. On the vexed question of the Sarajevo murder and Serbian responsibility he could not remain silent; but after translating the brochure of Professor Stanojević (*Die Ermordung des Erzherzogs*—1923) he summed up in 1925 the main evidence in a short essay entitled "Das Attentat von Sarajevo: eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung," reaching by different roads the same main conclusions as Professor Hermann Kantorowicz (the Reichstag rapporteur in this question) in his brilliant *Tagebuch* summary and myself in *Sarajevo* (1926).

Wendel was not the man to sit and conceal his political opinions; and even Frankfurt gradually became impossible for him. As he wrote to a foreign colleague, he could no longer endure "das Kloakengeruch des dritten Reiches," and he withdrew to Paris, where he died last winter. We do not know whether his library of Southern Slav books has been saved for the German-Yugoslav Society at Frankfurt, which owed so much to his initiative and enthusiasm.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

SOVIET LEGISLATION (XIX)

(*Selection of Decrees and Documents*)

Decree of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

On the Closure of all Procedure in Connection with the Deprivation of USSR Citizens of the Franchise by reason of Social Origin, Property Status and Former Activities and on the Liquidation of the Central Elections Commission of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

In conformity with Article 135 of the Constitution of the USSR the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR decrees:

1. All cases, concerning the reintegration of the franchise to USSR citizens deprived of the same by reason of social origin, property status and former activities, to be closed.

The work of the Central Elections Commission attached to the Central Executive Committee of the USSR to be considered as finished, and the Commission dissolved

2. To take cognisance of the reports of the Central Executive Committees of the Union Republics concerning the liquidation of the relevant local Commissions.

3. To instruct the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR to introduce within three months for approval by the Central Executive Committee of the USSR a draft decree on the modifications in the legislature of the USSR following on Article 135 of the Constitution of the USSR.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

M. KALININ.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

S. AKULOV.

Moscow, Kremlin

14 March, 1937.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 15 March, 1937.)

Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

On Scientific Degrees and Ranks.

For the purpose of encouraging scientific work and raising the standard of scientific and scientific-pedagogical cadres, the Council of People's Commissaries decrees.

1. In conformity with proficiency in the sphere of a definite scientific discipline—volume of knowledge, degree of independence in and importance of scientific work—scientific workers are awarded the following scientific degrees:

(a) Candidate of science.

(b) Doctor.

2. In relation to their scientific pedagogic or scientific research work, scientific workers are awarded the following scientific ranks:

(a) Assistant—in higher colleges; junior science collaborator—in scientific research institutions.

(b) Dozent—in higher colleges; senior science collaborator—in scientific research institutions.

(c) Professor—in higher colleges and scientific research institutions.

3. To obtain a candidate's degree a fixed period of successful training as aspirant (or passing of a corresponding examination) are necessary, with a public defence of a candidate's thesis on a subject selected by the aspirant.

The thesis must prove general theoretical knowledge of the given discipline, special knowledge on the thesis and a capacity for independent scientific research.

4. To obtain a doctor's degree it is necessary to hold a candidate's degree and publicly defend a doctor's thesis on a subject selected by the candidate.

The thesis must show independent research work, as a result of which a solution or theoretical generalisation of scientific problems is given, or scientifically based new problems of considerable scientific interest are presented.

Note 1: Persons not holding a candidate's degree may also be permitted to publicly defend a doctor's thesis if they are reputed for their scientific works, discoveries or inventions, and likewise persons holding the rank of professor.

Note 2: As a special exemption, a doctor's degree may be awarded without defence of a thesis, to persons reputed for outstanding scientific works, discoveries or inventions.

5. A doctor's degree is awarded by the councils of the higher colleges and scientific research institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR according to the list attached (supplement No. 1) and also of the All-Union A. M. Gorky Institute of Experimental Medicine of the Commissariat of Health of the USSR, and is ratified by the Supreme Attestation Commission of the All-Union Higher Schools Committee attached to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

6. The General Meeting of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR enjoys the right to bestow a doctor's degree *honoris causa* without defence of thesis upon specially prominent Soviet and foreign scholars.

7. Acting members of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR are awarded a doctor's degree in their special branch at the time of their election.

8. The candidate's degree is awarded by the councils of Higher Schools and scientific research institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR according to the list attached (supplement No. 2), and also of the All-Union A. M. Gorky Institute of Experimental Medicine of the Commissariat of Health of the USSR.

9. The All-Union Higher Schools Committee has the right in special cases to cancel the decision of the Council of a Higher School (or scientific research institute) to award a candidate's degree, and refer the question for a second discussion by the council of the same or another Higher School (or scientific research institute). The second resolution of the council is decisive.

10. The composition of the councils of the Higher Schools, enumerated in supplements Nos. 1 and 2, is ratified by the All-Union Higher Schools Committee. The composition of the councils of the scientific research institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, enumerated in supplement No. 1, is ratified by the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

11. Degrees are awarded in the following branches of science and humanities: (a) physics and mathematics; (b) chemistry; (c) biology;

(*d*) geology and mineralogy; (*e*) technical science; (*f*) agriculture; (*g*) history; (*h*) economics; (*i*) philosophy, (*j*) philology, (*k*) geography; (*l*) jurisprudence; (*m*) pedagogy, (*n*) medicine; (*o*) pharmaceuticals; (*p*) veterinary medicine; (*q*) art studies; (*r*) architecture.

12. The rank of assistant (junior scientific collaborator) is awarded to Higher School graduates, possessing sufficient qualifications for teaching or scientific research work and pursuing such work under guidance of a professor or dozent (senior scientific collaborator)

The rank of assistant (junior scientific collaborator) is awarded by order of the director of the Higher School or scientific research institution, based on the decision of the council.

13. The rank of dozent (senior scientific collaborator) is awarded to holders of a candidate's degree and holding a responsible teaching post or pursuing scientific research work in Higher Schools or scientific research institutions under the guidance of a professor.

14. The rank of professor is awarded to holders of a doctor's degree and conducting guidance of studies or research work in Higher Schools and scientific research institutions.

Note: Highly qualified specialists with a high practical experience, but without scientific degrees, may, when called to teach in higher colleges, be awarded the rank of professor or dozent.

15. The ranks of professor and dozent are awarded by the Superior Attestation Commission of the All-Union Higher Schools Committee on representations by the corresponding People's Commissariats based on the decisions of the councils of the Higher Schools and scientific research institutions.

16. The rank of senior scientific collaborator is awarded by the corresponding People's Commissary, and in institutions attached to the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and Union Republics—by the Presidium of the Academy on representation of the council of the scientific research institution.

17. For the discussion of questions of awards of scientific ranks, qualification commissions are set up within those People's Commissariats to which Higher Schools and scientific research institutions are subordinated, which present their decisions for ratification by the People's Commissary.

The composition of the qualification commission is fixed by the People's Commissary.

18. The decisions of the councils of Higher Schools and scientific research institutions concerning the award of scientific degrees and ranks may be appealed against by the persons concerned or protests lodged by the institutions and organisations within a period of two months, with (*a*) the Superior Attestation Commission of the All-Union Higher Colleges Committee—in respect of doctor's and candidate's degrees and professorial or dozent rank; (*b*) with the People's Commissary concerned

(the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences) in respect of the rank of senior scientific collaborator.

19. The All-Union Higher Education Committee is entrusted with the publication of an instruction for the carrying out of the present decree.

20. The publication of the present decree cancels: (a) the decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of 13 January, 1934, "On Scientific Degrees and Ranks," (Code of Laws, USSR, 1934, No. 3, Article 30, 1935, No. 23, Article 188); (b) the instruction ratified by the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR of 10 June, 1934, on the order of execution of the decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR of 13 January, 1934 "On Scientific Degrees and Ranks" (Code of Laws, USSR, 1934, No. 34, Article 270)

President of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR

M. MOLOTOV.

Administrator of the Affairs of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

S. MIROSHNIKOV.

Moscow, Kremlin.

20 March, 1937

(Published in *Izvestia*, 21 March, 1937)

Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of USSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

On the Cancellation of Arrears in the Delivery of Grain in 1936.

To exempt collective and individual farms from the delivery of all grain arrears due from them for the year 1936.

President of the Council of People's Commissaries of USSR.

V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

J. STALIN.

Moscow, Kremlin.

20 March, 1937.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 21 March, 1937.)

Decree of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

On Exempting Rural Soviets from the Duties of Estimating and Collecting Monetary Taxes, Insurance Rates and Deliveries in Kind.

The new political, economic and cultural tasks which, in connection with the new Constitution, are set before the rural Soviets as the elected organs of the Soviet Government in the countryside, demand a radical change of the existing order, no longer corresponding to the general

interest, by which all the work of estimating and collecting monetary taxes and deliveries in kind from collective farms and individual peasants devolves on the rural soviets.

In conformity with this, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries decree

I. On Monetary taxes and Insurance rates.

1. To exempt rural soviets from 1 July, 1937, from the duties of estimating and collecting monetary taxes and State insurance rates.

2. To entrust from 1 July, 1937, all the work of estimating and collecting monetary taxes and State insurance rates, to district financial departments, the staffs of tax and insurance inspectors to be increased accordingly.

To entrust the People's Commissariat of Finance of the USSR with the organisation of depots for the paying-in of taxes and insurance rates in the villages.

3. To abolish the village taxation and insurance commissions attached to rural soviets.

4. The estimates, collection and expenditure of funds raised by voluntary contribution by the rural population to remain under control of the rural soviets according to a special law.

5. To abolish from 1 August, 1937, the posts of accountants and bookkeepers in rural councils, their duties to be transferred to the secretaries of the rural soviets.

II. On Deliveries in Kind.

6. To exempt rural soviets from 1 July, 1937, from the duties of handing in notices, checking and collecting compulsory deliveries in kind.

7. To entrust these duties from 1 July, 1937, to the district representative of the Committee of Supplies attached to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR, for which purpose to create in all rural districts the post of district representative of the Committee of Supplies attached to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR, and to organise an inspectorate.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

G. PETROVSKY.

President of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

S. AKULOV.

Moscow, Kremlin.

21 March, 1937.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 22 March, 1937.)

*Ordinance of the All-Union Central Trade Union Council.***On Repealing the Limitation of Benefits awarded for Women Employees during Pregnancy and Confinement to a Maximum of 300 roubles.**

In order further to improve the position of women employees, the Presidium of the All-Union Central Trade Union Council lays down

1. To cancel the established limitation of grants to women employees during pregnancy and confinement to a definite maximum (300 roubles a month).

Benefits awarded during pregnancy and confinement (according to hospital vouchers) to women employees are to be paid according to standards without any maximum limit.

2. In conformity with the above, the following supplement to be added to Article 41 of the Act "On Benefits during Temporary Incapacity":

"During temporary incapacity due to pregnancy and confinement, benefits to women factory workers and employees are paid without a maximum limit."

3. The present ordinance to come into force from 1 April, 1937, and to be applied in retrospect to cases of women workers on leave for reasons of pregnancy and confinement by 1 April, 1937.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 26 March, 1937.)

*Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the RSFSR.***On the Reorganisation of so-called Model and Experimental-Demonstration Schools into Normal Schools.**

The Council of People's Commissaries of the RSFSR ordains that the system adopted by the Commissariat of Education of scheduling certain schools as "model," "experimental-demonstration" and other types, which occupy a status differing from that of the general mass of ordinary standard schools, is inadequate and leads the Commissariat to the neglect of its prime duty—that of raising the instructional and educational work in all schools to a proper level.

The privileged position of the so-called "model" schools, the educational and instructional methods of which are actually neither model nor demonstrational, have led to special standards being established in those schools with regard to the selection of pupils according to their intellectual capacities, to correspondingly strenuous demands on their mental efficiency, and to the exclusion from the "model" schools of pupils who fail to attain these higher standards. The Council of People's Commissaries of the RSFSR cannot envisage these facts otherwise than as an attempt on the part of certain leading workers of the Commissariat of Education, to smuggle perversions which have been condemned into the schools.

In view of the above, the Council of People's Commissaries of the RSFSR decrees :

1. To instruct the Commissariat of Education to reorganise the model schools and those of similar type into ordinary normal schools, the reorganisation to be completed by 5 May, 1937

2. To point out to the Commissariat of Education that its main function is to raise to a proper level instructional and educational work in all schools, including the former "model" schools.

President of the Council of People's Commissaries of RSFSR.

D. SULIMOV.

Administrator of Affairs of the Council of People's Commissaries
of the RSFSR.

S. GERASIMOV.

Moscow, Kremlin

20 April, 1937.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 21 April, 1937.)

Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

On the Third Five Year Plan of National Economy.

In view of the fact that with regard to the main branches of national economy the Second Five Year Plan has been fulfilled in advance, namely for USSR industry as a whole by 1 April, 1937, i.e. nine months in advance, and for railway transport with a surplus of 7.7 per cent. by 1 January, 1937, i.e. more than a year in advance, the Council of People's Commissaries of USSR decrees :

1. To instruct the State Planning Commission and People's Commissariats of USSR, and likewise the Councils of People's Commissaries of the Union Republics to complete the draft of the Third Five Year Plan of National Economy and present it for ratification by the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR by 1 July, 1937.

2. To open a discussion on the Third Five Year Plan in the press.

President of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

V. MOLOTOV.

Administrator of Affairs of the Council of People's Commissaries
of the USSR.

M. ARBUSOV.

Moscow, Kremlin.

28 April, 1937.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 29 April, 1937.)

Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

On the Exemption of Members of Collective Farms and Individual Peasants Incapacitated by Old Age from Payment of Monetary Taxes and Rates.

To exempt completely from 1 July, 1937, from payment of monetary taxes and rates the households of members of collective farms and

individual peasants incapacitated by old age (60 years and over) and having no able-bodied members in the family. The People's Commissariat of Finance of the USSR to work out the procedure for such exemption.

President of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

J. STALIN.

Moscow, Kremlin.

15 May, 1937.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 16 May, 1937.)

Resolution of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

On the Ratification of the Decree on District Military Councils (Navy, Army) of the Red Army of Workers and Peasants.

The Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR decrees:

To ratify the Decree on District Military Councils (Navy, Army) of the Red Army of Workers and Peasants.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

M. KALININ.

President of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

S. AKULOV.

Moscow, Kremlin.

16 May, 1937.

On District Military Councils (Navy, Army) of the Red Army of Workers and Peasants.

1. At the head of each military district (navy, army) is placed a Military Council consisting of the Army Commandant and two members.

2. The District Army Commandant presides at the meetings of the Military Council.

3. The District Military Council (navy, army) is the supreme representative of military authority in the district (navy, army). All military units and military institutions within the territory of the district (navy, army) are subordinated to the Military Council.

4. The District Military Council (navy, army) bears full responsibility for the political and moral condition and constant fighting and mobilisation efficiency of the military units and institutions situated within the territory of the district.

5. The District Military Council (navy, army) is directly subordinated to the People's Commissary of Defence of the USSR.

6. The functions of the District Military Council (navy, army) are as follows .

(a) To direct the training (fighting and political) of the forces of the district (navy, army) ,

(b) To organise the mobilisation preparation of district troops, transport communications and liaison within the territory of the district ,

(c) To study and select the commanding staffs of the district units and institutions (navy, army) ,

(d) The education of the Red rank and file and the entire commanding staff in a spirit of boundless loyalty to the motherland and the Soviet Government, in a spirit of ruthless struggle against the enemies of the people—spies, diversionists, wreckers ,

(e) To direct all measures for guaranteeing the equipment of the district units and institutions (navy, army) with all manner of technical and material supplies ,

(f) To direct the sanitary and veterinary services of the district ,

(g) To organise the anti-aircraft defence within the territory of the district, control and inspect the anti-aircraft defence work of all civilian institutions and public organisations ;

(h) To direct the military training of pre-conscription classes, the rank and file, officers and commanding staff of the reserve, students of civil Higher Schools, and control the military training of citizens conducted by public organisations ;

(i) To direct the conscription of citizens of the USSR for military service and training camps ;

(j) To direct defence and non-defence constructions within the territory of the district (navy, army) ;

(k) To participate actively in the work of civil organisations for fortifying the rear.

7. All orders within the district (navy, army) are signed by the Army Commandant, one of the members of the Military Council and the Chief of Staff of the District.

8. In view of the fact that the Army Commandant of the Military District (navy, army) is the superior chief of all the troops and military institutions situated within the territory of the district (navy, army), orders to the district (navy, army) are issued in the name of the Army Commandant (" By my order . . .").

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

M. KALININ.

President of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

S. AKULOV.

Moscow, Kremlin.

16 May, 1937.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 17 May, 1937)

CHRONICLE

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Agriculture

The plan for spring sowing, 1937, shows increase in area, as against 1936, from 92,200,000 hectares to 94,400,000 hectares. The 1937 plan provides for 10,900,000 hectares to be sown by Soviet Farms, 87,600,000 by collective farms, and 788,000 hectares by non-collectivised farmers. A significant item this year is the area of 5,100,000 cultivated by collective farm households separate from the collective; thus collectivised farmers cultivate for private use about six times the area in the hands of non-collectivised farmers.

The norms set for harvest in 1937 are 28.4 per cent. higher than the average yield 1932-36, and 2.3 centners per hectare above the actual harvest of 1936. Thus the 1937 norm for the Azov-Black Earth Region is 11.0 centners per hectare, North Caucasus, 10.0; Ukraine, 12.0; Kuibishev (Samara), 8.5; Western Siberia, 10.0. Seed grain loans have been supplied by the Central Government to certain regions: Central, Eastern, Chelyabinsk, Sverdlovsk, Orenburg, Gorky, Yaroslavl. Spring came early this year, necessitating more than usual speed in preparing machinery and land for sowing.

Economic Plan 1937.

The 1937 Plan was published on 31 March, instead of early January, as in previous years. Details of fulfilment of the 1936 plan also appeared, showing an increase in industrial production of 28.4 per cent. over 1935. Certain aspects of industry exceeded the 1936 plan, e.g. heavy industry, which bettered the plan by 5.4 per cent. On the other hand, other aspects fell below plan, such as building construction, coal and oil. The report points out that in many cases the over-achievement of the plan was accomplished at the expense of a failure to reduce the cost of production. This was due to excessive resort to over-time work, to premiums, to wasteful use of raw materials and of fuel for power, and to reduction in the quality of the product. These factors are to be overcome in 1937.

Some elements in the production increase of the Plan for 1937 may be noted: electric power, 40.5 milliard kwt. as against 22.7; coal, 150,100,000 tons as against 123,600,000, oil, 32,100,000 tons as against 29,100,000 tons, steel, 16,000,000 as against 14,300,000. Increase in productivity of labour is fixed at 19.5 per cent., and of average labour wages at 5.6 per cent. The self-cost of industrial goods is to be reduced by 3.1 per cent.; the appropriation to industry in the State budget is 12.3 milliard roubles, with State profit on the same reckoned at 6.3 milliard roubles.

The Third Five Year Plan

On 28 April the Council of People's Commissaries instructed the Gosplan and the several USSR Commissariats to complete, by 1 July, 1937, their estimates for the Third Five Year Plan. Among the general objectives set are improvements in quality of products, reduction in cost of production, further increase in quantity, increase in mechanised production, and a further strengthening of national defence. An innovation is the proposed collaboration of the Academy of Sciences in preparing the Plan.

Air Service.

On 31 December, 1936, the agreement covering joint German-Soviet operation of the air service Moscow-Berlin and Leningrad-Berlin expired. The Moscow-Berlin service was temporarily prolonged for three months. But the whole German-Soviet agreement has now been definitely dropped. On 18 May the Moscow papers reported agreements providing for service to Northern Europe via Stockholm, and to other European countries via Prague.

Moscow Volga Canal.

The canal was formally opened on 1 May, completing one of the most extensive and important of Soviet undertakings. It reduces the length of water route from Moscow to Leningrad by 1,100 kilometers, and from Moscow to Gorky by 110 kilometers. The canal itself is 128 kilometers in length and 5.5 meters in depth, and makes it possible for the largest river steamers to come to dock at Moscow. It is stated that the construction of the canal involved only 7 per cent. less work than that of the Panama Canal. Further comparison shows that the Volga canal has ten locks to four for Panama, and that the Volga canal has five large pumping stations. Tentative estimates indicate that 2,600,000 tons will be handled at the Moscow canal port this year, and 15,000,000 in 1942.

1937 Plan Fulfilment.

The Soviet press has given critical estimates on the first quarter, 1937. While production increased 5 to 10 per cent. in electric power, steel and textiles, this increase is below plan. Production of coal, pig iron, steel, oil, locomotives, combines, lathes, timber, was less during the first quarter, 1937, than during the corresponding period of 1936. The Soviet press is especially concerned with lowered coal production, since it was in this industry that the Stakhanov Movement started. Blame is put on careerism and bureaucratic, arm-chair methods of administration.

Young Soviet Musicians.

Of the first six places at the International Ysaye Competition for young violinists, at Brussels, 1st April, five were taken by competitors from the

Soviet Union. David Oistrack, first prize; Liza Hilels, third; Busya Goldstein, fourth; Marina Kozolupova, fifth; Misha Fichtenholz, sixth. After this success, the competitors were invited to appear in Paris, Warsaw, and elsewhere, where they were received with great applause.

Religion.

During the first five months of 1937, the Soviet press has devoted much attention to interpreting the new Soviet constitution on matters of religion. As contrasted with recent years, the leading dailies and monthlies now consider religion an important current question and deal with it in a fundamental manner. It is pointed out that anti-religion is an essential element in Soviet education and particularly in political education. The present interest in this question is closely related to the whole revival of political alertness signalised by Stalin in his speeches of 3 and 5 March.

New Assistant Foreign Commissary.

Vladimir P. Potemkin, who has been Soviet Ambassador to France since 1934, was appointed Assistant People's Commissary of Foreign Affairs on 3 April, 1937. Since 1924 he has served in various foreign legations and embassies. His revolutionary career dates from his student days. The appointment reflects the tendency toward maintenance of strong ties with France and other democratic countries.

Visits of Spanish Delegations to Moscow.

Throughout the spring of 1937 there have been various delegations from republican Spain to the Soviet Union, in whose honour receptions and a great number of popular meetings have been held.

Soviet Representatives at the Coronation.

The Soviet Union was officially represented at the Coronation of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth by the Foreign Commissary Litvinov, Commander Orlov, and the Soviet Ambassador Maisky. After the Coronation, Mr. Litvinov took part in diplomatic conversations in London and Paris.

Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of "Pravda."

On 5 May the official organ of the Central Committee and Moscow Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik), *Pravda* celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary with suitable articles not only in *Pravda* itself but in the other Soviet journals. Emphasis was placed on the large part played by this daily in the history of the Party. Among the members of the first editorial body was Molotov. The last individual responsible editor was Bukharin, since whose disgrace in 1936 the paper has been edited by an editorial group whose names do not appear.

May Day Celebrations

The usual celebration of international proletarian solidarity took place on 1 May. The most prominent persons on the tribune besides Lenin's tomb on the Red Square were Stalin, Kalinin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Ezhov, Andreyev, Kaganovich, Mikoyan, Antipov and Sulimov. Marshal Voroshilov made a brief speech greeting the military parade, emphasising the loyalty of the Red Army in the struggle against Fascism.

Flight to the North Pole.

On 21 May a Soviet *Ant 6* four-motored plane piloted by Vodopyanov, flew over the North Pole and landed in the vicinity. On board the plane was the Chief of the Expedition, O. J. Schmidt, with four other members and a crew of five, besides the pilot, a total of eleven persons. The flight inaugurated a prolonged stay of the expedition, which set up a station on an ice-floe near the Pole for the purpose of studying weather conditions as an aid to meteorological reports. For several years the Soviet Government has paid great attention to the Arctic, having in mind both the water route along the north coast of Siberia to the Bering Straits and the possibilities of air routes.

Reorganising the Communist Party.

The Communist Party has always represented a small minority of Russia's population. Even if compared with that part of the adult population included in "socialised" life—proletariat, government employees and collective farmers—the proportion is still minute. It has proportionally decreased with the extension of socialisation. Thus in 1928 the Party had a million members out of the 16 million "socialised" adults over 20 years of age. In 1934 out of 65,000,000 socialised adults, 1,800,000 were Party members. By 1936 membership reached its maximum, 2,000,000.

Party membership has been considerably reduced by successive "cleansings." The first, in 1921, eliminated about 30 per cent. of the total. In 1929, a second general cleansing excluded 300,000 persons from Party membership. Another general "cleansing" took place in 1933-34, and twice since then (1935 and 1936) a "check-up of documents" of Party members has served the same purpose.

Nevertheless, Moscow has apparently not been satisfied with the results thus obtained. At its February meeting, 1937, the Central Committee of the Party passed a resolution entitled, "Preparation of Party organs for the elections, under the new constitution, to the Supreme Council of the USSR." The resolution states that the new electorate system has greatly increased the influence of the masses and that therefore the Party must apply purely democratic methods to its own organisation. A series of orders assures this change and at the same time removes abuses current in recent years. Thus all members of Party organisations

must be elected instead of being co-opted, as has often hitherto been the custom. These candidates must be elected individually, instead of on a block ticket, as hitherto, and it is specifically provided that for each candidate "full opportunity for criticism by all local members of the Party be assured." Balloting must be secret. Party organisations must be chosen by regularly appointed and conducted elections, not by conventions as has often been the case.

This new ruling means a great change in the Party system as hitherto in force. Regular elections to positions within the Party have become very rare. Since the publication of the order, a wave of sharp criticism of Party officials of almost all ranks from village counsellors to members of central, all-Union organisations, has swept the country. Many changes in personnel have resulted. For the first time, a purging comes from beneath rather than from above. Another new fact is notable. the participation in many Party meetings of non-members of the Party.

It is of course too early to record the complete results of this new attempt to have a Party composed only of thoroughly desirable members. On 23 May it was reported in Moscow that in the local elections of 54,000 Party organisations, 55 per cent. of those elected to Party organs are new persons.

The Census of 1937 in the USSR.

On 6 January, 1937, a national census was taken. This was the third since the Revolution. The first, in 1930, covered only a part of the Soviet territory and took account of some 72 per cent. of the population. That of 1926 covered the whole country and recorded a population of 147,000,000.

The information sought this year was fairly simple: (1) Sex, (2) Age, (3) Nationality, (4) Native language, (5) Religion, (6) Married or single, (7) Citizenship, (8) Literacy, (9) Pupil, in what school, (10) What grade, (11) Education, secondary or higher, (12) Present occupation, (13) Where, (14) To what social group do you belong: worker, collective farmer, non-collectivised farmer, artisan, liberal profession, servitor of a cult and other non-labouring element. A special set of questions for soldiers of the Red Army covers practically the same ground, including the inquiry about the individual's social origin. In general the census is reported as having been well done. Full tabulation of results is promised early in 1938. This is a much shorter period than has been usual in Russian census operations. The census of 1897 took seven years to tabulate, and a full report on the census of 1926 was made only two years later. Modern mechanised methods, now employed, promise more speedy results.

The Case of Yagoda.

G. G. Yagoda, whose sudden removal from office as head of the OGPU surprised the world, has had a varied history. Before the War he was a chemist. He was appointed member of the "Presidium" of the OGPU

during the régime of Dzerzhinsky, and on the latter's death succeeded him. This function was later combined with that of Commissary of the Interior. From this high office Yagoda was transferred in September, 1936, to the minor position of Commissary of Post and Telegraph. On January 27, 1937, he was placed on the reserve list, and on April 4, the following decree of the Central Executive Committee was published: "In view of the discovery of criminal activity on the part of G. G. Yagoda, he is hereby removed from office as Commissary of Communications and handed over to the prosecuting authorities."

Changes in the Red Army.

During the month of May significant changes, both in personnel and in organisation, took place in the Red Army. Marshal A. I. Egorov, hitherto Chief of the General Staff was named First Assistant Commissary of National Defence, succeeding Marshal M. N. Tukhachevsky, who was transferred to become Commander of Troops in the Volga Military District. The place left vacant by the advancement of Egorov was taken by Commander (First Rank) B. M. Shapozhnikov.

At the same time a Government order instituted Military Councils in all military districts, while in all divisions of the Army and other military institutions, the new position of Military Commissary was created. During May, also, there were district conferences of the Party as represented in the Army, for the purpose of electing new Party committees. On these occasions, according to the *Red Star* (military newspaper) the Party organisations within the Army were subjected to severe criticisms.

Tukachevsky, born in 1892, became a Party member in 1918 and almost immediately rose to high position. He commanded the first Eastern army against Kolchak (1918) and held other important commands. He became a member of the Revolutionary War Council in 1925 and had been First Assistant People's Commissary of Defence since 1931.

Egorov had been chief of the General Staff since 1931, previous to which he was entrusted with various important tasks, among them that of selecting former officers of the Tsar who were willing to enter the Red Army service. He joined the Party in 1918.

Trial and Execution of Red Army Generals.

The establishment of the district military councils was followed in June by a series of sensational arrests, and on 11 June eight of the former leaders and tacticians of the Red Army were hurriedly tried by court martial for high treason and executed. In this case the charges related exclusively to treasonable connections with Germany, and Japan was not mentioned. In contrast with the prolonged trial of Radek and his fellow accused in open court and the speedy publication of a verbatim report, there is this time so far no evidence of any kind to indicate the background of this trial.

REVIEWS

TROTSKY'S ATTACK ON STALIN.

The Revolution Betrayed. By Leon Trotsky. Faber and Faber, London. 1937.

ONE cannot think that Trotsky's last book will increase his reputation as a political leader, though it bears new evidence of his caustic wit. Witte completely spoilt his Memoirs through his incessant and uncontrolled malice against his successor, Stolypin. Trotsky has Stalin on the brain, and the defect is not mended by the fact that it is a very clever brain. Speeches seldom run well as books, and this is a speech of a belated demagogue with an uncertain audience. We are called upon to argue over again not very profitable quarrels and to plunge ourselves back into the moods of a period that is over.

The book is valuable to us for certain important confrontations and verifications. Trotsky, like others of us, insists on the "zigzag" course of the Communist experiment; and, with an inside knowledge which is denied to most of us, he maps out the different contrasting periods very much as we do. He confirms the degeneration of the spirit of the young during the NEP (p. 156). He marks the peace policy of the Soviets, as from the surrender of the Chinese Eastern Railway (p. 184). He now admits the enormous acquisitions of the industrial five year plan, and states, on page 214: "The planned economy has up to this time . . . given its greatest advantages from the military point of view." In criticising the new formula "to everyone according to his work" (formerly "to everyone according to his need") he not unjustly remarks that the authors of the new constitution "have mechanically hitched on . . . the capitalist norm of peace-work payment," though his suggestion that in the happy socialist future, nothing except need will have to be considered is anything but convincing.

Trotsky's charge, as his title states, is that Stalin has betrayed the world revolution. It is natural enough that an international Jew, who has lived so much of his life abroad, should put the emphasis which Trotsky places on propaganda outside Russia, and that one, like Stalin, whose life has lain in his own country, should take a different view. "The struggle for a favourable change in the correlation of world forces," writes Trotsky on page 185, "puts upon the workers' State a continual obligation to come to the help of the liberative movements in other countries." "In the coming world war, no military allies can compensate the Soviet Union for the lost confidence of the colonial peoples and of the toiling masses in general." (Page 187.) "If the war should remain only a war, the defeat of the Soviet Union would be inevitable" (page 216). Stalin might reasonably reply that nothing had done so much to recover the enthusiasm of the youth of the Union or the

interest and respect of foreign critics as his vast plans of construction for developing what is probably the richest sixth of the world, not for enterprisers and millionaires, but for the community as a whole, and that there would be no greater recommendation of socialism in the world in general than its success over such a wide area. Whether we approve or not of the achievement or of its methods, Stalin could claim that he had done what Trotsky had done no more than talk of: that he had collectivised what is overwhelmingly the most important industry in Russia—agriculture. As he truly said, a socialist industry and an industrialist agriculture meant, in agricultural Russia, the failure of socialism. But he might also turn round upon Trotsky and ask in what foreign country communist propaganda had produced anything else but fascism. Other countries do not enjoy foreign interference, especially with such flimsy and misty arguments as Trotsky produces in this book. In this country, anyhow, the only successful propaganda will be successful achievement in Russia.

Trotsky throughout represents the present phase in the Soviet Union as "Thermidor." This was said with a good deal more justice at the beginning of the NEP, when Trotsky was still a great power in Russia, for then the Government was dragged back by the country, and now it itself controls the changes which it is introducing. He follows out his misleading analogy with the French Revolution by describing the present policy as "Bonapartism." Here there are certainly some similarities, but, taken as a whole, this interpretation may prove to be even more misleading.

It is interesting to one who radically disagrees with Trotsky's views to find that his account of what has happened, as distinct from his interpretation of it, is in general the same as one's own. But the difference is that where Trotsky curses, the reader will often bless. Let us take this passage on the family:—"Only a little while ago, in the course of the first five year plan, the schools and the Communist Youth were using children for the exposure, shaming, and in general 're-educating' of their drunken fathers or religious mothers—with what success is another question. At any rate, this method meant a shaking of parental authority to its foundations. In this not unimportant sphere too, a sharp turn has now been made. Along with the seventh, the fifth commandment is also fully restored to its rights—as yet, to be sure, without any reference to God." (Page 148.)

Perhaps, coming so soon after a notable national crisis, this passage will help us to form an estimate of the intimacy of Trotsky's knowledge of the "toiling masses" of this country and of his claim to their leadership, to repair any gaps in the defences of the Soviet Union.

BERNARD PARES.

Pouchkine, 1799-1837. *Revue de Littérature comparée*. 1937. Paris · Boivin. 260 pp.

THIS admirable piece of teamwork, which would need another team of experts to appraise it properly, is surely one of the best fruits of the centenary · an international offering to Pushkin, by skilled hands. There are fifteen chief contributors, who between them speak for seven literatures. The method is narrative; the text and footnotes abound in references to the sources and authorities, thus providing a first aid to the vast bibliography of the subject. The task has been twofold: first of all and most important, to mark the influence on Pushkin of various foreign literatures and writers; and, secondly, to mark the course of his influence on those literatures, and of Pushkin studies both in Russia and beyond it. In respect of France, England, and Germany, both these tasks have been performed; in the case of Italy, Yugoslavia, and (to some extent) of Poland, the writers have confined themselves to the second. Finally, among the "Notes et documents" M. Michel Gorlin reviews, in nineteen well-packed pages, "*Les études pouchkiniennes, 1917-1937*" — that is, the work done in Russia itself. There are many other notes, reviews, and summaries, by various hands.

The articles are written in French, German, and Italian, none, for some reason, are in English. Probably the English or American reader will turn first to the papers by two Harvard scholars (both in French). Dr. Samuel H. Cross relates the history of "*Pouchkine en Angleterre*," and makes it plain that, in spite of sundry matter printed in older magazines, the story really opens in 1845, in *Blackwood's*, with the contributions of Thomas Budge Shaw: "*la première étude*," says Mr. Cross, "*de large envergure sur la vie et les œuvres de Pouchkine*." His list of twenty-two lyrics translated by Shaw includes masterpieces like *Napoleon* and *Remembrance*. We owe the re-discovery of this pioneer to D. S. Mirsky, who quotes at length from Shaw in the appendix to his *Pushkin* (1926). Mr. Cross judges Shaw's verse more coolly than did Mirsky, finding his manner often heavy, and lacking in Pushkin's simplicity and grace; but does justice to his grasp both of the Russian language and of Pushkin's versification. In particular, be it added, the familiar snags and knots presented by the double rhymes are circumvented by Shaw with much skill. Mr. Cross pays due tribute to the valued work of W. R. Morfill, to Mirsky as historian and critic, and to Mr. Maurice Baring as an interpreter. He adds a host of other references, and has a generous word for some of those who have attempted to translate the poet.

Dr. Ernest J. Simmons, in "*La littérature anglaise et Pouchkine*," brings to a focus the material that is dispersed in his volume of 1935, *English Literature and Culture in Russia, 1553-1840*. The well-known outline of the story is here filled in. It is usually said that Pushkin was affected in turn by Byron, by Shakespeare, and by Scott. But these influences were in truth not so much successive, as cumulative, like those exerted upon Chaucer by France and by Italy. The spell of Byron faded;

but Pushkin, with all reserves, admired him to the last. All three writers marked him for good, freed his talent and helped to shape it, and enlarged his view of life and of human nature. I therefore plead that M. Emile Haumant in his suggestive pages on "Pouchkine et l'étranger" understates the influence of England, which extended far beyond the mixing of comedy with tragedy in *Boris Godunov*, and the bare scheme of the historical novel. For all this, it is of course Pushkin himself, the ever-new Pushkin, often a greater artist than his masters, who emerges. Dr. Simmons points also to the poet's interest in Sterne; and to his interest, still more curious and yet fruitful, in writers like John Wilson, who gave him the scenario for "The Feast in Time of Plague," and like our long-forgotten songster "Barry Cornwall" (Bryan Waller Procter). We are also reminded once more of Pushkin's very extensive English reading, and of his English library, after various struggles, he acquired a good working knowledge of our language.

Until 1848 the annals of "Pouchkine en France," which are described by M. Henri Mongault, are rather scanty. In that year Prosper Mérimée began to learn Russian, to remain thereafter "le chevalier servant de Pouchkine." Through his translation *The Queen of Spades* was widely known in France, and he also turned *Anchar* and *The Prophet* into French prose. Well known is the lucky illusion which inspired Pushkin to base his *Songs of the Western Slavs* upon Mérimée's faked collection, *La Guzla*; and also the pleasure of Mérimée, when Pushkin, now undeceived, wrote of him so handsomely. There seems to be no reason to assume any literary "influence"; but it is enough to read *Mateo Falcone* or *L'enlèvement de la redoute*, to feel that these two masters of prose are born brothers. Mongault quotes a critic, M. Jaloux, who observes that both of them present wild scenes and "imagination furieuses" in a form of classic purity. This is true, and yet there is in Mérimée a species of cruelty which is foreign to Pushkin. The subsequent study of the poet in France appears to have languished somewhat until the issue in 1911 of the monograph by M. Haumant, and M. Mongault describes its active renewal since the War. There have been editions, lives (one by M. Modeste Hofman), and more translations. The *émigrés*, naturally, have done their utmost to "acclimatise their favourite poet."

"La littérature française et Pouchkine" judiciously studied by M. G. Lozinski, is a weightier theme. The influence of the school of Parny, evident in the Lyceum verses, was transitory; not so that of the *grand siècle*. Pushkin, while rejecting the cerecloth conventions of "classicism," learned from the old masters to practise economy, precision, and the logic of style—qualities which do not desert him in his most impassioned utterance. Voltaire taught him to practise them in his prose; affected his whole conception of historical writing; and also, not happily, inspired the *Gavriiliada*. Pushkin, we read, distrusted most of the French romantics, with the exception of course of Chénier (who is, indeed, a "pre-romantic"); Mme de Staël, Chateaubriand, and Benjamin

Constant (*Adolphe*) also attracted his respect. Yet, says M Lozinski justly, "il serait vain de chercher en France les modèles de ses oeuvres mûres" In "Pouchkine et Molière" M Jules Patouillet reduces to their just proportions the debts of *The Avaricious Knight* to *L'Avare*, and of *The Stone Guest* to *Le Festin de Pierre*. It was the *tragic* ingredient in these originals that attracted Pushkin. M Haumant, in the brief paper on "Pouchkine et l'étranger," sums up thus "il doit à la Russie les inspirations qui l'ont sacré poète national, mais de nos classiques il a gardé l'art et le goût" True enough, I believe, if we do not forget, as I have pleaded above, the inspiration of England Lozinski (p. 63) states clearly the apparent paradox of Pushkin, the *odi et amo* betrayed in his attitude to France. He abuses her prosody, her older "classiques" and their conventions, her romantics, and also the French temperament generally. "Et malgré cela, cette même littérature l'attirait avec une force invincible." The solution, perhaps, lies in Pushkin's inborn instincts; his passion for classical form and precision was evoked and cultured, but not created, by his French studies. He accepts, accordingly, whatever appeals to that passion, and rejects the rest.

He also owed something, but not much, to Germany. Herr Arthur Luther, in "Puschkin und die deutsche Sprache und Dichtung," shows that Schiller counted with him for little; and that, despite his immense respect for Goethe, his actual debts were chiefly confined to *Faust*, a work which "was his lifelong companion." A welcome translation, in French blank alexandrines, of the "New Scene between Faust and Mephistopheles" is provided by M. Jules Legras. Herr Luther points out the essential difference between Pushkin's conception and Goethe's: and again, in "Puschkin in Deutschland" he reviews a multitude of editions, commentaries, and translations. Among the translators, Luther singles out Henry von Heiseler (died 1928), a name strange to English ears. He speaks highly of von Heiseler's versions, and also of his criticisms. The effectual study of Pushkin appears to have begun in 1838 with the writings of Varnhagen von Ense (whose *Memoirs*, in that year, were reviewed by Thomas Carlyle). Varnhagen's judgment on *Eugeny Onegin* might have been written today, he praises the "hellste Anschaulichkeit, das Rasche, Gedrungene der Darstellung, die Einfachheit und Klarheit der Naturschilderungen."

In "Pushkin in Italia" Signor Ettore Lo Gatto is forced to deplore the scantiness of the pre-war record. There had been sundry experiments, he tells us, and the best translating was done by Federico Verdinois. But of late years the Pushkin literature has multiplied, and there has been much concerted effort by scholars. Lo Gatto announces a volume of articles by a band of specialists, to appear under the auspices of the Istituto per l'Europa Orientale. He also, of necessity, calls attention to the space given to Pushkin in his own *Storia della letteratura russa*; to his teaching on the topic in the University of Padua and to his forthcoming translation of *Onegin*. He quotes a eulogy of this work by a

Russian reader. It has now appeared, as we learn from a notice by Michael Osorgin in the Paris *Poslednyaya Novost* for 1 April, of this year. Lo Gatto, for Pushkin's stanza, has used the Italian hendecasyllabic line, it will be of interest to see how many of such lines will fit into the fourteen four-beat lines of the original.

A brief, rather meagre note on "Pouchkine et Yougoslavie" is offered by M. Josip Badalić. We learn from him that the industry of translating began about 1840 and has flourished since, that the poets Vojislev Ilić among the Serbs, and Stanko Vraz among the Croats, have felt most deeply the genius of Pushkin; and that there is not much scholarly attention paid to him. The record of Poland, naturally, is much more ample, and one aspect of it is discussed by M. V. Lednicki in the article "Pouchkine et Mickiewicz." There is a large literature in Russian and Polish on this subject, which is more fully specified by Mr. Arthur P. Coleman in the Harvard volume, *Centennial Essays for Pushkin* (1937), pp. 77-105. Neither writer mentions the work by Lo Gatto (named by him, *Pouchkine*, p. 195) on the relationship between the two poets (1936). Moreover, in this *Review* (Jan. 1937, p. 315) is announced a work on the selfsame matter by "the White-Russian academician Zhilunovich." It looks as though some staff-work will be needed hereafter in order to collate all these inquiries. There is no space to say more here, but of perennial interest are the friendship, the estrangement, the mutual regard and mutual influence of the two greatest Slavonic poets, co-equals in genius though so deeply diverse. Nor can we do more than salute the lucid summary, already mentioned, by Michel Gorlin, of the Russian literature on Pushkin, "1837-1897." It covers, though in narrative form, much of the same ground as the bibliography of Dr. Simmons in his *Pushkin* (1937), pp. 461-470. There remain, for what must be insufficient mention, the opening pages on "Alexandre Pouchkine" by the veteran scholar M. André Mazon; who dwells on the relatively slight character of the poet's "occidentalisme." "Au fond, Pouchkine n'a vécu et n'a aimé que la vie russe, si ingrate qu'elle lui ait été parfois." I cannot refrain from quoting M. Mazon's words on Pushkin's language: "Il a su réunir dans sa langue la fermeté du parler populaire, la résonance majestueuse du slavon, la précision, la clarté, l'esprit, l'allure légère et décidée de ses modèles français." The much longer article by M. Modeste Hofman on "Poésie et vérité dans l'oeuvre de Pouchkine" is less of a "comparatiste" study than its companions, and more purely aesthetic, tracing the gradual increase of concreteness, relief, and reality in Pushkin's portraits and scenes. M. Hofman also sharply distinguishes truth from legend, and proof from guesswork, in the precarious work of identifying the real persons and events that lie behind Pushkin's poems.

OLIVER ELTON.

Centennial Essays for Pushkin Edited by Samuel H. Cross and Ernest J. Simmons. Cambridge, Massachusetts. Harvard University Press, 1937. 226 pp. \$2.50.

Hommage à Pouchkine. 1837-1937. Les Cahiers du Journal des Poètes. Bruxelles, 1937. 83 pp. 10 frs.

Puszkyn. 1837-1937. By Wacław Lednicki. Kraków, 1937. 64 pp.

THE centenary of Pushkin's death has called forth several foreign tributes to him—both collective and individual. We have here before our eyes three such tributes—the American, the Belgian and the Polish. (The French homage published by the *Revue de littérature comparée* is reviewed elsewhere in this number.)

THE American volume of *Centennial Essays for Pushkin* edited by two Harvard scholars, Professor Ernest J. Simmons and Professor Samuel H. Cross, opens with a new translation of Pushkin's *Exegi Monumentum* and ends with that of Lermontov's lines *On the death of the Poet*. Both translations come from Mr. Robert Hillyer. Unfortunately, in translating Pushkin's famous poem the translator, though not adhering strictly to the form of the original (he has discarded the double rhymes and altered the rhyming scheme), has taken too many liberties with the poet's text, as may be seen from the following comparison between the exact prose translation and Mr. Hillyer's rendering of the first stanza: Pushkin said:

"I have erected for myself a monument not made by hand,
The people's path to it will not get overgrown
With its rebellious head it towers
Above Alexander's column."

Mr. Hillyer renders it thus.

This monument, not raised by human hand,
Will lead the pilgrims of my fatherland
More loftily than the great column built
To Alexander's glory, *and his guilt*.

The same remark applies to the translation of Lermontov's poem, where, in addition, several lines have been simply left out. Neither the quiet flow of Pushkin's proud and majestic lines nor the passionate torrent of Lermontov's invective is felt in the translation.

After this somewhat unhappy introduction comes Professor Simmons' short "Biographical Study of Pushkin," based on the same author's monumental biography of the poet published simultaneously by the Harvard University Press. Professor Simmons, who is a specialist in English literature, has apparently become interested in Russian literature through his interest in British literary influences in Russia; a couple of years ago he published a book on *English Culture and Literature in Russia (1553-1840)* which, with all its deficiencies, is the most thorough study of the subject. In the process of his Russian studies he obviously

fell under the spell of Pushkin, as did other foreigners before him whenever they came in contact with the original Pushkin (suffice it to mention here Prosper Mérimée, George Borrow, Maurice Baring). Everything he writes about Pushkin reflects his great and sincere admiration for "Russia's Shakespeare," and in his person Pushkin has in America a most devoted and ardent propagandist.

With Professor Simmons' attitude to the great Russian poet to whom he applies Dryden's words said of Chaucer: "Here is God's plenty," may be contrasted that of Professor George Rapall Noyes, of the University of California. His article entitled "Pushkin in World Literature" is the most lively and provocative in the whole volume. He denies that Pushkin is a world poet, "a man of the stature of Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Molière, Goethe," and contends that he is a poet of Horatian type, whose greatness, like that of Horace, lies in his *curiosa felicitas*, and who does not "deal in great themes." He admits that Pushkin's best—and perhaps only—claim to rank as a world poet is his *Eugeny Onegin*, which, however, owing to the impossibility of an adequate translation can hardly have a universal appeal. Professor Noyes ends his article by asserting that behind Pushkin's work "there is no great personality" and that he is "not the equal of Tolstoy." The comparison—so long as it is drawn on the literary plane—would seem to me to be rather futile. But the whole reasoning of Professor Noyes is open to dispute, and in asserting that Pushkin never dealt in great themes he is rather bold. Are not the "themes" of *Mozart and Salieri*, of *The Bronze Horseman*, of *The Gypsies*, of *The Miserly Knight* "great" themes, and is not the artistic value of their treatment enhanced by the apparent detachment of the author? As Professor Simmons says, Pushkin "pleads no causes, preaches no philosophy," but that does not imply that he never deals in themes that would be worth philosophising about.

There is another and minor point in Professor Noyes' argument that needs refuting. Speaking of Russian verse, he says: "Russian verse is very different from English verse, though it is built on the same principle of accent and though its metres are fundamentally the same. It is far more regular, its iambic rhythm is not broken by inversions, and is varied merely by the changing position of the caesura." The last statement underlined by us is quite wrong, but I think I realise where Professor Noyes' trouble is when he adds: "I know Russian tolerably well; but, since my ear for verse was trained on Wordsworth, Byron, Tennyson, and their comrades, with their perpetually varying rhythms, continually broken by inversions, Russian verse, even the verse of Pushkin, is apt to impress me as a monotonous sing-song; I cannot read it for long stretches without becoming bored." It is true, of course, that Russian classical verse, be it iambic or trochee, does not allow of "inversions," but it is utterly wrong to imagine that "its iambic rhythm . . . is varied merely by the changing position of the caesura." Rhythmic

variety of Russian classical iambic is achieved by other means inherent in the structure of the language itself. Thanks to a great number of polysyllabic words in Russian, there are many more possibilities of change and variation within what is technically described as an iambic line. In point of fact Russian iambic verse contains but few strictly iambic lines, it is richly interspersed with pyrrhics, and, owing to the possibility of different combinations, its rhythmic pattern is always rich and varied; it is the predominance of one- and two-syllable words in English, together with the existence of such a thing as secondary stresses, that makes "inversions" essential to break the monotony. In Russian the monotony is deceptive, and in Professor Noyes' case probably due, either to the difficulty which nearly all foreigners have in avoiding secondary stresses in polysyllabic Russian words, or to some bad Russian influence; for it is unfortunate that so many Russians are addicted to faulty scansion, in that they try to reduce the infinitely varied and flexible rhythmic pattern of the Russian iambic to a monotonous regular scheme.

Of the other essays in the volume under review it is necessary to mention an illuminating study of "Pushkin as a Historian" by Professor Michael Karpovich. Analysing Pushkin's *History of the Pugachev Rebellion*, he comes to some interesting conclusions and, contrary to some recent opinions, underlines "the keenness of Pushkin's penetration into the social aspect of his subject" and "the degree of detachment and objectivity he was able to preserve" in dealing with it. In fact he describes Pushkin's *History* as "the first Russian monograph in social history."

Pushkin's political views are discussed by Professor George V. Vernadsky in his essay on "Pushkin and the Decembrists."

Dr. Arthur P. Coleman provides a thorough though hardly original study of the relations between Pushkin and Mickiewicz and their mutual influence, a subject to which the well-known Polish scholar Professor Wacław Lednicki has made of late such a valuable contribution, but in which, as Dr. Coleman points out, there is still a large field open for research. Dr. Coleman gives some valuable hints as to the possible directions of such research.

Mr. Alexander Kaun's essay on "Pushkin's Sense of Measure" hardly bears out its title—it deals chiefly with Pushkin's debt to foreign literatures and his gift of universality.

Professor Samuel H. Cross devotes a detailed study to "Pushkin in Soviet Criticism." He seems to us to take too seriously some of the recent Soviet controversies about the sociological significance of Pushkin. The real value of many of these controversies is more than doubtful. There is one point in Professor Cross' useful and informative essay with which I must quarrel, and that is his description of Tyutchev as an "eclectic versifier." The name of "versifier," so casually flung out, hardly becomes one of the greatest Russian poets (perhaps *the* greatest

after Pushkin), and if ever there was a less "eclectic" poet than others it was certainly Tyutchev.

The essays of Mr. George Z. Patrick ("Pushkin's Prose Writings") and Mr. Victor de Gérard ("The Folk Tales of Pushkin"), though somewhat slight and tending to a mere catalogue, complete the picture of Pushkin as a writer, while Mrs. Dorothea Prall Radin ("*Eugene Onegin* read Today") makes a gallant attempt to convey to American readers, and make them share with her, her enthusiasm for *Evgeny Onegin*, her article consisting for the greater part of quotations from her own translation of the famous work just published by the University of California Press. Unfortunately the translation does not strike us as very happy.

The small book published by the Belgian *Journal des Poètes*, under the editorship of Zinaida Shakhovskoy, contains four essays ("Pushkin's Life" by Professor M. L. Hofmann, "Pushkin in Russian Literature" by Zinaida Shakhovskoy, "Pushkin and European Literature" by the present writer, and "Pushkin's Verse and Poetic Style" by V. Weidlé) and numerous translations of Pushkin's poems by René Meurant, Paul Fiérens, André Lirondelle, Robert and Zenitta Vivier, Catulle-Mendès, V. Nabokov-Sirin and M. Raslovlev. In his short but suggestive essay Mr. Weidlé makes some interesting remarks on the inner affinity of Pushkin and Coleridge (whom Pushkin is known to have greatly admired)—a subject which he has developed more fully elsewhere.

Some of the translations strike us as quite good. That of the remarkable *Poem written during Insomnia*, by the well-known young Russian novelist and poet V. Nabokov-Sirin, deserves a special mention.

The little volume of Professor Wacław Lednicki, who has already done so much in the domain of "Pushkinology," contains three separate essays: 1. a general study of Pushkin and his place in world literature (contrary to Professor Noyes' thesis, the author speaks of Pushkin's Dantean quality and rôle); 2. a detailed study of the circumstances of Pushkin's death (following in the wake of some Soviet Russian scholars, the author seems to us to lay an undue stress on the Emperor's flirtation with Nathalie Pushkin); and 3. an essay on the Polish attitude to Pushkin's centenary, a kind of *apologia* invoking the friendship which united Russia's and Poland's greatest poets.

As Professor Lednicki points out in another place, the meeting of Pushkin and Mickiewicz is not only a historical fact, but a kind of legend. For those Russians and Poles who aimed at the reconciliation of the two peoples it became "a symbol, a kind of talisman or myth of Russo-Polish friendship." This legend bore fruit in Russia where it aroused sympathy for Mickiewicz. It was more difficult for the Poles to accept Pushkin, and even a hundred years after his death, Professor Lednicki has to appeal to Polish "magnanimity" in justifying Poland's participation in the Pushkin centenary celebrations.

GLEB STRUVE.

Recherches sur le Judéo-Espagnol dans les pays balkaniques (Société de publications romanes et francaises, XVI). By C M. Crews Paris, 1935. 319 pp 36 frcs.

A LINGUISTIC survey of the Balkan peninsula would be an extremely interesting undertaking. Nowhere have so many races and so many languages been living in such close proximity for centuries as within that comparatively small portion of the world's surface. Slavs and Greeks, Albanians and Turks, Kutzovlachs and Gypsies, and last but not least, a considerable population of Spanish speaking Jews. The influence which these peoples have exercised upon one another has not yet been sufficiently investigated, if only because there has been too much local patriotism and too much political wirepulling whenever attempts have been made to define linguistic boundaries. And yet none who knows the popular poetry, not to speak of the vocabulary of these languages, can fail to realise how great interaction has been, and, in particular, how great has been the influence exercised by Turkish upon all these tongues, not only in the peninsula itself but also across the Danube, in Roumania and even further North.

Years ago Miklosich undertook the very heavy task of trying to sort out the component elements in the medley, and, with very different ends in view, the new states are now zealously engaged in eliminating words which are considered to be alien. Everywhere the old traditional words are being replaced by loans from Western languages, and everywhere words of a technical character are being introduced.

Those who are working on these lines should realise that there is a risk that their actions will obliterate part of the psychology and part of the cultural history of the Balkan nations. The words may change but the spirit has been moulded by these words. And with their disappearance problems are created which neither philology nor popular psychology will ever be able to solve. Much is fast disappearing owing to political tendencies, and it is therefore gratifying to find that some scholars at least are paying attention to the remains of olden times before they are irrecoverably lost.

One of the fast disappearing languages is Ladino (Judaean-Spanish), the language spoken by the Spanish Jews who migrated to Turkey in great numbers from the end of the fifteenth century onwards and who have played ever since no mean rôle in the history of the Turkish Empire, its culture, its civilisation and its commerce. Anyone who knew Constantinople, and especially Salonica, before the Great War was fully aware of the great activity displayed by these Jews and of the intimate relationship in which they stood with the rest of the inhabitants. These friendly relations between the various races and nations are clearly reflected in popular literature and are also mirrored in the Balkan vocabularies, all of which contain many words borrowed from one language or the other. Left to themselves, the middle and lower classes of one nation live in harmony with those of other nations, and they do not hesitate to exchange

even their saints nor to worship in each other's sanctuaries. An eloquent number of examples of this is to be found in the great work of F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*. Fairy tales, legends, customs pass from one to the other. There is very little difference between Albanian, Greek, Vlach and Turkish popular lore, or between Bulgarian and Serbian, it is therefore not surprising that the famous battle of Kosovo finds a minstrel in Serbia and in Albania. The heroes change, but the same story forms the subject of ballads. In the same way Turkish and Balkan fairy tales and legends, superstitions and beliefs, have been taken over by the Spanish Jews, and not a few Spanish words have found their way into modern Greek and into the languages of the other nations. But hitherto their language has been one of the most neglected. The Jews themselves do not realise the importance either of their tongue or of the tradition which it embodied, and the neighbouring nations have taken no interest in Spanish, which is too remote from their own literary or poetical heritage. Only in recent times has the study of Judæo-Spanish been undertaken. One of the most important works existing is that which we now owe to the diligence, acumen and scholarly equipment of the author of this volume. She has made no little sacrifice in her endeavour to collect from the mouths of the people all that could be gathered. It speaks very highly for her skill that she was able to win the confidence of her informants, who are notoriously very shy of telling stories and tales to outsiders, they are afraid of being mocked and laughed at, especially by people who come from the West and represent a different state of civilisation. And yet, with infinite zeal she went from place to place like a bee collecting the pollen from the flowers, so that she might give readers and scholars the honey her flowers have distilled. It is no exaggeration to say that she has shown all the qualities required not only to collect but also to interpret the material which she has been able to gather. Her book is indispensable to the student of the Spanish Jews and their language. It begins with a brief sketch of the history of the Jews in Spain and of the language as they spoke it before their expulsion to Turkey and the Orient. It then gives a minute description of the various dialects into which the language has been split in the course of the last 400 years, and this section is followed by texts taken from the dialects of Bucharest, Salonica, Bitolj and Skoplje, the whole being accompanied by numerous notes, a careful glossary and a full bibliography. Especially worthy of praise is the accuracy with which Mrs. Crews has reproduced in her transliteration the phonetic characteristics of the dialects she has recorded; nowhere has she succumbed to any temptation to transform them into Castilian Spanish or to polish the sometimes rough form which the idiom has assumed in the mouth of a people which has lived separated so long and so far from Spain. This excellent book (which is to be supplemented at a later date by material still in her possession and by a dictionary at which, I understand, she is working) gives a very clear picture of the lexicographical interrelations of the Balkan peoples and in,

consequence, of the intimate connections between the Spanish Jews and the rest of the inhabitants.

It is not only a valuable contribution to Romance philology and to general folk lore but also a contribution to the psychology and the cultural history of the Balkan peoples, and, as such, a notice of it finds its proper place in the *Slavonic and East European Review* which is concerned with the study of these people, their languages and literature.

M. GASTER.

Československá vlastivěda (A Survey of Czechoslovakia). 10 volumes
Prague (Bohumil Janda). 1930-36.

THESE ten large volumes form a huge encyclopædia of knowledge on Czechoslovakia: the most up-to-date and thorough-going survey of all aspects of the country's life, devised and written by the country's foremost scholars. The series is a real monument to a publisher's enterprise, the editors' organising skill and the learning of the several dozens of contributors. Vol. 1 is devoted to "Nature," to the geography, geology, flora and fauna of the country. Vol. 2, called "Man," contains surveys of prehistory, anthropology, ethnology, folklore, etc., by such authorities as J. Schráníl, J. Matějka, K. Chotek, J. Horák, etc. Vol. 3 is devoted to "Language." Vol. 4 gives a full continuous narrative of Czechoslovak history from the earliest times to 1918. The names of the writers (J. Dobráš, V. Novotný, O. Odložilík, R. Urbánek, J. Prokeš) are a sufficient guarantee of scholarly treatment. Vol. 5 (The "State") discusses such topics as the constitution and administration, the army and the foreign policy of the country and traces the development of the relations between Church and State and of the political parties among a host of kindred subjects, all from the pen of specialists like J. Kapras or J. Kallab. Vol. 6, called "Work," is a survey of the economics of Czechoslovakia: all aspects including agriculture, industry, trade, finance, etc., are thoroughly mapped out. Vol. 7 discusses "Literature." Vol. 8 is devoted to "Art," and gives an excellent survey of the history of fine arts, a survey of the Czech theatre (by O. Fischer) and a history of Music and the Opera. Vol. 9, called Technology, is concerned with public works and engineering. Vol. 10 gives a survey of the educational system and the achievements of scholarship. Each volume, which comprises between 600-900 large quarto pages, is illustrated with photographs, maps, diagrams, etc., which in themselves constitute a pictorial encyclopædia of the first rank. The whole is planned in such a way that present-day conditions are emphasised, though everywhere due attention is given to the historical roots and some volumes are largely of a historical nature. In a collective enterprise of such magnitude divergences of outlook, methods and skill in presentation cannot be avoided, and a certain unevenness of standards is undeniable. No single individual can be competent to criticise the whole encyclopædia. But two volumes, those on Language and Literature, deserve special mention in this review.

The volume on Literature, edited by A. Pražák and M. Novotný, illustrates well the comprehensiveness of the whole work and the amount of attention devoted to the life of the minorities. It is introduced most fittingly by a brilliant and concise survey of Czech literature written by Arne Novák. A shorter version of this survey is also available in German translation, in O. Walzel's *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*, though in the German version most unfortunately just the masterly introductory chapter on the spirit of Czech literature has been suppressed. This first chapter makes a very sober and modest claim for the recognition of Czech literature, and sketches its main characteristics and international relations in broad strokes, critically and convincingly. The main body of the History itself concentrates on the progress of the art of literature in Czech and sketches the general intellectual and social background only incidentally, as literature has been treated frequently enough as a social document in the other histories of Czech literature (especially by J. Vlček). A. Pražák, then, gives a very generous survey of Slovak literature, stressing the cultural unity of the two branches of the nation. Less critical, more descriptive accounts of the literature in Ruthene, Polish and Magyar follow. A. Kiaus then traces rather sketchily the history of German literature on Czech soil up to 1848 and a remarkably full chapter by Paul Eisner deals with German literature up to the very latest date. P. Eisner—whose article should be made accessible to German readers—is the first to write a good critical survey of German literature in Bohemia. Naturally he investigates the attitude of individual writers to the Czech nation with great care and much tolerant understanding. He seems somewhat over-enthusiastic about some recent writers from Prague (like Werfel or Brod), but he cannot be charged with neglecting the “regionalist,” nationalistic Germans, whom he discusses very fully and critically. The second half of the volume is taken up by a history of Czech journalism by the late J. Volf and K. Hoch, and by rather disproportionate articles on bibliophilism, book-bindings, book-selling and publishing in the country.

The volume on language seems better planned, and also contains some first-rate contributions. Oldřich Hujer, its editor, contributes a fine sketch of the history of the Czechoslovak language tracing the changes of the phonological and morphological system with great acumen and clarity. Bohuslav Havránek follows with an extensive and extremely well-documented survey of the Czech dialects. His contribution is an admirable example of the new linguistic method stressing the present-day aspects of the language, its coherence as a system of signs and its diversity of social functions. Each dialect is analysed and full examples quoted and clear little maps showing the lines of demarcation between individual linguistic characteristics (“isoglosses”) are drawn up. The penetration of analysis and characterisation and the care devoted to transitional zones are probably unique in dialectical studies. A study of the Slovak dialects by V. Vážný supports Havránek's masterly survey and a less penetrating and more shapeless article by G. Gerovsky extends the survey

of the dialects to Carpathian Russia. F. Oberpfalcer writes a full account of Czech argot and slang—a large collection of materials amusingly presented—and Ernst Schwarz from the German University of Prague gives an excellent account of the German dialects, with an interesting discussion of the Czech influence on German. Minor contributions are devoted to Magyar (by the late P. Bujnák) and the gipsy language (by V. Lesný.) Only Polish is missing, though the gap will be filled in the supplements.

Two highly original and suggestive articles by J. Mukařovský and R. Jakobson on Czech metrics and the history of Czech prosody deserve special mention. Mukařovský sketches the theory of metrics according to the principles of the Russian “formalists” and tells the history of Czech verse since 1795. R. Jakobson discusses the prosody of medieval Czech poetry and shows convincingly how older absolutist theories went astray in applying hard and fast rules to different metrical systems with very different inherent norms. The inclusion of these two articles in the volume on “Language” stresses the close connection of the new metrics with a new linguistic theory based on the function of every linguistic sign in the coherent whole of the system of language.

The volume on “Language” has been recently supplemented by a smaller additional volume which contains a History of literary Czech by B. Havránek and of literary Slovak by V. Vážný. Havránek traces in the same masterly fashion as in his survey of the dialects the development of those characteristics of the language which distinguish the literary language at different times. He studies the function of the literary language, i.e., whether it was put to administrative and scientific uses. He is strong on the question of its social background, its geographical distribution and its expansion abroad (*cf.* the interesting chapter on the influence of Czech on Polish). Besides, Havránek sketches the whole history of Czech prose style and of the poetical language. The first chapter, stressing the importance of the Church-Slavonic tradition in Bohemia, which has been very much underrated until lately, is especially interesting for Slavonic scholars, and his treatment of linguistic questions of the day is just as stimulating and new. The article by V. Vážný is a very clear exposition of the different attempts to create a Slovak literary language and of the present-day differences between the two stabilised forms of Czechoslovak.

On the whole, then, the two volumes on Literature and Language present an excellent and full picture of the complex of questions involved. It is not simply a summary of existing knowledge, but in many ways a presentation from new angles: an achievement which well demonstrates the value of new methods and of a codification of the most mature scholarly opinion. The two volumes speak well for the value of the whole work, which in many ways is surely the best realisation of the ideal of “regional” studies relating to any, not only a Slavonic, country.

RENÉ WELLEK.

O Konradzie Korzeniowskim. By Józef Ujejski. Pp. 299 Warsaw, 1936

JOSEPH CONRAD, who in his boyhood left Poland for ever to throw in his lot with England, whose fame is not that of a Polish but an English novelist, is claimed with pride by his Polish fellow countrymen as one of them; and justly. The mentality of Conrad, if in certain respects, such as his tendency to pessimism, curiously untrue to Polish type, remained ineradicably based not only on the inheritance of his Polish birth, but on his early unbringing in the shadows of 1863. Those who are conversant with the Polish language may clearly discern the influence of his mother tongue in his rich and exotic style. His mastery of description and handling of atmosphere are characteristics of the literature of his own country. Certain of his writings—notably the short story *The Tale*—are foreign to English psychology. He is un-English in his want of humour. The greater part of his work has been translated into Polish: and that he continues to be an object of unflinching interest to his compatriots is evident from the fact that so eminent a literary critic as Professor Ujejski has devoted a well documented study, supported by investigations carried on in Conrad's English surroundings to this Anglo-Pole under the title *On Konrad Korzeniowski*.

Conrad's relations with his own country are enigmatic, and in spite of the chapter on that subject with which Prof. Ujejski opens his book remain a mystery. His silence on Poland, broken only by two short stories, in one of which he will not so much as mention the name of Poland, by a few pages of personal reminiscences, and by two or three articles published after the war, was indeed at one time something like a rock of scandal both to Poles and to English friends of Poland. During those years when Poland could with truth have been called a forgotten nation, the genius of Conrad might have gone far in restoring her to the memory and sympathy of the British public. Prof. Ujejski certainly cites ample evidence in proof of Conrad's attachment to his country; but why, it may be asked—and the question will be asked again and again, and probably never find an answer—why did that master of fiction, who drew upon all the stores of a rich experience for his tales and novels, leave neglected the treasury of drama and psychology ready to his hand in the story of Poland's bondage? It is noticeable that when on those rare occasions Conrad breaks his silence (as in that exquisite little story *Amy Foster*, where, however, he will not even tell the story of a Polish emigrant as such, or in his recollections of his patriot mother), he writes with an unusual tenderness, and with such depths of pathos that we can only regret, not only for the sake of Poland, but for that of English literature, that he refused to say more.

The second section in the book, *Conrad and the World*, based on Conrad's own writings on politics, religion and so forth, naturally tells the reader little that he could not find out for himself. But the succeeding chapters, *Conrad and Art*, and more especially *Conrad and the World of*

his Novels, are full of suggestion and give us fresh light on many points. It is a curious reflection that this uprooted Pole was, as Prof Ujejski puts it, "always internally an alien in the world created by him, an observer from outside." Possessed of a fatalism unnatural to the Polish character, his humour, again to quote our author, is scarcely ever gay, and not diverting. It is more in the nature of a sardonic contemplation of the irony of Fate. Likewise there is neither sweetness nor softness in Conrad's passion for the sea. The man who could depict its every mood in unrivalled language was not so much its lover as its apprehensive slave. Prof. Ujejski very pertinently notes that such is his genius of reproducing atmosphere that our senses are affected by his descriptions as though we were actually present at the scenes he describes.

MONICA M. GARDNER.

Der Montenegrinische Mensch: zur Literaturgeschichte und Charakterologie der Patriarchalität. By Gerhard Gesemann, Professor at the German University of Prague. Prague (L. G. Calve) 1934. 30 Kc. (Mk 3.40).

PROFESSOR GESEMANN has produced a book of great originality and interest—marred, dare I say it, without for one moment wishing to depreciate its merit, and yet *marred* for the general public by a certain amount of philosophical jargon about "agonal themes," "Charakterologie des Lebensstils," and so on. It is a penetrating study of the Montenegrin character, in all its phases of heroism and "atavism," without the slightest attempt to slur over some of its weaker points. The Montenegrin, as his friends know, regards himself as "the best Serb, more Serbian than all other Serbs." In the struggle for bare life he has retained in their original form the primitive virtues and vices of an order of society long since vanished in the rest of Europe (except doubtless among his near neighbours the Albanians, who like himself have lived till the other day hermetically sealed in their mountain fastnesses). Professor Gesemann, who has a first hand knowledge of Yugoslav peasant life and writes with insight and sympathy, rightly sees in Montenegro the last still living clue to the Homeric man, and has skilfully interlarded his book with a number of most effective short folktales or anecdotes, chosen to illustrate this or that feature in the national character. Inevitably much stress is laid upon the Hajduk or "hero-robber" of Turkish days, corresponding to the Greek Klepht: "There is not a family," says M. Dušan Popović, "in the once Turkish territory of our nation, which has not at one time or another played its part in hajduk ways or served as an accomplice." It was good form for any young man of spirit to join a band of hajduks, and it was his hope to be immortal *in song*. For the Montenegrin—"a full pistol on an empty stomach," as he has been called—has poetry in his bones, though he may have no feeling for the Christian virtues of modesty and humility

(p. 95). He is too lazy to become a trader, and finds it impossible to keep money. "every Montenegrin is capable of squandering the Emperor's treasure," they say, and a miser is held in more than usual contempt among them. "No one can take away my honour: I carry it with me"—here we see heroism erected into a cult, in a land where "the whole of life is a permanent state of war, an eternal preparedness" (p. 126).

There are interesting chapters on misogyny, blood brotherhood, vengeance and vendetta, and in conclusion one entitled: "Philosophy of Heroism," which treats the famous Poet-Prince Peter's "Mountain Garland" (Gorski Vijenac) as the unique culmination of popular tradition and spontaneous poetry. It is an austere book which deserves wide attention.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

Sprawa Gdanska (The Danzig Question)—Dr. Henryk Strasburger. Warsaw, 1937. Pp. 113.

Stosunki Kulturalne polsko-Gdanskie w XVIII wieku (Cultural Relations of Poland and Danzig in the 18th Century). Dr. Lukasz Kurdybacha. Studja Gdanskie. Vol. I. Danzig, 1937. Pp. 108.

THE first of these books interests both with respect to the question it analyses, and to the person of the author himself. Dr. Strasburger held the post of Polish General Commissioner in Danzig for many years. He now complains of the weakness of the Polish Government in these matters, just as he himself years ago suffered the same charges. This only shows how very difficult the problem of the Free City is from the Polish side.

Dr. Strasburger discusses the legal, economic and political state of affairs in Danzig. He analyses the Statute, the rights of the League of Nations, and of Poland herself. If ever the discussion should arise again, as to whether the Free City is a State or not, the arguments brought together by our author against the sovereignty of Danzig will be definitive. The rights of the League and its High Commissioner to interfere in the internal affairs of the Free City, as the guarantor of the Constitution, are so indisputable, that any hope of questioning them is aimless.

Of special interest is what we learn as to why the elements all-powerful today in the Free City sought to lessen the authority of the High Commissioner, leaving him only the right to interfere in case of disputes between Danzig and Warsaw. The real source of trouble lay in the right of the Commissioner to demand of the Polish Government means for defending the city, and for maintaining order there. This might mean the bringing of Polish troops into Danzig, and so was dangerous! That is why we read, months ago, of the violent and unjust attacks upon Mr. Lester.

The chapter on economic considerations tells us of the prominent part played by Danzig in Polish foreign trade. Dr. Strasburger shows us how

both Danzig and the new port of Gdynia are needed, to secure for Poland an access to the sea. He also throws useful light on the reasons why Gdynia has expanded her trade relations faster than Danzig; and he makes it clear that a good share of the "blame" for this must be borne by Germans. From this we pass to politics, and here the great point made is that the altercations arising between Poland and the Free City have uniformly been a part of "the great struggle for Pomerania and Danzig against the German Reich, which has given international support to the elements in Danzig opposed to co-operation with Poland."

Of course these elements were financially dependent on Berlin, and they were constantly being strengthened by new forces sent in by Germany. As a result, officialdom in the Free City has been able successfully to oppose the business and working interests of the community, which have always desired collaboration with their great Hinterland. A sample of this opposition and its workings is the following. The press department of the Senate had forged a document, which stated that all the efforts of Poland to secure economic collaboration with Danzig were only part of the ultimate design in view, viz., the seizing of the city by that Power. No one believed in its *bona fides*, yet the noising of it abroad made any collaboration for a long time impossible.

Dr. Strasburger does not like the National Socialist régime. Neither do the majority of Danzig people today. He is, as are all others in Poland, outspoken in rejecting any rumours as to the possibility of Germany getting Danzig back, in return for any favours of any kind she might suggest to Poland.

By contrast, we have a very different picture of Danzig life, in the volume describing the relations between the city and Poland in the 18th century. Published by the Polish Society for the Promotion of Science and Art in Danzig, which has a number of useful volumes already to its credit, it raises questions never before dealt with by German authors and students. Actually, Danzig was the home of important scientific and cultural societies during the century under consideration, some of them being in close touch with England. We have here lively pictures of the patricians, and of the burghers many of whom used daily the "people's" German tongue, but combined their privileges as Danzig citizens with a real Polish patriotism. Light is thrown here, too, on the material assistance given to Danzig institutions and enterprises from different parts of the Polish world. By way of recompense, we find these Danzig scholars ambitious to help in forming daughter societies all over the Commonwealth.

JAN ANTONI WILDER.

Baltic Countries—A Survey of the Peoples and States on the Baltic, with Special Regard to their History, Geography and Economics. The Baltic Institute, Gdynia Nos 1-6. August, 1935, to May, 1937.

THREE volumes, making nearly fifteen hundred pages of large quarto size, have now appeared of this Journal of the Baltic Basin, as one might call it. *Baltic Countries* is not a periodical in any ordinary sense, but is in the way of becoming a repository of well-selected materials on the northern European area, the first thing of its kind in the English language. It is further to be welcomed and commended as an important example of co-operation of neighbour peoples in the interests of all concerned. Only the Soviet and Nazi elements have as yet declined to share in the work.

In the diverse fare offered to the reader, he will find such basic matters as climate, natural resources and population playing a major part. Studies have been made both of the whole area, and of individual countries. Next in importance come questions of international relations in the past and the present, e.g. those of Sweden and Poland, or those of England with the whole Baltic basin (On each of these themes a number of good papers have appeared) Alongside of these we find a study of the origins of the Ancient Prussians, another of the activities of the Hansa Cities, others on the achievements of the Teutonic Knights. Special attention has been paid to economic issues, treated either historically or as present problems. A whole section in each number is devoted to cultural matters, in the narrower sense of the word, where folklore, literature, education and religion have a place. From the meaning of the Kalevala we pass to a description of the important pre-historic discoveries at Biskupin in Poznan. Not all papers are of a scientific standard, but an effort is made to exclude anything that looks like special pleading for any cause.

Of special interest to the Anglo-Saxon reader, who usually is not a good linguist, is the Review section proper. It has been conceived on the broadest lines. In Nos. 1 and 2 alone over seventy books have been noticed, some at great length. They include works in nearly all of the languages in the area, as well as French and English works, and are only an earnest of what follows in succeeding numbers. This section alone is worth the price of the Journal to any good library. Further, each number is enriched by valuable Bibliographical materials, covering both periodicals and published monographs. From time to time statistical materials are also included.

To the Editorial Group, comprised of twelve (mostly distinguished) members from eight countries, there has now been added a group of American collaborators, not a few of them persons whose family roots lie in north-eastern Europe. This galaxy of names would suffice to guarantee the worth of the enterprise.

W. J. ROSE.

Organon—An International Review, Warsaw, 1936. The Mianowski Institute. Pp. 304.

EVERY educated Pole knows that the Mianowski Foundation was on the way to being one of the wealthiest institutions in Europe, for the promotion of Science and Letters, when the confiscation by the Soviets of all its properties (oil wells in the Caucasus), left it virtually without a farthing. It has, nevertheless, survived, and is making a distinct contribution to the cultural life of the new State. By way of extending a friendly hand to the outside world, it is now publishing a Year-book of some 300 pages, with text in English and French. Of No. I, which lies before us, the second half is devoted to an extensive paper entitled *l'Organisation de la Science Polonaise*, which is invaluable as a guide to the outsider who wants to find his way in the educational and scientific activities of Poland. It covers the humanities, the exact sciences, medicine and law, and some other special fields.

Earlier in the volume there are interesting studies on Pre-renaissance Learning in Poland, on Copernicus, and on the Psychology of Invention, by Emile Borel. Appended is a 30 page Bibliography, in French, of the contents of the twenty-one volumes of *Nauka Polska* (Polish Learning), which is the regular publication of the Institute for home consumption. Both the new *Organon* and the older Year Book in Polish are worthy monuments to the energy and vision of the veteran Dr. Stanislas Michalski.

W. J. ROSE.

Poland: Human and Economic Characteristics in their Geographical Setting. By R. H. Kinvig. (Monograph in two parts, 35 quarto pp., issued by the Birmingham University Information Service on Slavonic countries.) December 1936.

Poland's New Codes of Law. By B. A. Wortley, LL.M. Monograph No. 3. 19 pp *Ibid.* May 1937.

THIS study of basic materials relative to the new Polish commonwealth is well and timely done. We have an account of the geography of Poland with good maps (the nationality map is based on Romer's work), then an essay on the composition of the population, and a very clearly written survey of the economic geography of the new state. I do not in this last find anything on the timber resources, but field crops and industry are well treated. The concluding pages on roads and communications are very useful. A foreword by Sir Charles Grant Robertson speaks of two more monographs to follow.

One of these, on the Legal Codes of the new State, has just appeared.

The author, Reader in Jurisprudence in the University of Manchester, has had the help of Polish colleagues, one of them being Professor E. S. Rappaport of Warsaw, who has prepared an exhaustive bibliography. After brief historical materials, Mr. Wortley gives us accounts of (1) the Criminal Code, (2) the Code of Obligations, and (3) the Commercial Code, which, as he rightly says, are now to replace the "foreign legal system" of pre-war days, which were administered in German or in Russian. This effort at substitution and unification is one that will be followed with considerable interest, and, perhaps, a little envy by jurists the world over.

W. J. ROSE.

A Golden Treasury of Polish Lyrics. Translated and compiled by Watson Kirkconnell. The Polish Press, Winnipeg, 1936. 109 pp.

THIS little volume of Polish lyrics done into English verse by the already known Professor of Classics in Manitoba University, has a foreword by Dyboski of Crakow. It has been gleaned chiefly from Borowy's *Od Kochanowskiego do Staffa*, but bears evidence of wider reading and of a deep feeling for Polish poetry as a whole. The author is not only a linguist, but a poet as well. Some of his versions take the fancy more than others; and here and there he allows himself a certain freedom of expression. But for those to whom the originals are a closed book these versions can be a fine introduction to an untrodden world.

W. J. ROSE.

ON LEARNING RUSSIAN¹

ACCORDING to our encyclopaedias, with the exception of Chinese and English, Russian is spoken by the largest number of people in the world. But in the complicated ramifications of international relations linguistic groups must understand one another. In the USSR, English is the favoured foreign language and has taken the place of German in the schools; in England Russian is still too much ignored, avoided quite wrongly as a foreign tongue of insuperable difficulty and, far from taking the place of any other modern language, in the schools and universities it has scarcely a foothold.

During the war patriotism provided an incentive and there was a wave of enthusiasm for Russian grammars. It ebbed away.

¹ *Modern Russian Course.* By G. A. Birkett. (Methuen, 6s.)

Today there are signs that the tide is on the turn. The further development of the USSR is being more generally recognised as of the utmost importance to the world. Whatever the ultimate swing of the diplomatic and political pendulum, whether to the Right or to the Left, more people are beginning to realise that it is urgent that we should learn Russian. The universities will now provide an increasing number of candidates studying Russian for their degrees and offering it for the Civil Service, Foreign Office and consular examinations, more men and women will study it for their private profit or pleasure. And, it is to be hoped, more educational centres will follow the lead of such public schools as Eton, Winchester and others which have introduced Russian, and give intelligent pupils the chance of learning Russian as an optional subject, an elementary knowledge of which would be of the greatest use to them in this modern world.

And Russian is not a difficult language. With sufficient application a competent knowledge can be acquired by an average intelligence in no longer time than it would take to learn any other European language. The myth that it is so appallingly difficult is due to the strangeness of the alphabet, which can be grasped in a few hours, and to the lack of adequate and sufficient text-books.

The text-books of Nevill Forbes, Bondar and Mme. Semeonov are now supplemented by the publication of G. A. Birkett's *Modern Russian Course*. The author and publishers are to be congratulated on the production of this useful book.

Whereas Forbes' Elementary Russian Grammar—still in the old orthography alas!—is ideal and has not yet been surpassed as a guide for the very first stages, Mr. Birkett's course takes the student further and through all the major difficulties of the language.

He does not labour the difficulties. He very sanely wastes little space on pronunciation, since every one knows that describing pronunciation or giving misleading approximate English equivalents hardly removes the stumbling blocks and that the best way to learn to pronounce is to use gramophone records which reproduce Russian sounds correctly in pronunciation exercises.

Mr. Birkett follows the Forbes method of not discouraging students by facing them with tables of declensions in the first lesson. Instead, he treats each case in separate lessons and with ample illustrations. He begins with the simplest features in the language and, using the minimum number of basic Russian words, he builds up his course progressively. But Mr. Birkett's greatest contribution to helping the student to acquire Russian painlessly is his original treatment of the verb. His verb grouping is a genuine attempt to simplify the approach to what is commonly regarded as the most difficult feature of the language. The result is both practical and helpful.

The book is supplied with translation exercises of sentences from and into Russian (a key will be available for self-education). There are also twenty-two short reading passages. Perhaps in his next edition, Mr. Birkett will include some passages of continuous prose for translation into Russian. The *Modern Russian Course* is the mature fruit of Mr. Birkett's teaching experience. The reviewer has personally tried out the text-book on several students with satisfactory results.

May this book encourage others to approach the learning of Russian with confidence and to master a language which is not only becoming increasingly useful but which is also one of the most flexible, expressive and beautiful languages in the world !

ELIZABETH HILL.

THE semi-official publishing firm of "Orbis" may be congratulated on issuing in 3 volumes a selection in German of the writings and speeches of President Beneš, under the title of *Gedanke und Tat*, and supplemented by a fourth volume containing the President's biography, by Dr. J. Papoušek (Prague, 1937, Kč 120, pp. 200 + 204 + 204 + 306). Vol. I opens with a series of articles on Beneš's "Lehrjahre," his first acquaintance with Masaryk and the influence of the latter's philosophy under him, but its main contents are devoted to the "ideology of the Great Nations," the heritage of the French Revolution, Slavophil, Panslav and Neo-Slav tendencies, and finally, more abstract essays on democratic policy, and on politics as a science and as an art. Vol. II deals with democracy in practice, with social problems (to which is added a criticism of Marxism); while Vol. III is mainly concerned with problems of foreign policy, the League, the Little Entente, minorities and the future of small nations. As a reasoned official presentation of the new President's career, M. Papoušek's biography could not be bettered. Though it is inevitably concerned with the statesman rather than with the man, it rests upon a foundation of direct personal knowledge which is lacking in Dr. Crabbitt's recent very interesting improvisation. The whole work is well printed and produced, but it is regrettable that it should have been issued unstitched.

R. W. S.-W.

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THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW.

VOL. XVI. No. 47.

January, 1938

THOMAS GARRIGUE MASARYK

No one who witnessed the universal and spontaneous outburst of grief and mourning that marked the passing of Thomas Masaryk on his last journey through the streets of Prague—the kneeling crowds, the almost numbed silence, the farewell of the legionaries, the simple chorales of the closing ceremony—could fail to realise that something more was in question than the death of a statesman, however eminent and however beloved. He was in a true sense the Father of his People, the restorer of their lost independence after a lapse of three centuries, the “realist” thinker who knew how to weave his philosophic theories into the pattern of everyday practical politics, thereby proving himself to be in the true line of succession for those other great thinkers and men of action, John Hus, Comenius and Palacký. It has indeed been said of him, without flattery or exaggeration, that Masaryk came nearer than any contemporary ruler to the old Greek ideal of the Philosopher-King. And it was indeed a rare boon that Providence conferred upon him and his people: that the man who launched out upon his intrepid Russian Odyssey at the age of sixty-seven, was still granted no less than seventeen years in which to shape the destinies of the young Republic, not by dictation or arbitrary decree, but by a sustained educatory process—so that, quite apart from the literary and philosophical output of a long academic career, he has also left behind him a series of addresses and manifestos in which is gathered up the

quintessence of his ethical religious and social teachings. He was, moreover, happy in the moment of his withdrawal from active life—happy in that his decision was taken when his intellect was still clear and unimpaired, in that he was able to find a short breathing space in which the change could be safely effected, and not least of all, in that he yielded his place to his closest disciple and associate, to a man more qualified than any other to maintain the ideals and aspirations for which they had worked together so long and so ardently. And thus he could await the final evening call in a calm and confident hope, in the knowledge of a life lived to the full and the undying devotion of a whole people.

In its own more modest sphere, the School of Slavonic and East European Studies is able to share in the keen sense of personal loss felt by the Czechoslovak people: for it may claim to have stood to him in a very special personal relation. He it was who in 1915, at the request of its founder, the late Dr. Ronald Burrows, delivered the inaugural lecture of this School, on "The Problem of Small Nations in the European Crisis" (with Lord Robert Cecil acting as deputy-chairman for the Prime Minister Mr. Asquith), and during the second year of his exile in London contributed the distinction of his teaching to the first organised beginnings of Slavonic studies in London. He it was who in 1922 wrote the inaugural article of this Review, on "The Slavs after the War," just as he had six years earlier written the inaugural article of *The New Europe* on "Pangermanism and the Eastern Question." He never ceased to take an active and benevolent interest in the fortunes of our School, as also of the sister Institut d'Etudes Slaves in Paris; and it will be our pride to maintain, so far as in us lies, those traditions of scholarship and humanism which he has bequeathed to all his friends and followers. In one sense he is already a legendary figure, but in proportion as his own teachings are respected and remembered, legend and reality will be duly blended.

[It is our intention to publish early in 1938 a special number of our Review, dedicated to the personality and writings of President Masaryk.—ED.]

EVGENY ONEGIN

Translated from the Russian of ALEXANDER PUSHKIN *by*
OLIVER ELTON

CANTO EIGHT

Fare thee well, and if for ever,
Still for ever fare thee well.

Byron.

I

While peacefully my youth was flowering
In the Lyceum garden-close ;
Whilst, Apuleius' page devouring,
I was not reading Cicero's ;
And whilst, in those spring days, I listened
To the swan's cry, where waters glistened
In valley-bottoms secretly,
Then, first, the Muse appeared to me.
A sudden beam illuminated
My student's cell ; the Muse revealed
A host of youthful schemes concealed ;
And childhood's joy she celebrated ;
Our fame, from far antiquity ;
And my heart's tremulous reverie.

II

The world upon her smiled a greeting ;
I soared upon my first success ;
And old Derzhavin, now retreating
Graveward, remarked us—stayed to bless. . .¹

III

But for myself one law declaring,
—To do whate'er my passions choose ;
My heart with all the rabble sharing,
Oft would I bring my sprightly Muse
To feasts, loud stormy altercation,

¹ Stanza unfinished in the original. In 1815 Pushkin, at a ceremony in the Tsarskoe Selo Lyceum, read some verses to the old poet, G. A. Derzhavin (1743-1816).

Causing night-watchmen consternation.
In those insensate orgies there
My Muse contributed her share,
And like a Bacchanal she sported—
Quaffed—to the party sang her lays.
The gallants of those vanisht days
Her most tempestuously courted.
Amidst my friends I swelled with pride,
My giddy partner by my side.

IV

But I, from these associates breaking,
Fled far. She followed—in my flight
How oft with her affection making
My dumb, blank journey a delight
By tales mysterious, enchanting !
How oft, those crags Caucasian haunting,
Just like Lenore, when moon shone bright,
Upon my saddle she would light !
And by Taurida's shore, to hearken
To the sea's voice, the Nereid's soft
Incessant whisper,—ah, how oft
She led me, when night's mist would darken ;
Where waves, deep-chiming, ever raise
Their hymn, to the World-Father's praise !

V

The glitter, the loud feasts she wholly
Forgets—the capital is far—
And seeks Moldavia's melancholy
Lone haunts, where nomad races are ;
Unto their peaceful tents repairing,
And their shy, wild existence sharing ;
—Forgets the tongue, which gods affect,
For scant, outlandish dialect,
And songs on her loved steppe-land chanted.
—A transformation-scene now starts !
In guise a damsel of our parts,
She to my garden is transplanted,
Sad cogitations in her look,
And, in her hand, a small French book.

VI

Now will I take my Muse, and guide her
To her first fashionable rout;²
Of all those charms the steppes provide her
I'm shy, and jealous, and in doubt.
Through those dense rows aristocratic,
Fops, soldiers, persons diplomatic,
And haughty dames, I see her glide,
Sit softly, gaze on every side,
With all the crash and din delighted,
With glancing dresses, glancing talk;
And then, by their young hostess walk
In slow defile the guests invited,
With black-garbed males, who every dame
Encompass like a picture-frame.

VII

She likes the ordered conversation,
Well-knit, of oligarchs; and old
Age, mixt with high official station,
And its calm arrogance, so cold.
—But who, in this select and crowded
Meeting, stands mute and overclouded?
He seems a stranger to the throng,
And by him faces flash along
Like rows of tedious apparitions.
Why comes he? On his face is seen
Tormented pride—or is it spleen?
Who is this man? are my suspicions
Correct—Evgeny? Even so?
When came he? Was it long ago?

VIII

Calmed down, or just the same in nature?
Still is he posing, freakishly?
He's back once more—what kind of creature?
What will his next performance be?
What guise will now be his—a canter,

² “*Rout*, an evening assembly without any dances, properly signifies a crowd” (*Pushkin's note*).

Cosmopolite, or quaker-ranter,
 Melmoth, Childe Harold, patriot,
 Flaunter of some fresh mask,—or what?
 Will he be plain good fellow rated,
 Like you and me, and all the rest?
 My counsel, anyhow, is best—
 To drop that style, quite antiquated.
 He's hoaxed the world enough. “And so
 You know Onegin?” “Yes—and no.”

IX

Why must you ever be discussing
Him so ungently? Do we find
 That we must ceaselessly be fussing,
 Censorious of all mankind?
 Do these rash fiery spirits hurt us,
 Offend us—nay, do they divert us—
 In our self-love, our nullity?
 Do wits, too fond of ranging free,
 Cramp ours? are we too often taking
 Mere talk, for deeds?—You're dull; are you
 Malign and feather-headed too?
 Are grave men gravely great things making
 Of trash? are we at home alone
 In mediocrity—our own?

X

Blest he, who in due course maturing,
 Was young—while he was young; and who,
 As years went by, was found enduring
 Life's chill, that slowly on him grew;
 Who, never curious dreams pursuing,
 Nor yet the rabble world eschewing,
 At twenty, was a fop, or blade;
 At thirty, a *good* marriage made;
 At fifty, all his debts contriving
 To clear (and debts of friends)—who came
 To office, and to wealth and fame,
 Thus calmly, in his turn, arriving;
 And all the world repeats: “You see
 A splendid fellow, is *A.B.*!!”

XI

How vainly—and the thought is grievous—
 Our youth was granted us, for dower !
 Our youth did nothing but deceive us ;
 We played her false, from hour to hour.
 Sad, that our finest aspirations,
 Our freshest dreams and meditations,
 In swift succession should decay,
 Like autumn leaves that rot away.
 —One cannot bear the contemplation
 Merely of endless feasts ; the sight
 Of life, as some mere formal rite ;
 Nor following starchy men of station
 In mobs—with whom we share in naught
 One single passion, or one thought.

XII

Nor can I bear to be subjected
 To noisy verdicts (you'll applaud) ;
 —Then, with wise people who've reflected,
 To pass for just a freak, or fraud ;
 Or for a madman, miserable,
 Or monster, marked with Satan's label,
 Or—my own Demon.³—Now again
 Onegin occupies my pen.
 He duelled with his friend, and killed him ;
 Then lived on, aimless, unemployed,
 Till twenty-six. Next, leisure cloyed ;
 Fatigue, with being idle, filled him.
 No wife—state service—nought to do !
 To nothing would he buckle to.

XIII

—And overmastered was Evgeny
 By that tormenting thing (I mean
 That cross, so freely worn by many),
 A restless wish for change of scene.
 He quitted now his country village,

³ His lines, *The Demon*, written in 1823 :—in his days of youth, joy, and aspiration, the poet is visited by a malicious Genius, who poisons his heart, whispers that all is illusion, and pours scorn on the ideals of love and freedom.

His lonely woods, his fields for tillage,
 Where, every day, before him stood
 That Shadow, still bestained with blood;
 —Began his purposeless migrations,
 And to all feelings lockt his breast
 But one;—with all things bored, at best,
 Was bored with these peregrinations;
 Returned; and, Chatsky⁴-like, by chance
 From shipboard plunged—into a dance.

XIV

A flutter in the throng succeeded;
 Along the hall a whisper flew.
 A solemn general preceded
 A guest, who nigh the hostess drew :
 —A lady, without hurry walking.
 Not cold was she, nor prone to talking;
 Nor overbearing looks would bend
 On all, nor to “ success ” pretend;
 No common, small grimace betraying,
 No studied tricks, no apéry.
 Quiet and wholly simple, she
 Seemed like a new, first print, portraying
 The *comme il faut* . . . forgive me—no,
 * * *⁵ . . . , in Russian ’twill not go.

XV

The ladies moved towards her, nearer;
 Old dames were smiling on her, too;
 The men bowed lower, to revere her;
 And angled for each glance she threw.
 Girls moved more softly, as they drifted
 Before her down the room. Uplifted
 In nose, in shoulders, topping all,
 Strode her supporting general.
 None of that lady would be saying,
 “ What beauty ! ” and yet none could show
 Aught in her, viewed from top to toe,

⁴ The hero of Alexander Griboyedov’s comedy *Gore of Uma* (*The Mischief of Being Clever*), 1824.

⁵ For the asterisks is conjectured “ Shishkov ”: i.e., Admiral A. S. Shishkov, known for his dislike of imported foreign words.

That fashion, mighty despot, swaying
 In London circles that are high,
 Sets down as "vulgar." Not that I . . .⁶

XVI

The word, I find, defies translation,
 Much as I love it—has remained
 Meanwhile, with us, an innovation
 And scarce to honour has attained,
 Though, for an epigram, worth mention . . .
 But now my lady claims attention :
 So dear, so charming and carefree,
 There at the table now is she
 By brilliant Voronskaya sitting,
 Our Neva's Cleopatra : still,
 All Nina's marble beauty will
 (This you may safely be admitting)
 Never, for all its dazzling pride,
 Eclipse the neighbour at her side.

XVII

"Can this, can this be she"? is musing
 Evgeny; "no . . . it is . . . and yet . . .
 From that remote steppe hamlet? . . ." Using
 Next his importunate lorgnette,
 He scans her face each moment, finding
 Some feature dimly him reminding
 Of those forgotten long ago.
 "—Prince, wilt thou tell me—dost thou know
 Who, in the raspberry beret yonder
 Talks with the Spanish Envoy there? "
 And the prince answers, with a stare,
 "So long a stranger? ha! no wonder . . .
 But see, I will present thee; stay! "
 "But who, but *who*? "—"My wife, I say! "

XVIII

"So, married? till today, I knew not!
 Married . . . some while? "—"Two years or so".
 —"To whom? "—"A Larina."—"You do not
 Mean, to Tatyana? "—"Her you know? "

⁶ i.e., "can help using the word."

—" Their neighbour, I ! "—" Then, come ! "—Preceding,
 The prince unto his wife is leading
 His friend and kinsman. The princess
 Regards Onegin . . . None the less,
 Whate'er embarrassment dismayed her,
 Whatever shock her soul might feel,
 Whate'er astonishment conceal,
 Yet there was nothing that betrayed her;
 The same high breeding still she wore,
 And bowed, as tranquil as before.

XIX

And she not only did not shiver
 Or flush, or suddenly turn white;
 I swear, her eyebrow did not quiver;
 Not even were her lips drawn tight.
 Onegin—none could scan her over
 More studiously—could not discover
 One trace of the old Tanya there.
 He tried to talk with her—but ne'er
 Could he begin ! " Had he been staying
 Long here ? " she askt him ; " whence came he ?
 From *their* parts, surely, he must be ? "
 Then to her spouse she turned, betraying
 A weary glance—slipt off for good,
 And left him planted where he stood.

XX

Was this Tatyana—how believe it ?—
 Whom once, when our romance began,
 In that remote, dull spot—conceive it !—
 Long since, alone with her, the man,
 Full of the blessed glow of preaching,
 Had been admonishing and teaching ?
 She, in whose letter, cherished still,
 Her heart had spoken, of free will,
 With utter frankness ? was he dreaming ?
 That ungrown girl—could this be she,
 Whom, in her modest station, he
 Had in those days been disesteeming ?
 Had *she* encountered him, just now,
 With that indifferent, fearless brow ?



XXI

He left the crush, and meditated
Profoundly, on his homeward way;
And dreams disturbed his sleep belated;
Half charming, and part sad, were they.
He wakes : a letter now is brought him;
Prince N. most humbly has besought him
To spend the evening. "Heavens! I'll see
Her!—I will go!" Politely he
Scrawls a swift answer.—What is working
Within him? What strange dream is this?
What is it stirs, in the abyss
Of that cold, listless spirit lurking?
By vanity, vexation stung?
—Or love, once more, which plagues the young?

XXII

Once more, he counts the hours that dally,
And chafes, once more, till day shall end.
The clock strikes ten; behold him sally—
Fly—and the outer stair ascend—
And enter, full of trepidation,
To find the princess. At her station
Tatyana waits, alone; the pair
Some minutes sit together there.
Upon his lips the words are dying;
Awkward and sullen he, distraught,
Gives barest answers; one fixt thought
His stubborn brain is occupying;
And fixedly he scans her; she
Sits unconstrained, sits quietly.

XXIII

The husband, presently arriving,
Breaks that unpleasing *tête-a-tête*.
He and Onegin chat, reviving
Old pranks—old jokes reiterate
With laughter. In the guests are streaming;
And conversation quickens, teeming
With worldly malice, salted high;
The hostess sees the sparkles fly,
Light stuff, not silly or affected,

But broken now and then by gleams
Of sense—on sound, not trivial themes
(Though truths eternal are neglected).
Such talk, unpriggish, free, and bright,
No ears could possibly affright.

XXIV

But here were Petersburg's picked gentry :
Types, that for fashion set the rules ;
Folk, who had everywhere the entry ;
And, indispensably, the fools.
Ladies were here—no youthful Graces—
Capped, rose-bedeckt, with bitter faces ;
And here some damsels, who by chance
Wore an unsmiling countenance ;
Here too an Envoy, talking ever
Of some imperial affair ;
And here, with grizzled, scented hair,
An old man, passing keen and clever,
Was jesting, in the ancient style
Today so apt to raise a smile.

XXV⁷

One gentleman, who loves sharp phrases,
Is most irate, finds all things vile ;
" Her tea's too sweet ! " and he appraises
The women—" flat ! "—the men—" no style ! "
" Why of that hazy novel chatter ?
The sisters' monogram ?⁸ What matter ? "
He blames the war—lies pressmen tell—
The snow—and his own wife, as well . . .

XXVI

And *, ignoble soul, well earning
His reputation—there was he ;
Who in each album had been learning
To blunt thy pencil-ends, St. P. !⁹

⁷ Stanza imperfect in the original.

⁸ Referring to a court distinction, resembling that of a Maid of Honour or Lady-in-Waiting, which entitled the holder, a *Freilina* (Fräulein), to wear a decoration with initials.

⁹ Tomashevsky conjectures for the * " Prolasov " and gives " St.-Priest " for " St.-P. " : i.e., the caricaturist Count E. C. Saint-Priest.

One too, from door the ball commanding,
 Just like a published sketch, was standing,
 Like a Palm Sunday cherub, red;¹⁰
 Stiff, dumb, and motionless, like lead;
 A bird of passage, travelling fleetly;
 Starched, insolent, from top to toe;
 His studious deportment so
 Caused all the guests to smile discreetly
 That all condemned him; all, askance
 Would interchange a silent glance.

XXVII

Yet my Onegin was but thinking
 Of Tanya, that whole evening through:
 —No more the lovesick damsel, shrinking
 And poor and simple, whom he knew,
 But now a proud princess, who cared not;
 The goddess—whom approach he dared not—
 Of Neva's rich, imperial stream.
 O mortals, everywhere ye seem
 Like Eve, progenitress so distant!
 Untempted—when you're free to take—
 To that mysterious Tree the Snake
 Still summons you, with voice insistent.
 That fruit forbidden—hand it o'er,
 Or Eden—Eden is no more.

XXVIII

Tatyana—what a transformation!
 How firmly schooled to play her part!
 That crushing manner, that her station
 Befits—how swift to learn the part!
 This stately, careless lady, maker
 Of ballroom statute—who would take her
 For that young, gentle miss? He told
 Himself, · “ I touched her heart, of old ”;
 In the dark, weary, she regarded
 The moon, up-gazing; for his sake
 Her maiden heart had learned to ache,

¹⁰ “ Little angels, sold in the popular Palm Sunday bazaars ” (Lozinsky).

While Morpheus' flight was still retarded ;
 Was dreaming by his side to wend
 On life's calm journey, to the end !

XXIX

In every age, Love finds a servant ;
 But to young, virgin hearts will bring
 Most blessing when impulsive, fervent,
 Like tempests to the fields in spring.
 The rains of passion driving through them
 Bring them to ripeness, and renew them.
 Life's virtue, potent at the root,
 Is rich in flower and sweet in fruit.
 If age be sterile and belated,
 Then, when our years have turned the scale,
 Sadly dead passions leave their trail ;
 Even so, with tempests saturated,
 Chill autumn swamps the meadow-ground
 And naked leaves the woodlands round.

XXX

Ah, doubt no more ! with boy-like passion
 Evgeny is in love ; all day,
 All night, he pines in lover's fashion
 And muses on Tatyana ; nay,
 Heedless of reason's stern reproaches,
 Daily her stairway he approaches,
 Her entrance-hall, her window-pane,
 A dogging shadow in her train.
 And happy he, to be adjusting
 The downy boa flung around
 Her neck ; if his hot hand be found
 Just touching hers ; or if he's thrusting
 Through mobs of motley liveries—all
 For her—or picking up her shawl.

XXXI

But she, for all his struggles, never
 Once marks him (he may die—or live !) ;
 Receives his visits, frankly ever ;
 At parties, just three words will give ;
 At times, a bow she will award him ;

At others, simply not regard him.
 No spark of coquetry has she
 ('Tis banned, in high society).
 Onegin, ever paler growing,
 She sees not—is she void of ruth?
 He wastes, he dwindles, and in truth
 The symptoms of decline is showing.
 All say, “ See doctors ! ”—whose replies
 With one accord, “ the baths ” advise.

XXXII

He does not go!—betimes preparing
 A note to his forebears, to say
 They soon shall meet. No cause for caring
 Has Tanya (such is woman's way).
 Still he solicits her, persisting;
 Hopes on for ever, ne'er desisting.
 Sickness brings courage, to address
 With feeble hand to his princess
 A passionate communication.
 Most letters have but small pretence,
 He rightly thought, to point or sense;
 Yet now, beyond all toleration
 To anguish had his heart been stirred.
 Hear now his letter, word for word :—

“ I well foresee how this confession
 Of my sad secret will offend;
 What haughty glances you will bend;
 How bitter, scornful their expression.
 What seek I? what can be my quest
 In thus my inmost soul revealing?
 Perhaps I only shall suggest
 Some joyful, some malicious feeling.

“ By chance, I met you once of old;
 A spark I noted—seeming tender;
 But would not trust it, or make bold,
 Nor to dear habit would surrender.
 I would not lose my life so free
 —And yet so hateful. You and me

One other thing, I knew, must sever . . .
When Lensky fell . . . that sacrifice
So grievous . . . from my heart for ever
I pluckt all things I held of price ;
Unbound,—myself from all estranging,
I thought (my God ! how much amiss,
At what a cost !) that I was bliss
For rest and freedom well exchanging,

“ Not so :—to track you everywhere,
To mark your smiles, each moment noting ;
To watch, with lover’s eyes, where’er
Your eyes might fall ; to be devoting
Long scrutiny—to comprehend
Your full perfection—yes, to perish,
Paling, in torments without end ;
To cease : ah, that were bliss to cherish !

“ But not for me !—for you, in vain
Here, everywhere, I trail and wander ;
Each precious day, each hour must wane,
Whilst I, in fruitless tedium, squander
Those days, all numbered now by fate.
Too burdensome becomes their weight.
My life, I know of brief endurance ;
Yet, grant a longer span ; I pray,
Give me each morning an assurance
That you and I shall meet that day.

“ A humble prayer : but I am fearing
That your stern eyes therein may scan
Some cunning, despicable plan ;
Your hot reproaches I am hearing !
How fearful—if you could but know
The weary thirst for love, the throe,
When reason hourly must be taming
The pulses where the blood is flaming !
To long to clasp your knees ; to pour
Down at your feet my prayers, my sore
Chidings and sobs, avowals—daring
All, all that words can be declaring ;
And yet, to shield each glance and phrase

With coldness and dissimulation;
To join in quiet conversation,
And look—on you—with cheerful gaze ! . . .

“ So be it ; I am weak, am quitting
My inward struggle ; all, I see,
Is settled ; do your will with me,
And to my fate I am submitting.”

XXXIII

—No answer. Now behold him sending
Another letter—and one more.
No answer ! Next, he is attending
A party ; scarce within the door,
And—there is she . . . and how severely
She looks ! She disregards him merely,
And speaks not. Ugh ! he feels a cold,
Like January's,¹¹ her enfold !
Those stubborn lips—what indignation
Are they not seeking to restrain ?
He gazes fixedly—in vain
Seeks sympathy, or perturbation,
Or marks of tears . . . none, none ! that face
Of naught but anger bears the trace.

XXXIV

Are secret terrors her assailing
Lest husband, lest the world, divined
That prank of old, that casual failing,
—All, that Onegin keeps in mind ?
And now he drives away, despairing ;
And, ever at his madness swearing,
Into its lowest deep is hurled,
And, once again, abjures the world ;
Then, in his silent room, renewing
The past, remembers how the spleen
Through that same noisy world had been
Relentlessly his tracks pursuing,
And straightway by the collar took
And shut him in his gloomy nook.

¹¹ Literally, “ Epiphany cold ”.

XXXV

Once more, he started random reading :
 —Manzoni, Gibbon, and Rousseau ,
 Through Herder and De Staël proceeding,
 And through Bichat, Chamfort, Tissot ;
 Read Bayle the sceptic's lucubrations,
 Read all of Fontenelle's creations ;
 Some Russian author (please select !),
 And nothing printed would reject :
 Journals, or almanacks, repeating
 Instructive precepts—where they scold
 Me so today, and where, of old
 I used to find them loudly greeting
 With madrigals of praise ;—so, then,
È sempre bene, gentlemen !

XXXVI

Ah, well, his eye might be perusing ,
 His thoughts ranged far, beyond control ,
 Desires and sorrows, dream and musing,
 Deep down were huddled in his soul.
 Whilst on the printed lines he brooded,
 Quite other lines and words intruded
 Upon his spiritual eye,
 And these engrossed him utterly .—
 The dark mysterious traditions
 Of days when hearts were warm and true ;
 And rumours, dreams without a clue,
 And threatenings, and premonitions ;
 Gay, silly folktales, slow to end ;
 —Or letter, by a maiden penned.

XXXVII

And sleep is now its languor bringing
 On thought and sense, by slow degrees ;
 Before him now is Fancy flinging
 Her motley *faro* ;¹² first he sees
 A youth immobile, and reposing,
 Like some night-lodger who is dozing,

¹² The gambling card-game.

On melted snow ; a voice cries loud,
 " The man is killed ! "—he sees a crowd
 Of foes forgot ; calumniators ;
 Cowards, malignant ; many a sworn
 Comrade, whom now he holds in scorn ,
 A troop of women, young—all traitors !
 Next, at a rural window, he
 Beholds Her sit—'tis always She ! . . .

XXXVIII

Into this dreamy habit falling,
 He almost was bereft of wit,
 —Or, almost poet ;—for that calling,
 May heaven preserve us all from it !
 And so, indeed, by power magnetic
 The nice machinery poetic
 Of Russian verse, he all but caught,
 —This foolish fellow, whom I taught.
 And, in a poet, how becoming
 His air, when sole in his alcove,
 He sat before the blazing stove,
 And there, while *Benedetta* humming
 Or purring *Idol mio, the News*
 Drops in the fire—or else his shoes.

XXXIX

The days fly fast ; the air is growing
 Warmer, and winter's end is nigh.
 He keeps his wits ; he is not showing
 Himself a poet ; does not die :
 But, quickened by the spring, is quitting
 The pent shut rooms where he was sitting
 So marmot-like, the winter through ;
 Leaves hearth, and double windows too,
 One clear, bright morning, and goes pelting
 In sledge along by Neva's shore.
 On the blue, broken, icy floor
 The sunshine plays ; the snow is melting,
 Uptorn and grimy, on the streets.
 But whither now across it fleets

XL

Onegin?—You have guessed, replying
Beforehand; as you apprehend,
To his Tatyana—*her*—is flying
My queer, incorrigible friend.
No soul within the lobby chances
To be; pale, deathly, he advances;
The hall is blank; a farther door
He opens :—what is here, before
His eyes, and such amazement breeding?
The princess—sitting full in sight,
Still in her *négligé*, and white,
Alone; some letter she is reading;
Her cheek is on her hand, and she
In torrents weeping, quietly.

XLI

Ah, but in that swift flash, who could not
Have fathomed all her dumb distress?
Who our poor, whilom Tanya would not
Have recognised, in that princess?
Evgeny, full of ruth, in madness
Fell at her feet, o'erwrought with sadness;
She said no word, and shuddered, yet
Her gaze upon Onegin set
With no surprise, no indignation.
His ailing, his extinguished look,
Beseeching air, and dumb rebuke
She marked; like some reincarnation
Of that once simple maid she seems,
With her young heart, her early dreams.

XLII

And now her eyes are never moving
From his; nor does she bid him stand;
Nor from his thirsty lips, reproving,
Withdraws she her impassive hand.
What visions now her mind are thronging?
The silent pause no more prolonging,
At last she speaks, in tranquil tone :—
“ Enough; now, rise; with you, I own,
There must be open explanation.

Onegin—say, remember you
When in the garden avenue,
By fate, we met? your exhortation
I heard, submissive then and dumb;
But now, today, my turn has come.

XLIII

“ I then, Onegin, they may tell me,
Was better :—younger, too, was I !
I loved you then ; but what befel me ?
And your heart gave me—what reply ?
What found I in it ? rigour, purely !
A loving, humble girl was surely
No novelty to you ? confess :
And now my blood just freezes,—yes,
Simply your icy look recalling,
And, heavens ! that sermon that you gave . . .
I blame you not ; you could behave
With honour, in that hour appalling.
You acted right by me, I vow.
With all my soul, I thank you now.

XLIV

“ Now own, that in that desert, sundered
From bustle and the world’s repute,
You cared not for me . . . I have wondered,
Why come you now to persecute ?
Why mark me down ? is this the reason,
That I must figure, in due season,
In these high circles ? that today
I’m rich, and notable they say,
And have a husband maimed in fighting,
And so we are caressed at Court ?
That all would notice and report
Disgrace or shame, of my inviting ?
And, with the world, there might accrue
A tempting honour, unto *you* ?

XLV

“ You see me weep . . . but if abiding
Be memory of your Tanya still,
Know this :—your stinging words, your chiding,

And your discourse, so stern, so chill,
 Were better, could the choice be offered,
 Than this insulting passion proffered,
 Than all these letters, all these tears.
 You then showed reverence for my years;
 At least you had some pity for me,
 For my young, girlish reverie.
 But now!—what brings you here? I see
 You kneeling at my feet, before me.
 Can feelings, paltry, mean and small,
 A heart, a brain, like yours, enthrall?

XLVI

“ This pomp, which all in tinsel dresses
 The life that I abhor so much,
 My evenings, stylish house, successes
 In the world’s eddy—what are such
 To me, Onegin? I’d surrender
 Gladly, this minute, all the splendour,
 Glitter and vapour, noise, parade
 Of frippery in masquerade,
 For our poor house, and garden by it
 Left wild, and bookshelf; for that place
 Where first I saw Onegin’s face;
 Ay, for that burial-ground so quiet,
 Where my poor nurse reposes now
 Beneath her cross and shadowing bough.

XLVII

“ So near, that I might soon achieve it,
 Was happiness,—and yet my fate
 Already fixt! I well believe it,
 My course was then precipitate:
 My mother wept, adjured, besought me.
 Poor Tanya! whatso fortune brought me
 To me was all the same; and so
 I married. —I entreat you, go:
 You must; I know you animated,
 At heart, by honour; and your pride,
 Integrity, will be your guide.

I love you (why sophisticate it?),
But am another's, pledged; and I
To him stay constant, till I die."

XLVIII

So she departed; and Evgeny
Like a man thunderstricken stood.
In stormy feelings, ah, too many!
Engulfed, his heart was left to brood.
A sudden tinkling spur his hearing
Strikes—it is Tanya's lord, appearing!
—And here, my reader, you and I,
When his worst moment now is nigh,
Today my hero must be leaving
For long . . . for ever. In his wake
We've roved the world, on this same track,
Enough. Hurrah! the shore achieving
At last, let us congratulate;
High time, I think, no more to wait.

XLIX

If thou be friend or foe I know not,
Reader; but this I wish—'tis best
That without friendly word we go not
Our ways. Good-bye. Whate'er thy quest
In lines tossed off without reflection;
—Some wild, rebellious recollection;
Some respite from a toilsome life;
Gay pictures; phrases like a knife;
Or faults in grammar, ill beseeming;
God grant that in this book thou find,
To move thy heart, divert thy mind,
For pressman's frays, or else for dreaming,
Some grain of price. But thou and I
Must now take leave; and so, good-bye.

L

Thou too, of fellow-travellers oddest,
Good-bye; and thou, Ideal true;
And thou, my lively task—though modest,
Yet unremitting! I, with you,
Whatever poets covet, knowing,

Forgot the world where storms were blowing,
 With friends enjoying converse sweet.
 What days, what days had then to fleet
 Since young Tatyana, first appearing,
 —Onegin too—in dreams confused,
 Took shape before me! As I mused,
 My magic glass was slow in clearing,
 Before, in vista, I could note
 My free romance's course remote.

LI

The knot of friends, to whom I started
 To read its lines—the first I made . . .
 Some now are far, and some departed
 (As Sadi said).¹³ Without their aid
 Onegin's portrait—now behold it
 All done;—gone, she on whom I moulded
 My Pattern, Tanya, much endeared . . .
 Ah, much away the Fates have sheared!
 And happy he who, early quitting
 Life's feast, has not the dregs drunk up
 Of the wine brimming in the cup
 (To read life's story still omitting),
 And takes his leave—abruptly, too,
 As I with my Onegin do.

¹³ The great Persian poet (13th century).

THE END.

A MAGYAR MISCELLANY (II)¹

Translated, in the original metres, by WATSON KIRKCONNELL

DÁVID BARÓTI SZABÓ (1739-1819)

TO A FALLEN WALNUT-TREE

(Sapphics)

You, whose head once gazed at the lofty heaven,
Standing kinglike, royal among your comrades :
Do I see you, beautiful walnut-monarch,
Prone on the earth now ?

Stout your waist, but clear from its trunk 'twas shatter'd ;
Only bark, thin tendons were left to link you ;
Boughs are wilting ; leaves, as their moisture fails them,
Wither and perish.

So your breast, its offspring in vain begotten,
Lets them go ; they fall from that wither'd bosom,
All unconscious, witless of brief existence,
One by one dying.

Should a tree, brave victor o'er many tempests,
Great in honour, lie in the dust unseemly ?
Could it be, that you, the august, the stately,
Suffer such dolour ?

Kind you were, rejoicing at no one's losses !
Cool your shade, that gave its relief to many !
Gracious tree, that pleased with your fruit men's fancy——
Tell us who hurt you !

Need I ask, when here in my eyes are staring
Those who kill'd you. 'Twas no external tempest !
Deep within, deep hid in your heart 'twas traitors
Secretly slew you.

¹ A selection of Hungarian poetry, translated by Professor Watson Kirkconnell, under the title "A Magyar Miscellany" was published in the *Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. IX, No. 27.

See, there gnaw'd, gnaw'd right to your roots' tough marrow,
 Evil maggots; these to their cave invited
 Swarming ant-tribes; seething, they crawl beneath you,
 Even this moment.

Cursed guests ! Ill offspring of vicious vipers !
 Hapless tree ! May Heaven, serene and strong-arm'd,
 Hold erect our nation in virgin flower,
 Guard it forever !

KRISZTINA ÚJFALVI (1761-1818)

GLOOMY DAYS

Gloomy days and iron hours !
 Nought but evil in you lowers.
 All my thoughts lie dull and fallow,
 Deep in tastelessness I wallow ;
 Lowering clouds here float and flout me ,
 Fog and shadow round about me
 Paint in secret hues of fate
 Broken hearts that live too late,
 Gaiety that hides cold bleeding,
 Wounds that laugh, on slow pangs feeding,
 Sighs that from content complain,
 Smiling sadness, radiant pain——
 These attend our life abhorr'd,
 Dealing out our due reward !

MIHÁLY CSOKONAI VITÉZ (1773-1805)

TO SOLITUDE

Come, blessed Solitude, and waft me on
 Into your peaceful visions of delight !
 Pray, leave me not, though others should be gone ;
 But lull me gently in your bosom bright !
 'Tis joy to me that to your dwelling-place
 In Kisasszond I came, and found your grace.
 In such a spot as this, 'tis good to muse :
 These are such precincts as the poets use.

Here, in the oaken forest of the Chace,
Refreshing shade protects the lonely glen ;
Beneath the gnarl'd old beech's mossy base
The clear spring gurgles forth to mortal ken.
Between two hills, the nymphs of lake and brook
Inhabit reedy tents in many a nook,
But swim not forth, 'mid rushy foliage,
Except to meet the poet and the sage

The slender moon here sheds a softer light
Along the golden beeches' massy beams ;
And here the angel of the quiet night
Covers the glade with cool, nocturnal dreams.
Ah, gentle Solitude, in such resorts
You revel and make merry in your sports
Here lead me often, that my drooping soul
Through your sweet service may be heal'd and whole !

You shun the courts of kings throughout the earth ;
You shun the lordly castles of the great ;
Or, should you come there, you give palsied birth
To anxious broods of misery and hate.
There fear and grief with savage loneliness
Battle, and lose all comfort in the press.
Nought of your golden deeds the great world knows,
And therefore it abhors your calm repose.

The miser seeks to hold you, but with pain
You punish his rude soul and beat it down ;
And the ambitious, with their humours vain,
You drive into the uproar of the town.
You flee away from martial trumpet-calls ;
You flee away from bustling city-walls ;
Your home is rather in the tender heart,
The quiet thorp, the meadow set apart.

The solitary mourner still must find
His one true refuge in your holy strength,
Where the unhappy hear within the mind
A secret word of heavenly hope at length.
Him, who has scorn'd the world's thin vanities,

Bidding good-bye to all its pomp and pelf,
You guide and nurse from life's malign disease,
And grant him springs of courage in himself.

'Tis you who bring to birth the deeds of man,
Stirring the pregnant spirits of the wise
In whom you have enlarged life's little span,
Letting them glimpse immortal destinies.
In you, the poet's fancy flashes bright
As rapid lightning in a murky night,
While he creates new things by power of thought
And fashions worlds undreamt-of out of nought.

Ah, gracious goddess ! Know that even I
Sigh frequently to dwell with you once more,
For like a friend my purpose you descry
When I, with you, sit musing as before.
You in yourself grant pleasures pure and sweet ,
There is no affectation, no deceit ;
Faithful you are, unlike the fickle friends
Of this mad, motley world, where treason blends.

Behold, amid what rushing folly pour
The soul's proud days of clamour and decline !
From stone to frantic stone they dash and roar
Like the wild falls and rapids of the Rhine.
But when your holy veils of peace descend,
Soft as the dews of night, our cares have end.
Calmly, in solitude, we close our day,
Live out our lives and sweetly pass away.

And when at last, across my eyes' dim casement,
Death doth a tapestry of darkness weave,
My stifled vision in that last abasement
Will find you in the gloom, and will not grieve.
You only in my grave will follow on,
My guide through wastes of black oblivion ;
Yea, in the hollow valley of the dead,
Will sit, a guardian angel, by my head.

O blessed Solitude, upon your breast
I'll drop my last, my life-departing tear !
And in the endless visions of your rest

I shall forget the pain that rack'd me here.
 O blessed Solitude, my comrade be
 When all I own through all eternity
 Is but that solemn tenement, the tomb !
 Come when you will, blest Solitude, but come !

DÁNIEL BERZSENYI (1776-1836)

TO THE HUNGARIANS

(Alcaics)

Once mighty Magyars, facing decadency,
 See how the blood of Árpád degenerates !
 See you not heaven, stern, revengeful,
 Scourging your country with fierce misfortune ?

Through bloody battles, wars of eight centuries,
 Stood Buda's bastions, marr'd but immovable,
 Though countless times in senseless fury
 Fierce on your folk and yourselves you trampled.

Believe me, evil, modern debauchery,
 Will waste the fort ; foul, viperous prodigies
 Gnaw even now those walls that often
 Gazed in defiance at ruthless sieges.

Once, once, long since, reverse could not ruin you,——
 Neither the wild Khan's hordes out of Tartary,
 No, nor the Turk's world-scourging power,
 Sweeping the East with its fire and slaughter.

Zápolya's brute age fail'd, too, to strangle you ;
 Foil'd were the hands of low-lurking murderers ;
 Still through the flames of strife you flinch'd not ;
 Bathed in the blood of your sacred kinfolk.

Since ancient virtues, heroes inflexible,
 Struggled and led you during your buffetings,
 You, like Alcides, won in wrestling ;
 Shaking your battle-axe high above you.

Slow poison now, slow death is decaying you ;
Yea, look, the oak, once proudly recalcitrant
While standing firm through northern tempests,
Wastes at the root now with inward maggots :

Weak breezes soon can fell it in overthrow !
Each country thus, as prop and foundation-stone,
Must have a sound heart ; Rome, when rotten,
Fell, and was forced into base submission.

Lo, now, an ugly Sybarite skeleton,
Rend you the gay-hued vestments Hungarian,
Out of your country's ravaged bulwarks
Building a palace in which to idle.

All knightly robes and speech of our ancestors
You tire of, yea, you cede for things alien,
And trample down our guardian spirit,
Wasting your heart on a childish puppet.

Otherwise flamed our valour all-thundering
Through the ancestral battles of Attila,
When half the world, fierce-brow'd, he challenged,
Trampling in anger on trembling nations.

With other folk, did Árpád our ancestor
Consecrate Danube's banks with heroic blood !
With other Magyars, valiant Hunyad
Drove back the armies of strong Mohammed !

Alas ! This fatewhelms all things terrestrial !
We groan beneath stern hardship's vicissitudes ;
Our fleeting fortune wantons ever,——
Playfully lifts us, then smites us earthward.

Time's iron hand uproots down the centuries
All things that are ; tall towers of Ilion,
Proud Carthage, too, and Rome's white temples
Crumble with Babylon back to ashes.

DÁNIEL BERZSÉNYI

HUNGARY

(This poem records the contentment of the Hungarian with his patrimony in the early 19th century, just as "To the Magyars" records his alarm over its doubtful destiny. (The golden mean probably lies somewhere between the two poems.)

Here, where the Danube pours its tawny waters
By Árpád's golden meadows, O my country,
The wreathéd brow of Ceres gives you fragrance,
The gleaming horn of plenty smiles upon you !
The dews of heaven bathe your fertile fields ;
Europe is jealous of your granaries.
Here, on the Eden-slopes of mountain-ranges,
Gay Bacchus fills his glass, and dips you draughts
Out of the noblest vessel of the gods.
Here bloom Arcadia's green hills again,
Where Pan makes music for his famous flocks,
Such beasts as never Araby the blest
Nor any other nation e'er beheld.
The golden loins of your Carpathians,
Surpassing all the gifts of proud Peru,
Bring forth for you their everlasting treasures.
All that Olympus' lord e'er plann'd of good,
All that for human nourishment fair Tellus
Creates below, the gods' most generous measure,
Is pour'd on your estates in ample store.
The guardians of your folk are Tituses,
So many fathers and indulgent gods,
Above whose thrones floats Trézia's martial spirit.
Stern cherubim protects your laws and crown ;
These no rude tyrant's hand can desecrate ;
Law, and not violence, above you rules
And all the glory of your ancient honour.
Ah, if among your lovely wreaths of pearl
One more sweet rose could bud and blossom forth,
The gods of Hellas would alight on you,
They who once brought to Attica's fair land
The mighty masters and sage sciences !
Then would your proud head smite the lofty stars,
The Zenith and the Nadir stare in wonder.

KÁROLY KISFALUDY (1788-1830)
THE SORROWING HUSBAND

In Szatmár there's a little inn,
A wife named Trézsi lived within :
Dark-eyed, with midnight in her hair,
And round of limb, surpassing fair.
But she, though beautiful, is curst ;
Her rosy lips for quarrels thirst.
One day she'd just begun to scold,
Abuse, and beat both young and old ;
Her husband crouch'd, expecting harm,
When from without came the alarm :
" Here come the Tartars ! "
People in horror run and hide,
But Trézsi pertly steps outside ;
She's not afraid of any male,
Not least when tongues may turn the scale.
The flame of battle's in her cheeks,
Quick heave her bosom's snowy peaks ;
An ugly Tartar, full of ire,
Comes, loot in heart and eyes on fire ;
Fair Trézsi suits his taste, of course ;
He wastes no time, but spurs his horse,
Picks up the woman by the waist,
And throws her on his horse in haste ;
Then gallops off ; and fiercely gay,
Gloats often over this his prey.
The grieving husband lingers on,
And gazing after her that's gone,
He sorrows as from sight they pass,
And wrings his hands, and sighs : " Alas !
Poor Tartar ! "

MIHÁLY VÖRÖSMARTY (1800-1855)

TO THE DREAMER

(Vörösmarty addressed this poem to Laura Csajághy, later his wife, at a time when she was hesitating to assent to his proposal of marriage.)

On what are your fair eyes intently cast ?
What do they seek far off, where sights dissemble ?
Is it, perchance, dark blossoms of the past

On which the tears of disappointment tremble?
Do apparitions on the future's veil
Draw nigh with fearful pictures of dismay?
Do you distrust your fate, with visage pale,
Because you once were lost upon the way?
Look at the world : and see how very few
Among its millions do not weep and sigh ;
Day-dreaming ruins life with lying view ;
It gazes, cross-eyed, at a painted sky ;
For what can give a man true happiness?—
Fame? Treasure? Beauty? Pour these out in flood,
And greedy men will drown in their excess
With joy of spirit never understood.
He who needs roses does not wear a bower ;
To stare into the sun is not to see :
He who seeks pleasure only, finds it sour ;
For only temperance brings no agony.
He who is good and noble in his soul,
Who does not hunger in mouth-watering dearth,
Whom pride and greedy fancy ne'er control,
He only finds a home upon this earth.

Then look not to the distance dreams have shown,
For the whole earth is never our estate :
Only as much as we can call our own
Will the wise heart accept and cultivate.
The past and future are a sea too wide
For the small farmstead of a single breast ;
Fogbanks and false lights hover o'er its tide ;
The lonely heart grows pale at its unrest.
If faithful gifts your present hours bestrew,
With feeling, thought and love your true existence,
Remain with life and what it offers you
And do not seek the fair but doubtful distance.
Sell not serenity for coin of dreams
That will lie useless in your cozen'd hand ;
Regret will be the sum of all your schemes
If you frequent that day-dream wonderland.
Bring back, bring back your eyes' most lovely light !
Let it return now like a homing bird
That seeks its own green bough in eager flight,
That bough to all the forest's blooms preferr'd.

Remain among us with your youthful eyes !
 Shine forth in brightness on a friend's true face !
 Become his sun, with noon in all his skies,
 Untouch'd by tears in radiance and grace !

VOROSMARTY

A BITTER CUP

(Drinking-song from the tragedy *Czillei and the Hunyadis*)

If you upon a woman
 Should wager all your heart,
 And she your dream of rapture
 Should lightly rend apart ;
 If in her eye deceitful
 Are smiles and cursed tears,
 And in your breast she plants unrest
 And pain that burns and sears :
 Just drink, my comrade, drink, I say !
 The Earth itself must pass away——
 Must like a bubble effervesce
 And burst to empty nothingness !

If you, as to your spirit,
 Have trusted to a friend
 Your confidence and honour,
 Your country to defend,
 And his smooth hand of murder
 Prepares for you a knife,
 Or seeks in cold betrayal
 To traffic in your life :
 Just drink, my comrade, drink, I say !
 The Earth itself must pass away——
 Must like a bubble effervesce
 And burst to empty nothingness !

If you in thoughts exalted
 For motherland have toil'd,
 Or in her hapless battles
 Have with your blood been soil'd :—
 A prey of knaves and cowards,
 If now she lies forlorn

And all your faithful fervour
Repay with nought but scorn :
Just drink, my comrade, drink, I say !
The Earth itself must pass away——
Must like a bubble effervesce
And burst to empty nothingness !

If in your aching bosom
A worm of doubting gnaws
That leaves you unbelieving
In fortune, men, and laws,
And joy in longed-for honour
Is poison'd at the source,
And it is late or useless
To seek some better course :
Just drink, my comrade, drink, I say !
The Earth itself must pass away——
Must like a bubble effervesce
And burst to empty nothingness !

And if both wine and sorrow
Within your brain unite,
And its dull, barren pictures
Revive to life and light,—
Think thoughts both great and daring !
On these be all intent !
He is not lost, whate'er his fate,
Whose heart is confident !
Just drink, my comrade, drink, I say !
The Earth itself must pass away !
But while it stands, or well or ill
It ever moves, and stays not still.

From ANTE LUCEM

Translated from the Russian of ALEXANDER BLOK *by*
A. L. BASHAM

HAMAYUN THE PROPHET BIRD

(A picture of V. Vasnetsov)

ACROSS the waters smooth, unending,
by sunset purple-robed, she sings
and prophecies, alone and bending,
too weak to raise her ruffled wings;
Foretells the Tartars' bondage dire,
foretells the torturer's bloody trail,
hunger and turbulence and fire;
evil grows strong, and just men fail.
Full of foreboding and of fear
her proud face burns with love, but, still
proclaiming that these things draw near,
with clotted blood is red her bill.

* * *

A rainy night I trod in murk.
In an old house, behind the glaze
I looked, and knew the grave eyes lurk
of my own grief. I saw her gaze
out at wet distance, lone, in tears.
Long I delighted in her grace,
as though I found my youthful years
hid in the features of her face.
She looked at me, my heart enwrapped.
The fire was quenched—and dawn again.
A watery morning came and tapped
on her forgotten window-pane.

* * *

A red glow in the heavens. Now murky night is dead.
The piling edifice of forest trees throngs round me.
The rumour of a town unvisited,
distant, has penetrated here and found me.

Mansions you may discern in heavy rows,
and towers with merlons and grim crenellations,
dark gardens, with high walls of stone enclose
proud fortress-walls, aged many generations.
So plainly, out of centuries of void,
the inquisitive mind prepares for resurrection
forgotten din of cities long destroyed,
and of existence the reverse direction.

* * *

I know that I shall see at last destroyed
the universe, my fatherland.
Over creation's awful wake, in void,
alone, exultant, I shall stand.
Then let my years be celibate but gay,
enamoured of annihilation.
Yes! I, as never any great man may,
shall watch the ruin of creation.

DO YOU REMEMBER, MARY

Translated from the Russian of ALEXIS TOLSTOY by
GODFREY TURTON

Do you remember, Mary,
An old house long ago,
With ancient lime-trees shading
The dreaming pond below?

The silent walks, the garden
Rank with neglect, the hall
Where the long row of portraits
Hung on the lofty wall?

Do you remember, Mary,
The village bells that pealed
Far off against the sunset
Across the night-hushed field?

The river softly lapping
The garden's glist'ning strand,
The cornflowers beyond it
And the corn-golden land?

Or the wood where together
We wandered first alone?
Do you remember, Mary,
The days still that are gone?

WHISPERING

Translated from the Russian of A. A. FET by
GODFREY TURTON

Whispering. A timid sigh.
Silver ripples gleam.
Nightingales make melody
To the sleeping stream.

World of night whose shadows chase
Shadows without end.
Magic changes o'er the face
Of a dear-loved friend.

Saffron in the clouds appears
Rose o'erspreads the grey.
Rose and saffron. Kisses, tears,—
And the break of day!

FATHER PETER

Translated from the Polish of KAZIMIERZ PRZERWA TETMAYER by
D. F. TAIT

We published in No. 46 of this Review one of Tetmayer's Stories from the Uplands of the Carpathians. This distinguished Polish novelist has just celebrated the silver jubilee of the appearance of his first work. We therefore publish another story, thought to be his masterpiece, not belonging to the series of mountain tales but breathing throughout the spirit of the countryside.—ED.

"What is your coat of arms, Mr. Dzięgielewski? Chicory?"

"Ozory (neat's tongue), at your Reverence's service."

"Aha! Well, who would have thought it! And would you drink a liqueur, Mr. Dzięgielewski of the Neat's Tongue coat of arms?"

"As his Reverence the Canon wishes. Why not?"

"And which would you prefer today, worthy sir, anisette or kummel?"

"Oh, well, to tell the truth, kummel seems to me the more rational, for the reason that tomorrow is Tuesday."

"What a lofty conversational style you have! One would think that you had helped the late Słowacki to write the *Król Duch*. But what has that to do with it, Mr. Organist Dzięgielewski?"

"As you might say, Sir, with your Reverence's permission—What has what to do with what?"

"Kümmel with Tuesday?"

"Well, to tell the truth, perhaps it has nothing to do with it."

"Then why did you say it, sir?"

"Er . . . since your Reverence is always drilling a man. . ."

"Ho, ho! Mr. Dzięgielewski, organist of Kłonice. You remember how I taught you to march, here in the courtyard in front of the parsonage when the clouds were gathering for a storm¹? And to brandish a musket? Although, in truth, I never learned to march myself, since I had served in the Cavalry, and so had a sabre not a musket. You remember, Mr. Dzięgielewski, when I was a stalwart officer in the Fifth Hussars, under the command of the Grand Duke Constantine? What a chesnut horse that was I had! Do you remember, Mr. Dzięgielewski?"

¹ The war of 1866.

"How could I remember, your Reverence, when at that time my mother was still a girl, dancing at the fairs in Sabańciszk? "

"Yes, of course, Mr. Dzięgielewski, you are a bit younger than I am. How many summers can you count? "

"The registers record that I was born in '32, my father's name being Kaspar Mateusz and my mother's, Kleofasja Zaścianańska, family name, Dzięgielewski, coat of arms the Neat's Tongue."

"And had you such golden moustaches from the beginning, Mr. Organist Dzięgielewski? "

"But what nonsense! How could I have had moustaches when I had just left my mother's womb? "

"But there was a Roman called *Dentatus* who was born with teeth, so why should there not be a Dzięgielewski *Barbatus*? Are you inferior to any heathen? "

"Of course we are better than heathens—gentry besides."

"So you see But I was born in 1799 and I am now eighty-seven years old, so how many years am I still short of the century, Mr. Dzięgielewski of the Chicory coat of arms? "

"Neat's tongue, to be correct, at your Reverence's service."

"So be it, so far as I am concerned. Well, how many? "

"If your Reverence the Canon were ninety, you would be ten short."

"And if I were a hundred, I should be nothing short, eh? "

"Oh, since your Reverence must always tease a man. . . . If you subtract from the ten. . . ."

"Well, how much? Quick! "

"Er, er . . . I can't do it right off."

"You are about as nimble at counting, Mr. Dzięgielewski, as a Jew at dancing. Here, I will help you. I am thirteen years short of the century. What does that make me? "

"I was just about to say it, devil take it, eighty-seven! "

"Thirteen, Mr. Dzięgielewski, thirteen, an ominous number. But, as I am a gentleman, as I am Peter Załański, I will not let the Lord off one day of the century, on my honour, not one day. Am I not still strong? Last week, you remember, Sir, how I thundered from the pulpit against Mr. Bolesław Karasowski from Wólka, who was dozing in his pew, so that he shook till his spectacles fell off his nose. Ha, ha! I will not give up yet. Have you drunk up your liqueur, Mr. Dzięgielewski? "

"How could I, since your Reverence merely condescended to promise me one? "

"Well, fetch the flask from the cupboard. Or, since today

is Monday and tomorrow Tuesday, the two. Not that one; that one, yes. You will toss off first an anisette, then a kummel."

"By your Reverence's kind favour."

"Have you drunk it up?"

"Yes, as you might say."

"Now, the other."

"I have drunk it too, as you might say."

"Now take a mouthful of gingerbread. Is it good?"

"Num, num! Delicious."

"You will now go home, Mr. Dzięgielewski, and bow prettily to Mrs. Dzięgielewski and to Miss Anastasia Paprykowska, her cousin, and meantime I shall say my morning prayers. God be with you, Mr. Dzięgielewski of the Chicory coat of arms."

"I kiss your Reverence's hand. Ozory."

And Mr. Dzięgielewski, having wiped his long yellow greying moustache with his sleeve, kissed the Canon just below the elbow and departed.

The old man crossed himself, folded his hands on his breast and began to pace up and down the room with slow even steps, whispering his prayers under his breath; while the aged hound, Zagraj, who up till then had been sleeping under the sofa, opened first one eye, then the other, rose, stretched himself, yawned, and then, as he had been accustomed to do every day for years past, followed at his master's heels, keeping step with him. From time to time the old man brushed away the troublesome flies with his hand, from time to time old Zagraj snapped his teeth at them, and in this way they both paced up and down until it was time for luncheon.

In the course of his prayer Father Peter sometimes glanced at the wall, on which hung his beautiful shining double-barrelled guns, and the great stags' heads with branching antlers. He looked for a little at the hyacinths and azaleas flowering in pots at the window, or at the mallows and sunflowers growing under it. Sometimes, in passing, he cast an eye on the pipe stems neatly arranged in a row and the shining meerschaum pipes, or, again, without interrupting his whispered prayer, stopped in front of the bookcase, straightened a book or two and proceeded slowly on, the dog at his heels. From time to time, too, he glanced out at the world; for in the courtyard the farm boys would be moving about in their scarlet jerkins, Mr. Walenty Mościk, the steward, would be shouting and giving orders, the puppies would be chasing the chickens, and Marcin, the

the tame old crane, would be frightening the young colts, and squabbling with the turkey-cocks. Noise and movement everywhere. The farm girls, with yellow and other bright-coloured handkerchiefs on their heads, would pass across the yard, humming snatches of lovelorn song, the peacocks would spread their brilliant tails and set them erect, dragging their wings along the ground, or a cloud of pigeons would fly down from under the roofs and soar up again in wide circles. On it all fell the morning sun, very bright and radiant, spreading golden patches on the ground, and shedding a flickering brightness on the limes and birches.

Father Peter, without pausing in his prayer, gazed at the grey and quiet window with his hands clasped before his lips, and when he had whispered the last words of the paternoster, he did not at once make the sign of the cross but stood for a long time by the window and gazed. And then, first making the sign of the cross with his arms, he sketched it in the air, blessing from his room the cornfields, the woods and the fishponds of Kłonice, the people working in its fields and the herds feeding in its meadows.

So it happened, often.

Having drunk his coffee, Father Peter would light his fine meerschaum pipe with its long cherry-wood stem and its mouthpiece of precious amber, the gift of his late patron, the Marshal; and, having taken a draw or two, he would lean back in his arm-chair and begin to doze. He must usually have dreamt a little, for he would mutter, "Ho, ho!" and raise the index finger of his right hand, a thing he always did whenever he told a story with gusto or recalled old times.

And indeed he had much to dream about! A heavenly country childhood in Załany, service under the Grand Duke Constantine, some years of exile, long wanderings, finally several decades in the service of God, hard, and performed in military fashion, without relaxation, under orders . . .

The erstwhile brilliant cavalry captain had not become a priest by vocation, as he openly avowed. "I was born for a priest, my dear fellow," he would say sometimes, "just about as much as my maid Wikta, who can lift a hundredweight of potatoes on her back, was born for a ballet dancer. I was young, handsome, ha, ha!, not poor, and besides that lively, frivolous and vain—in a word, a Polish gentleman and a cavalry officer into the bargain. But, my dear fellow, I came to recognise in what we had erred. When my batman Sobek, a lad from Załany, did not polish my sword properly

or did not bring my boots in time, it was a punch on the jaw for him ! My father, my grandfather, my great grandfather, all the Zająčskis, used to give their Sobeks a punch on the jaw for the same or similar reasons. That was why my lad ran away before his first battle. That was why his own lackey dragged my cousin Stanisław by the feet from his horse in '46, and why afterwards the peasants chopped him up until he was unrecognisable. I came here to make expiation for myself and the rest of the Zająčskis, my dear fellow ; to serve those in regard to whom I felt guilty. But do you think, my dear fellow, that it was easy for me to sacrifice everything, the whole world which smiled on me, to put on a cassock, to live in a village, and to christen peasants' children and confess toothless old women ? I sometimes thought that I could not stick it out. When the Hungarian War broke out, I almost hung up my cassock on its peg and rushed across the Carpathians. But I said to myself : You have enlisted in the service of God, then serve ! Yet the service of God is hard and He does not jest. When He is good, He is good, but when He is displeased, then we are all put in the corner. Even the Archangel Michael, though he is a great warrior and beat the hide off the devil, rattles his sabre only in private. Before the Lord God he carries it quietly in his hands, and treads as if he were in Imperial halls. What then can a poor devil like me do, even though I am a canon ! Ha, ha ! But afterwards I would not have stripped off my cassock or given up my parish for all the treasure of the world. What at the outset, my dear fellow, I endured as a penance, as an expiation—that I, a gentleman of gentlemen and a cavalry officer, should live among simple peasants, should offer them my life, my days and nights as a sacrifice—I afterwards fell in love with. And then I fell in love with the things of God too and began to make these souls more godlike. And I thought to myself again. If I here in Kłonice prepare one soul for God, He, up there, being a just and merciful judge, will at least let each Zająčski off one year of purgatory. And then, by the mercy of God, I began to love mankind at large and to inoculate the souls of the people of Kłonice with this love . . . And, tell me, can there be anything on earth more lovely than to win souls for God, their country and humanity ? The souls of the folk of Kłonice are clayey and stony, but there is good black earth in them too. They are not bad, they are good. Only they are very hard, and one must love them very much, my dear fellow, and be very indulgent to them, and show them an example of humanity. If I had been less given to punching my man Sobek on the jaw and had talked more to him, he would not have said to me before his

first battle: 'The devil take the whole show for all I care!' and run away to where the pepper grows. So you see, my dear fellow, I can say with confidence that I have fulfilled the service for which I enlisted and I have been, I maintain, a good priest and a good shepherd of souls. But if you had prophesied sixty years ago, when I broke in a grey Turkish mare for Miss Jadwiga Karśnicka, and afterwards ran off with her, God forgive me!, on the same mare, to give her to my friend Hilarek Roszczewski as a bride, that they would lay me in my grave in a cassock, whereas I thought to go to the valley of Jehosophat in a general's epaulets . . . Ho, ho! Man aims and the Lord God directs the bullets . . . Ho, ho! Is Mr. Dzięgielewski there?"

The old man could not do without Mr. Dzięgielewski for many hours at a time. This Mr. Dzięgielewski, sprung from the small landed gentry on the borders of Lithuania, had emigrated from that land with his late father, Kaspar, of the Neat's Tongue coat of arms, and had found refuge in the manor of Kłonice. At first he helped the estate clerk with the accounts, but, as he had no particular head for figures and played very nicely on the flute, he devoted himself to the art of organ playing and contrived to squeeze out so much feeling from the bellows that Miss Krystyna Kolasikiewiczówna, the maid of the Marshal's lady, fainted during High Mass and ultimately became the wife of the organist, being at the same time raised from burgher status to the dignity of an alliance with the gentry.

Father Peter argued with Mr. Dzięgielewski on every subject under the sun, from oats and politics to astronomy and rot in sheep. He chaffed him and chipped him about his somewhat doubtful status of a gentleman, perverting his coat of arms from Neat's Tongue (ozorja) to Chicory (cikorja), which joke he had been repeating for at least thirty years, and always with the same result.

Mr. Dzięgielewski on week days wore a black cravat round his neck, a long, snuff-coloured coat, a spotted waistcoat and striped trousers. On Sundays, Saints' days and on the birthdays of the Pope and his Reverence the Canon, he wore a dark blue cravat, a new snuff-coloured coat, a grey waistcoat and new striped trousers. Mr. Dzięgielewski had a cap with a peak, red handkerchiefs with bronze spots, a horn snuff box, a cane with a silver ball, and a brass seal with his coat of arms on it.

Father Peter was very fond of him.

The parsonage was rather like a Noah's ark. In addition to the usual domestic animals, Father Peter had a little zoo, in which deer,

hares and curious foreign geese lived in unprecedented harmony. The superintendence of the menagerie, like that of the garden, was in the hands of trusted old men and women of all sorts, as well as of such cripples and orphans as happened to find themselves in the neighbourhood. Father Peter collected unfortunates, took them in, reformed and educated them. Having very few wants of his own, seeing that his main expenditure was on fine boots and surplices, for which he had always a weakness, and having a considerable income both from his parish and from his own capital, he fed and clothed whole legions of poor people. "My neighbour," he would say, "Father Wajdzik, when they were restoring the church at Nowosiółek, forbade the painters to walk on the scaffolding for fear one of them might fall into a window, and window panes cost a lot of money. He hoarded every halfpenny, he would hardly give a scrap to a dog, in order that after his death the peasants might roof the church with tin sheeting, and put up a new belfry. But I say that I do better than that. For the Lord God does not give a jot for tin sheeting on the church. He cares only about the quality of the souls that pray in the church. Whether the bell swings above or below the lime trees, is all the same to Him, provided that it lifts people's hearts towards heaven. Here in my parish, there may be one or two things that might be improved, but with me an orphan's hunger comes before holes in the church shingles."

Father Peter had a big shady garden, in which with his own hand he had planted many trees that were now full grown; for he had been settled in the parish of Kłonice for half a century. He was an expert in growing fruit, which he cultivated as presents for the patron and for his neighbours, but he had also a wealth of flowers. When he was busy with his flowers, he always talked to them. Some he praised, others he scolded, yet others he pitied. You should have heard him. "How you have stretched yourself, my little narcissus, until you have broken your stem, you see. Wait until I prop you up. So! Now you will grow better. Hold yourself well. So! And that sunflower, the rogue, how it has been playing the tyrant! You would think it was God knows what. A tropical tulip or a pine apple! And what are you crawling here for, you ivy? Just look! He will be creeping on to the fence. As if he had no stakes! There! And what's more, you are leading my decent sweet peas astray. Just try it! And the lilies of the valley, what little beauties! Like dear little girls! Now don't push like that, you asters! Ho, ho! I know you. As if I had never been in the hussars! Ho, ho!"

Sometimes Father Peter, when he had had a good nap after lunch, would recover his martial spirit under the influence of old memories, and, since age had made him a little childish, Mr. Dziegielewski would fall a victim. When trouble looked like blowing up before the Austro-Prussian War, Father Peter, tucking up the tails of his cassock, with his old cavalry sword in his hand, used to drill the volunteers in the courtyard of the parsonage. Among them was Mr. Dziegielewski, then still the estate clerk's assistant and a bachelor. From time to time the old man would become curious to know whether the organist had forgotten his drill.

"Worthy sir, take the long pipe stem—not that one, that one there, the longer one," he would say, "and please hand me the shorter one. So. Attention! March! Right turn. Left turn. Advance! Halt!"

The organist, all in a lather and out of breath, would stand like a stretched string before the Canon; while the latter would examine his figure, tapping him lightly on the chin with the pipe-stem and pulling down his grey waistcoat to his striped trousers.

These military exercises, though fairly infrequent, greatly annoyed the Canon's housekeeper, Miss Katharina Capikówna; both as unsuited to the dignity of the priestly status and as likely to injure his Reverence's health.

However, so far she had kept silent.

But one day it unluckily fell out that Father Peter (who had formerly been famed as a swordsman and had fought eleven duels, in which only once had a certain Mr. Bogusław Chomialski slightly grazed his right ear, in return for which he had his face slashed across from ear to neck) took a fancy to try whether his hand still kept its cunning.

"Mr. Dziegielewski, take the second, the shorter pipe-stem," he said, getting up from his armchair and detaching from its stem the pipe he was smoking.

"What for, if I may ask?"

"You will see. Parry carte!"

"What is your Reverence saying?"

"Defend your belly from the left side!"

The organist murmured in his amazement: "Every soul praises the Lord God, if the truth be told! What is it all about?"

"Do not ask questions, listen! Throw your weight on your left foot. Better so. Lunge! Belly in! Oh, what a stiff belly you have! When I was your age, I still had a belly like Miss Klocia Tymńska, to whom I sent some dried pears the day before yesterday

as a present for her seventeenth birthday. Head up! Right hand loose! Mark time! One, two! Chest out! Hand so! Then so! Do you understand? I, so, you, so. Once, twice. *Gardez vous!*”

“As your Reverence commands.”

“Now, attention! *En garde!*”

The organist groaned and the carte was so successful that it hit not only Mr. Dziegielewski's belly but also two pots of fuchsias on the window sill, which were smashed to bits with a great clatter.

“’Tis dangerous when the baser nature comes

Between the pass and fell-incensed points

Of mighty opposites,”

quoted Father Peter, standing above the fragments; but at that point Miss Katharina Capikówna burst into the room, red as a tomato, violent as a bomb.

“Your Reverence!” she shrieked.

“Well, what it is?” asked Father Peter, somewhat disconcerted but putting a good face on it.

“Disgrace and insult to God! Suppose any one were to see you like this. A canon, like a coxcomb, ramping about the room with a pipe-stem! Mr. Organist, you might have had some sense! The father of a family! And, we are told, gentry of a sort! If this ever happens again, I won't give you coffee, as God hears me, I won't give you coffee.”

“There! A woman's threat is like rain on frogs,” Father Peter dared to mutter.

“Woman's or not woman's! Your Reverence is like a child,” thundered Miss Katharina. “You might be wearing a little white jacket and a bib. The very idea!” and red with rage she rushed out of the room like a hurricane.

Father Peter, however, was well content.

“A woman is usually a scold,” he murmured. “But be that as it may, my hand is still not bad. If occasion should arise . . . ho, ho!”

On summer afternoons Father Peter loved to go outside the parsonage walls and sit on a bench below the old yew tree, gazing at the world. From there he could see the shining fields of grain full of azure cornflowers and red poppies, clumps of red and white clover, green meadows covered with a mass of many-hued flowers changing colour under the brightness of the sunlight. He could see the dark forest as it were under a trembling transparent gauze

of yellow-green light, and somewhere in the distance the misty bluish mountains; and in the middle distance a big lake, a stretch of quiet water rippling lightly in the wind, with water lilies under the banks and overgrown with rustling reeds, sparkling now like a sheet of silver in the sun, now grey or greyish-purple. On the lake floated strange ducks trailing a dark wake above the depths, over it hung herons with wide wings and clouds of shrill lapwings, but the lake stretched afar, deep into the country, quiet, slumbrous, lightly rippled by the wind.

All this would be bathed in a sort of haze of light, endlessly peaceful, vast, almost limitless, listening as if in a trance to the wind and the hum of the meadows and the streams, full of a gentle melancholy, lulling longings, a sort of dreaminess of the fields, a strange vast intoxication . . .

Father Peter would gaze and gaze; and at first he could distinguish cornfields from meadows and forest from water, but gradually the whole great and diverse world began to flow together, to merge, to change into one common colour, blue but transparent. The cornfields, the flowers, the grass and the quiet rings of the rippling lake, the herons with their wide white wings and the flocks of shrill lapwings, the pellucid clouds and the bright blue sky, all this filled his eyes and formed in them a great luminousness, serene and immeasurably sweet. It would seem to Father Peter as if he was no longer seeing the actual world but the soul of the world, a kind of haze or mist wearing the colours of earth rather than the earth itself.

And then this vision of the spirit rather than of the eyes would begin to be lost and fade into a wealth of pictures, once seen, pouring in from memory. So, in the spirit of Father Peter there would begin to spread out vast blue tracts of sea with white-sailed ships, and boundless tracts of desert. The cedars of Lebanon and the palms of Arabian oases would begin to rustle, the silent Pyramids would begin to rise, and volcanoes with red tufts of flame at their summits. There would begin to appear Eastern towns with their hundred colours, and dead Roman towns rising from the ground, and crowds of people and strange animals. There would form in it a sort of gentle chaos of impressions dimmed' by the distance of time; forgetfulness, reverie would seize upon him. Sometimes this would continue until the seven-year old orphan, Ignáš Znajda, a favourite of the old man's, sent out on purpose by the house-keeper, would wake him from his dreaming, by tugging at his cassock.

"Your Reverence!"

"... Well, what is it?"

"Has your Reverence been asleep?"

"Eh, perhaps I have been dozing."

"The housekeeper bids me say and ask your Reverence to come in."

"All right, all right, let us go in at once."

"Your Reverence!"

"Well, what is it?"

"Does the Lord Jesus walk in Heaven, like your Reverence on the earth?"

"Yes."

"And is he barefoot?"

"Of course. Why should he wear boots, since it is warm?"

"And is he big?"

"Ho, ho, as big as the world!"

"And if the lightning flashes, does it run between his toes?"

"Of course, of course."

"And is he good?"

"Ho, ho! as good as honey."

"Is honey good?"

"Have you never tried it?"

"And the Lord God?"

"The Lord God is also good."

"Even better?"

"No, just the same, just the same."

"Is the Lord God big?"

"Yes, just like the Lord Jesus."

"Your Reverence!"

"What is it?"

"The housekeeper bids me say and ask if your Reverence will come in?"

"Of course, of course, let us go."

"Well then, come. Give me your hand. Slowly, you are old."

And Ignas would take Father Peter's hand and together they would walk along the path to the parsonage, talking volubly and seriously as they went.

Occupied in the service of God and of His people and very fully occupied too, for his curate, who studied theological works day and night, was not of great assistance, Father Peter had not much time to think about death, all the more as he always declared

that he would not let God off one day of the century. But one autumn evening, when the sun had set, having spread its last purple gleams over the dark heaven, Father Peter, who had been sitting for a long time in silence in the porch leading to the garden, seemingly in a doze, suddenly turned his head to the organist seated opposite him and said in a voice that was graver than usual: "Mr. Dzięgielewski, it seems to me that I must go."

"But where to, if I may ask?"

"Farther than from here to the parish office. Yonder." And he pointed to the wall of the cemetery that gleamed white a little way off.

Dzięgielewski started. "Whatever is your Reverence chattering about now? To tell the truth, it is not even decent, fie! There may still be an evil hour . . ."

"You will see, Mr. Dzięgielewski, organist of Kłonice, that I must go now. It is time, and I must surrender the thirteen years to the Lord God."

"Oh, oh! Your Reverence should not choose to talk of such unpleasant things."

"Yes, it is now time. I made my confession this morning,—on purpose, it would seem. And I took communion. I am ready. One might still send for the curate; but ask his pardon nicely, for he will certainly be sitting over the *Summa Theologica* or the *Imitation of Christ*. Of such stuff canons are made, not of old good-for-nothings like me."

Cool and dim perfumes were blowing from the fields across the garden, and one could hear the quiet monotonous sighing of the wind.

"Mr. Dzięgielewski," cried the old man.

"I am listening, your Reverence."

"Listen, my good sir, but not to me, to the world. You hear what a humming that is? It seems to me that I hear the turning of the whole great machine, of which God is the builder and the eternal engineer. The planets and the sun are turning on their axes, the whole is going on its way and humming. The whole world is humming. And He, the builder and eternal engineer, listens and rejoices. Only think, Mr. Organist of Kłonice, Mateusz Tymoteusz Dzięgielewski, of the Chicory coat of arms, how vast and marvellous that hum must be. You think that it is like the windmill of Michael Kuba of Zardzawica, but it is like a thousand, a million such windmills! Ho, ho! Like all the waves of the

Atlantic and all the winds of the Sahara put together. Just listen . . .”

“ I am listening, your Reverence.”

“ Do you hear ? ”

“ I hear the wind sougning in the garden.”

“ But the hum of the world, the hum of that vast machine, you do not hear it ? ”

“ No, asking your Reverence’s pardon.”

Father Peter was silent for a little and then began to speak again. “ Push back the pane on the north side, Mr. Organist. Let all the perfume possible come in from the fields. There, yes, there, it may be, if God is kind, that there will be beautiful light, angelic choirs and the perfumes of paradise and all sorts of wonders, but they will not be the fields of Klonice, it will not be this perfume of my parsonage garden . . . Eternity is long, but even a dog can’t hope to overleap fifty years . . . You will bid them prop up the young elms and wrap the pear trees closely in straw against the winter . . . Ho, ho ! It will not be such a perfume . . . Mr. Dziegielewski, worthy sir, I have been in the Holy Land, and in Arabia, and in Italian orange groves, but such a perfume as I knew long ago at Załane and then here in Klonice, there has never been, Mr. Dziegielewski ! ”

“ At your Reverence’s service.”

“ Is that the moon coming up ? ”

“ It seems so.”

“ Is it bright ? It is hard for me to look in that direction.”

“ Yes, it is bright.”

“ God be praised. I should not have liked to die in bad weather.”

“ Oh, oh ! What is your Reverence . . . ? ”

“ Quietly, Mr. Organist Dziegielewski, quietly. The moon will light up my soul, it will go on a bright journey. And it is good too if it comes from the porch side. Yes, indeed, from the fields, as it were. In my family very few have died in their beds. They died on the battle-field. It is good that they have all come to an end, for who knows what would have happened to them as it has to some others. Nobility without nobility of soul is a thing of no worth. Mr. Dziegielewski ! ”

“ I am listening, your Reverence.”

“ You will dress me in my new cassock, the one with the silk lining, and tie my silk girdle round me, fastening it with the gold pin with the figure of the Ark on it. Polish my new boots, hang

the canonical chain round my neck and pin my war medals on my breast. Leave my signet ring on my finger, let it go with me . . . You will strew flowers on me, lots of wild thyme, for it smells so sweet, and narcissi in bunches. And you will break my sword, good Mr. Dziegielewski, for I am the last of my line. What is this? You are blubbing, Mr. Dziegielewski?"

"Oo, oo, sure, your Reverence is just breaking my heart . . ."

"Or, listen, Mr. Dziegielewski; it is a pity to break the sword—you will place it, but quietly, so that the curate does not see, under my cassock, in the folds. A cross in my hands, as if I were only a priest, but there, at the side, underneath, my sword . . . Do you feel how sweet the air comes in from my garden, Mr. Organist?"

"Yes, I feel it, your Reverence," in a broken voice.

"My Will is there, in the bureau. Everything is in order. See that you always water the flowers in the pots there, Mr. Dziegielewski, and keep an eye on the garden. Do not sell anything or drive anything away. There is a fund for everything. For the old men and the old women, for the orphans and the cripples, for the menagerie, for Marcin and Zagraj. All must remain as they have been, until they die out, or grow up and go out into the world. I have had the same heart for all the world. A fawn without its mother is as deserving of pity as a little child. God created all things, loves all things and is aware of all things. Mr. Dziegielewski!"

"Yes, your Reverence."

"Send the sorrels to Mr. Strzemieski at Topolica. For God's sake do not sell them. He will give them a kind home, for they drove the last of the Zalańskis. My grandfather—he was a little tipsy—once shot a silver tea pot out of Miss Bronisława Strzemieski's hands and then fell at her feet, and she became my grandmother. So we are kinsmen. The sorrels to Topolica, the grey mares to the curate as a remembrance, for he likes to drive horses of that colour, and these are the only ones he has never been afraid of. Lieutenant Kołwicz will take Arrow—he is a knightly beast. Perhaps, God grant it, these two will not hear yet awhile the trumpet I am hearing today. Ho, ho! The Marie Antoinette pipe and the bronze Napoleon inkstand to the curate also. There will be a sum from my estate for an educational foundation; and to you, Mr. Dziegielewski, I have left in my will two bullocks, ten thousand roubles and this and that besides; and here you have hot from my hand the tortoiseshell snuffbox with the ruby, so that you may remember the old priest."

"Oh, oh, your Reverence . . .," sobbingly.

"But do not kneel to me, Sir, do not kiss my knees! Fie for shame, we are all equal. But since I possess more, I am going to give it to you. So it should be, and that's enough. Do not blubber like that, Mr. Dziegielewski, or you will waken the people . . . They work the whole day and need to sleep. I, who have worked at least half my life, must also go to sleep. And so it is indeed a strange thing . . . One knows, as it were, that one has to die, but it is so strange . . . One perhaps will not be here tomorrow, and it is as though one leaf should fall from the lime tree or one blade of grass wither . . . But all things come from God alone, live by God . . . Vanity of vanity is man, and nothing but vanity . . . One year, two years, they will remember, then they will forget. Let that be, provided that the merciful God does not forget! The rest is nothing . . ."

"How vividly I recall how on the first day of my arrival I walked up and down the beech avenue in the garden. The beeches were the same as they are today, wide-spreading and rustling. Fifty years, half a century and more. My mind refuses to believe that the wheat grew as straight then, and that it will go on growing. So many years! The numbers I've christened, the numbers I've shriven! How clearly it . . ."

Through the vine leaves which grew thickly over the veranda, the light of the moon began to steal, quiet and silvery. She hung on the leaves and looked down. The sighing of the wind, stirring the leaves, seemed to open and close her eyelids. Father Peter looked up for a little time, then his head dropped to his breast and Dziegielewski, big tears dropping on his moustaches, heard the old man whisper. "Nothing to be done, nothing to be done, it is time to go. Now it is evening, tomorrow it will be morning, but it is time . . . How the moon is gazing at me. As if to foretell to me the brightness of heaven. But who knows . . . I have never feared anything, I who have more than once looked death in the eyes—and yet a sort of terror is on me. God be merciful to me a sinner, God, be merciful to me a sinner! *Mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa.* And, too, there is blood on my soul."

He let his head fall still lower on his breast and was silent for a little, but suddenly he raised it and said in a strong voice: "Worthy Mr. Dziegielewski, when they are singing the *Requiescat in pace* you will order a salvo to be fired from all the mortars in the parish—I remember how at Olszynka an officer of hussars flew at me and how I smote him! But that was in a good cause, Mr. Dziegielewski.

Put right the wick in the lamp in front of Our Lady of Sorrows!
So . . .”

Father Peter closed his eyelids and began to doze, but it seemed to the organist that the old man's head kept dropping lower and lower, and that his breath came more and more feebly. This lasted for some time until Mr. Dziegielewski grew uneasy, and was about to rise and call Miss Capikówna, when the clock struck half past nine, and in the doors leading from the hall to the veranda appeared little Ignas in a shirt and linen shorts. He walked up to Father Peter's armchair, and tugging lightly at his cassock called: “Your Reverence, come! The housekeeper bids me say and ask your Reverence to come to bed. Come, give me your hand! Slowly, you are old. Your Reverence!”

But when Father Peter neither moved nor answered, Ignas raised wide eyes to Mr. Dziegielewski and said: “Mr. Organist, is his Reverence dead?”

THE DILEMMA

Translated from the Serbo-Croat of G. BOŽOVIĆ
by VERA JAVAREK.

SELIM DRUŠTINA'S return from Anatolia had been altogether unexpected, and he was now sitting quietly and somewhat dejectedly on a mat by the hearth in Novica Preležanin's room. He had arrived early, and his visit was as surprising as if, by some miracle, he had sprung from the other world. Their two villages were separated only by the narrow Jagnjenica, yet Preležanin had only just learned of the other's return from Turkey. His return! Was it really possible? Incredible that an Albanian, a Moslem, should return from his own empire—an empire without a Sultan, it is true, but still his own, Turkish! Such a thing seemed strange to everyone, and certainly to Preležanin, who knew so well how things were. At the time of the Turkish rule it had occurred to a certain man from Kolašin, for no very definite reason, to migrate into Serbia. Being a Serb he had simply refused to be a *rayah* and to wait upon Turkish *agahs* and landowners; so he had crossed the Kopaonik, never to return. Many Albanians, too, had done the same. A good village, fertile land, plenty of sheep and cattle—but somehow they disliked the Serbian military cap. It seemed to

them that it was better away there in the East, and that it was their duty to move on there. Up to this time, however, nobody had returned from a village in Turkey except his neighbour Selim, who came from Čabar, close to the frontier. So it came about that Novica could hardly have wondered less had he seen before him the Dervish Bey who, before he had departed for Asia Minor, had worked so much evil.

“ You, Selim ! ”

“ Yes, I and no other, as you see,” Selim answered him for the tenth time, sipping his coffee and smoking.

Selim Druština was a strange man, different from other Albanians, and even from all the other members of his own clan. He was a very wealthy man, and had a number of Serbian tenants on his land. Yet while others—and men of less means than he—kept large houses and servants, took part in Albanian public affairs, plundered and imposed illegal taxes, he went on quietly cultivating his land, neither wishing to be heard, nor to become prominent in any way. He had never killed anybody, nor had he ever plundered or pilfered or failed to pay up the whole of any money he owed. Yet everybody looked upon him as wicked and dangerous, a man to whom it was more natural to do evil deeds than to drink his fill of water after a hard day's haymaking in the heat of St. Peter's day. So the people of the neighbourhood feared him. A worthy descendant of the settlers from the Albanian heights, he was rather small, his face was dark, with bright, deepset eyes. He had a shifty look; he was taciturn and frowning, like a man who thinks only of evil. Nobody had ever seen him merry or smiling. When, by his father's death, a number of Serbian tenants had been allotted to him, the people of the neighbourhood had imagined that both young and old would rue the day. In actual fact, things turned out quite differently. He neither visited them nor troubled them in any way; he accepted unquestioningly what they brought him every autumn. In bad years he even gave his own quarter back to them as a loan free of interest. But he had neither a pleasant nor an unkind word for anybody. He was silent, and apparently scornful. He scorned them, so it seemed to the tenants, simply because they were tenants, because they were *rayahs*, because they belonged to an inferior religion. Otherwise he would sometimes have called to see them, as other Albanians did, and tasted their bread and salt. But no; on the contrary; nobody had ever seen him sit at a Serbian table, except when once every three years he looked in at Novica Preležanin's and drank coffee brewed in his

presence. At the feast of Ramadan the *Hodžas* stayed at his house, and he prayed five times each day : it rarely happened that any man of Kolašin crossed over the ford at Čabar without seeing him performing his ablutions. For him the River Ibar was more necessary than for all the other people of Čabar. But all these things combined served to make the people see in him not a peaceful and essentially honourable Albanian, a simple Moslem who lived according to his ancestral religion, but a proud and evil Turk, scorning and hating everybody who crossed himself in Christian fashion. Even Novica Preležanin thought scarcely any better of him, although he was aware of his uprightness, and knew how frequently he helped people financially.

"Upon my soul, he's as honourable as a dervish," he often replied to the peasants, "and he hates and despises us, not like some lukewarm Turk of Anatolia, but like a real old witch."

For this reason, nobody was surprised when Selim Druština sold up everything that he had, paid his rates and taxes, and got a passport for Stambul. Just before his departure he took another wife : an Albanian presented himself who was heroic enough to give his daughter to one who felt himself drawn towards the East because of his religion ; for it was thus that people immediately began to explain his departure.

Preležanin had welcomed him heartily—firstly, because in spite of everything he had always liked him in his heart, and secondly because hospitality is an unwritten law in that part of the land. Besides this, he felt stirred by pity. Unless he is in great trouble, a man of his sort does not return to a land of another faith. He knew Selim Druština well. Yes, he knew him. Therefore he was careful to be attentive and agreeable towards him, and not to cause his wounded heart to ache again. For his heart had doubtless been deeply wounded, since it had again drawn him thither. There could be no other reason for his return. He talked with him only in Albanian, so as to make him agreeable and at home. Selim felt this, and responded to his kindness. It seemed as though now for the first time he really saw his district and the people. He had somehow aged greatly ; there was a gloom about him ; his face was darker, his eyes more deeply set ; but there was now a certain calm in his bearing ; a kind of inward smile had crept over his wrinkles and his evil expression, as if after some great blow, or as though he were convalescing after an illness. It appeared only in the corners of his eyes. Both pain and the recovery from pain had left their imprint there.

"Why don't you ask me why I've come back, Novica?" And Selim turned his now friendly gaze towards his host.

"It's not the custom to do so, Selim!"

"How so, not the custom? I've already drunk my tenth cup of your coffee, like Omer of Ribarić, when he went to visit Ali Draga, and had no mercy on his huge sack of coffee and sugar. And yet you don't ask!"

"I can't bring myself to do so, Selim."

"You should. Leave old customs alone. If only I had had my eyes open! Ah, Novica, why didn't I see things in their proper light? Well—ask me all about it!"

"I can't. You're a guest in my house."

"Listen, then."

He had thought that he would migrate to the Moslem land, the Turkish land, and that there they would welcome him like a brother. He had scarcely set foot over the frontier when some strange government official came up to him and impudently took his cap off his head. He flung it on the ground, and began to grin insolently: "Are you an Albanian? A Bosnian? Ah, Albanian, Albanian!" adding a torrent of uncivil Anatolian expressions, in common use among them, and shaking his head threateningly. At the police headquarters he was told that it was against the law to have two wives, and after a kind of peaked cap had been put on his head he was allowed to go on. He was ashamed before his wives. He felt he looked like a Bulgarian. Unhappy, he arrived at Stambul, so often celebrated in song; but it was a bitter moment for him. Nowhere did he see a Turk or a fez. The men were clean shaven and walked about the city in hats, or bareheaded like madmen. And the women were unveiled, and wore low-necked dresses and short skirts. You could laugh, shout and talk with anyone you pleased. The minarets were deserted; rarely was the muezzin heard. "Pray now, Selim son of Selman of Čabar, in your great misfortune: your Turkish power is over—it is only a legend now."

"Upon my soul, Novica, you couldn't find a less Moslem place in the whole world."

He hoped that the real Turkey was not in Stambul. It was swamped by Englishmen and all manner of devils from Europe, and Turkey itself was away there across the sea. There he would somehow settle down in peace. So off he went, and asked to make his home near Eski-shehir. He had learned from a priest that this

was an old-fashioned and holy Turkish place. They decided upon a certain village for him near the town, and gave him land. They also helped him to build a house. In the village there was a mosque, and a priest; the religion was observed, and the people prayed. But the Anatolian is a strange man: he stares strange women in the face in an even more repellent way than any robust priest going the round of the village in the spring on the pretext of blessing the water. And gradually people began to whisper: "This Albanian has two wives." He hid his wives more carefully than he used to do when great crowds of people passed through Čabar on market days: a miserable state of affairs. Then one night there burst breathlessly into his house the learned *Muharem* from Banjska—he who had had a house just below the church. He, too, had been given a home in this village, and the post of schoolmaster. Things had been going very well for him. But in the village was a certain wealthy Anatolian who had one daughter, a hot-blooded female, past her early youth. She took a liking to our friend from Banjska, and persuaded her father to get her married to him and to hand over all his property to her. On the second evening after their marriage, the man from Banjska saw his wife in front of the house with a sickle over her shoulder, and adorned as though it were the feast of Bairam. "What are you going to do, madame?" "I'm off to such-and-such a village to a reaping party. You see what a lovely moonlight night it is. The barley is ripe, and my girl friends—the married and the unmarried ones—have invited me. There will be great fun, and oboes and drums; this is Anatolia, and the time of the barley-reaping is a holiday for young people!" "But for pity's sake!—you're my wife!" "Yes, but not your slave." "But I don't allow it." "Well, who asked your permission?" "Silence, woman!" "Come on, then, you Albanian fool! If you're afraid, come too, and hold on to my apron strings!" "And that, by my faith, is how she spoke to him, Novica—may such words never be repeated!"

So then Selim hardened his heart, and his soul froze. Even if his own wives should not want to go to reaping parties by moonlight in other villages, the next thing would be that his daughters and daughters-in-law, if he had any, would want to. It would be bitterness for him to experience such a thing. So he kept his unhappy friend hidden in his house for a few days, and then secretly accompanied him to the coast. He successfully made his escape, and was now in Vučitrn, but dared not pour out his troubles to anybody. As for him, Selim, he was one day summoned to the

town hall, with both his wives. The whole town council was there, besides many of the townspeople, a government official and the parish priest. To his amazement they ordered that his wives should both unveil. "How are these women related to you?" they asked him. "They are my wives." "Both?" "Both of them." "Well, our law doesn't allow that." "But I am a Moslem, and my religion permits it." "Oh, no, it no longer permits it—long live Kemal Pasha!" "But pray, Sirs!" "Silence!" "For pity's sake, if the law no longer permits it, then let me return at once—only let me have my wives!" "Ha, ha! Look at this Albanian! An old man, and he wants two wives—and one as young and fresh as the dew. This one will do for us, this younger one: look, she's just right for this *Agah*; we'll arrange a marriage between them." He could not remember what happened next. The town hall seemed to totter about him; the Anatolians too,—everything. He rushed outside as if he were scalded—whether of his own accord, or whether he was forced, he could not remember; but when he came to his senses he saw that only his older wife was beside him. They had kept the younger one. After a time he tore himself away from the old woman, to go back inside, prepared to die for his honour . . .

"But, Novica, about a hundred Anatolians were standing in front of the town hall, yelling like madmen: 'Yah, Albanian! You Albanian fool! Look, look at the man who wants two wives! Just come on here, you Albanian cur!'"

What could he do? He still had some money on him. He went to the town with his old wife, and announced to the authorities his intention of returning, on the pretext that the climate did not agree with him. And the Turks believed it, for even the corpses in Anatolia looked better than he. So they made him out a passport for Kosovo, for the village of Čabar. He had returned, that he might die there, and be laid beside his forefathers in his own native land. For a hundred and fifty years they had been buried in Čabar. There would be room enough for him too. At any rate, neither the Anatolians nor any religion on this earth should lower him into the grave with their unclean hands. It mattered nothing to him that he was left here without any possessions: here men were human, and had souls.

"Novica, thanks to God henceforth my brother, now I have poured out all my troubles to you. And you must keep silent and tell nobody. I've told them in the village that my other wife is dead. Ah, my brother, there is no cleaner land than ours. This

is Turkey here, and that land over there is a black stain. If I am lying to you, may God deal with me as they dealt with me there in Anatolia."

THE FRIEND AND A HALF

*Translated from the Judæo-Spanish of MERU LEVI
by CYNTHIA M. CREWS.*

[This story was dictated to Cynthia M. Crews by an old blind Judæo-Spanish monoglot. It contains an intriguing idea, but the old lady gets rather into a ramble towards the end.]

THERE was once a rabbi. The wealth of this rabbi was unequalled the world over. Now he had a son, but the son had not turned out well. He led a wild life with young men of his own age, going off eating and drinking and running after women. His father was very grieved to see his son behaving in such a way, and one day he called him and said :

"Son, I want you to tell me how many friends you have."

"Father, I have countless friends, but I have a hundred faithful friends."

The father was astonished, and said :

"Son, how is it you have this number of friends? I, at my age, have been unable to make more than a friend and a half. You must put these friends of yours to the proof."

"How can I put them to the proof?"

"Son, tonight we shall behead a lamb, and you must put the head in a cloth and go to the house of your most faithful friend, and you must tell him you were drinking with some young men and one of them insulted you and you killed him and put his head in this cloth. You will see whether he lets you in."

"But, father, my friends will leave me with the head."

"We shall see."

The youth took the head in the cloth, and at midnight he went and knocked at the door of his most loving friend. The friend looked out of the window and called :

"Who's there?"

"My dear friend, open the door quickly, for this is not a time to be standing in the street."

His friend came down and opened the door.

"I beg you to take me in for the night. I was drinking with some men, and one of them insulted me, and I took out my knife and cut off his head. I am afraid of going home lest the worry should kill my father. Please take me in."

"No, go away, it is impossible. It is dangerous for you and for me." And he shut the door in his face.

He put all his friends to the test in this way, and not one let him in, and he went home to his father.

"Father, it is quite true what you said, that my friends are only drinking companions. But if you want me to believe your words and to mend my ways you must show me your friend and a half."

"My faithful friend does not live in this town, but my half friend lives here. If you wish you may go and test him, and you will see what happens."

The boy rose and went to the house of the half friend. He knocked at the door and the man looked out of the window :

"Who's there? "

"I am the rabbi's son."

As soon as he heard this his father's friend ran down and opened the door.

"Why have you come at such a time? "

"Unfortunately I was out drinking with some friends and one of them insulted me, and in my rage I cut off his head. I have the head with me now, so that my father shall not be alarmed. Can you take me in for the night? I shall go away tomorrow, and God will be good and the affair will not become public."

"Dear lad, it is true that the matter is dangerous for you and for the person who takes you in, but what can I do? I shall take you in since you are my friend's son."

He took him in, and gave him a meal and began to advise him to mend his ways. Then they went to bed, and in the morning the youth took the bloodstained cloth, and his father's friend said :

"Boy, see you do not do such a thing again."

The young man went home to his father.

"Father, do you call him half a friend? No man could be a greater friend. Among a hundred friends I did not find a single one, and this man you call half a friend took me into his house. Why do you call him half a friend? "

"Son, consider his words carefully, and you will say he is only half a friend. He said he would take you in since you were his friend's son. Because you were his friend's son he was forced to take you in."

"Very well, father, but if you want me to believe your words you must let me see your full friend."

"Son, he lives in a distant town, and you cannot possibly go there. Your mother and I are old, and we want you with us at the end of our days."

The son pleaded so hard that his father finally gave in.

"I shall let you go provided you do not stay away more than a year."

The young man set off and reached the place where the friend was living, and asked where Mr. So-and-So's shop was. They showed him the shop, and the youth went and stood in the doorway. The proprietor looked up and saw this youth standing at the door with a letter in his hand. The man told his servant to ask who it was. The servant went, and the youth said :

"Take this letter and give it to your master."

The master read the letter, and saw that it was his friend's son. He left all his work and kissed and embraced the youth, bidding him welcome. He left the shop in charge of his assistants and went home with the boy and presented him to his wife. They were all overjoyed at the meeting.

The friend gave up all his time to entertaining the youth, and for a week they made merry. At the end of the week the rich man said to the boy :

"Dear lad, would you perhaps permit me to go to the shop to look after my business? I shall find some people to come and amuse you, and you will enjoy yourself."

"Of course, please go, you have done so much for me already."

And the rich man went to his shop, and he brought in some young men of a suitable age to entertain the youth. This went on for some days, and then his host gave him the keys of all his treasures so that he could look at them and enjoy the sight.

One day the youth said to his companions :

"I don't want anyone to amuse me today. Go away, I must write to my father."

The companions went away and the youth took the keys to look at his host's treasures. He was astonished to see such riches. Then he opened a door and saw a great orchard stretching before him. He went in, and as he walked along beside the wall he saw a hole. He looked through the hole and saw another magnificent orchard, and in the orchard there was a peerless maiden who was so beautiful that his eyes were dazzled. The youth was grieved :

"My host has hidden nothing from me except this girl. It

must be some mistress that he has hidden away here so that nobody shall know of it."

The youth went back, shut up the orchard and the treasures and went and sat in a chair and was very miserable and thoughtful. When his host came home in the evening he saw the youth had something on his mind.

"Why are you so troubled, dear lad? Didn't your companions come to see you to-day?"

"Yes, they came."

At supper time the youth sat down, but would not eat anything.

"Dear lad, what would you like? You can have anything you want."

"Thank you, I have everything I want."

His father's friend went backwards and forwards to his work and always found the boy moody. He said to the youth's companions:

"Try to get out of him what he wants, and I will see that he has it."

The companions took the boy out for a walk, and while they were out they asked him:

"Why are you moody? Is there anything you want? Tell us what it is. Don't worry, your host is ready to do whatever you want."

And the youth told them the whole story about the girl, and they went home. The companions passed this on to the rich man. In the evening he came home, and he placed the youth beside him.

"Dear lad, I keep nothing hidden from you. I shall tell you who this maiden is. You must know that I used to be even richer than I am now, and that suddenly I began to lose money. I became as poor as I had once been rich, and I could barely buy bread. For a whole year we suffered until the eve of Passover came round, and my wife said to me, 'What are we to do? Passover is not like other feasts. Before Passover we must get the whole house done from top to bottom.' And I said to her, 'I don't see what can be done.' This went on until one day my wife said to me, 'My dear husband, don't you see that we have nothing left in the house? We have sold everything. The only thing worth mentioning is a rug. Take the rug and sell it, and buy some wheat to make unleavened bread.' I took the rug and went out to sell it. As ill-luck would have it, I met on my way a band of robbers who had with them a little girl they had kidnapped. I asked: 'Who is

this girl?' They told me she was a Jewess, and to save a Jewish soul I said to them: 'Let us make an exchange. I will give you this rug, and you give me the girl.' They agreed, and they took the rug and I the girl. I took her home, and when my wife saw me with the girl by the hand she said: 'Is that the wheat you have brought me?' 'Hush, do not say anything; for by the merit of the soul I have saved God will make all well with me.' I left the girl at home and went out. As I went out into the street a man stopped me: 'Please, sir, you understand precious stones. Will you sell this stone for me, and we will pay you a commission.' I took the stone, and had barely gone two steps when another person wanted to buy it, and I sold it at a good price. I got a commission here and a commission there, and I spent the whole day buying and selling until my pockets were full of money. I went home and said to my wife: 'Now you see that the merit of this girl has made God take pity on me.' We spent a very happy Passover, and I continued trading until I made the fortune you see me with. So if you want to know about her you must know that there are many wizards in this town and I was afraid lest they might cast some spell on this beautiful girl, and so I hid her away in the orchard. So, dear lad, if you desire the girl, I am ready to give her to you as your wife."

The youth said he yearned for her.

So the rich man did not delay to make all ready for the wedding, but married them, and everyone was happy. A year after the wedding the youth said to his host:

"If I have found pleasure in your eyes, send me home, sir, to my father."

"Certainly I shall do so." And he called the youth's wife and said:

"My dear child, you belong, do you not, to your husband's city?"

So they packed everything up, and the rich man gave them food for the journey. They took ship and set out; but, alas, as soon as the girl went away the rich man began to lose his money. So poor did he grow that he became as poor as he had ever been, and his wife reproached him, saying:

"You see—by letting the girl go, you have let our luck go."

"What is to be done?"

"What's to be done? You must go to your friend and make him set things right. By letting that valued girl go you have lost our luck for us, so you must go and ask him for money."

"After being so rich, how can I go and humble myself before my friend?"

Finally, with all her scolding she made him consent to go. He took the boat and reached the town where his friend lived.

"Where is the rabbi's house?"

They showed him, and he stood at the door. The rabbi saw him and recognised him for his friend. He sent a servant :

"What do you want?"

"Tell your master I am his friend."

The rabbi said to him :

"I have never had any friends. I have never seen you in my life. Go away."

He turned him away, and so what was the poor man to do now? So, not knowing where to turn, that night he lay down at the foot of a wall, and that same night a thief broke into the king's treasure house and stole two casks of money. People came out to look for the thief, and they found the stranger lying on the ground, so they asked :

"Who are you?"

"I am a thief." For he was thinking "A man who kills himself has no forgiveness, so I shall say that I am a thief in order that they may arrest me and kill me."

So they seized him and brought him before the king.

"We have found the thief."

They tried him, and he was condemned to be hanged. The next day they took him to be hanged. The rabbi learned that they were going to hang his friend, and he ran to the gallows and took the rope from his friend's neck and put it round his own, saying :

"Hang me."

But the poor man said :

"No, hang me; I am the thief."

And they disputed so hotly that all the people gathered round them, and the king looked out of the window and shouted :

"Does it take all this time to hang a man?"

"No, sire," and they told him what was happening with the rabbi and the poor man. The king gave orders that he was not to be hanged, and that the rabbi was to be brought before him. The king asked :

"What does all this mean?"

The rabbi told him the whole story from beginning to end, and when the king heard what friends they were he said :

"I too shall be a friend of yours."

The rabbi went home, and his poor friend was left to wander about the streets.

"Alas," said the poor man, "they were just going to kill me when this rabbi came to save me. He has avenged himself on my soul."

The rabbi called two of his disciples and put into their hands some diamonds of great value, and told them to go to the poor man and say: "We have some precious stones to sell." This they did, and when they came within earshot of the poor man they began to say:

"Where shall we find anyone who understands diamonds? We are afraid of being cheated."

The poor man heard them and said:

"Come here, my lads. What is it?"

"We want to sell these diamonds, but we do not know what they are worth."

"Give them to me, and I will sell them for you."

"Get the best price you can, for the money belongs to a widow and her fatherless children."

They left the diamonds and went away. Then the rabbi saw two other disciples, who said:

"What ever shall we do? How can we carry out the king's command?"

They were at their wits' end and the poor man listened and said:

"My lads, why are you so troubled and grief-stricken?"

So they told him what the king wanted, and how they could nowhere find such diamonds as he desired. And the poor man said:

"Look, I have some diamonds here. See if they will suit you."

"Yes, they are just such as the king wants."

They made a bargain, took the diamonds and gave him the money. And now the poor man said:

"What a quandary is this! I could at least have kept the diamonds in my pocket, but where can I put these two bags of money? A thief could come and steal them from me."

He waited one day, he waited two, six, ten, and at length he said:

"Those people were not human beings, they were angels from heaven, come to take pity on me."

He took the two bags of money, and went home to his own town. His wife heard of his coming and went out to meet him.

“ You see, your friend had compassion on you.”

“ No, my friend did not take pity on me, but heaven did. God saw my affliction and saved me.” -

And he continued his trading with that money and became richer than ever, and one day the rabbi wrote him a letter :

“ Know, my dear friend, that it was I who saved you from the gallows, and it was I who sent the two servants who brought the diamonds, and those who bought them came from me. I did it this way so that you should not say that it was I who had made you rich, but that you should say that God had enriched you. We were friends, and we shall be friends as long as we live. Up till now we have been two friends, but now the king has become a friend of ours. We were two friends; we have become three.”

THE FARMING PROBLEM IN RUSSIA: HOW IT IS BEING MET

THE farming problem in Russia is more complex than in any other civilised country in that it involves not merely technical improvements but also a vast change in the social structure of the countryside. Nowhere else is so great a task being attempted, and few countries at the present time present so much interesting material to the agriculturist.

Until comparatively recently, a certain type of agriculture, which we may call the peasant type, was widely spread over Northern Europe from England to Russia, and also in Northern India. Whether the similarities between the English, Russian and North Indian types resulted simply from parallel evolution of methods to deal with similar problems, or whether it is associated with a spreading of Aryan culture, we need not discuss: but the similarities were such that an English peasant of the 18th century would at once have recognised the farming lay-out of a Northern Russian village before the Revolution,¹ just as he would the lay-out of a village in South Poland today. The aim was to produce food for human consumption, and as grain is the most economical of all foods to grow, and as moreover yields were low and harvests uncertain, the whole effort of the cultivator was directed to this end. Such animal food as could be obtained was, of course, produced, but in the main this was only straw, with such grazing as was available on the stubbles and on any land that could be spared for grass or was unsuitable for arable cultivation. It was almost entirely subsistence farming, and although the peasant might have to hand over to his overlord a part of his produce, this was mainly for consumption by the retainers. The land was divided among those peasants entitled to a share; and to ensure a fair division of good and bad land each man's holding was scattered in a number of strips, so that the countryside had a very patch-work appearance. There was usually a three year rotation: winter corn, followed by spring corn, followed by a so-called fallow, in which the land was allowed to cover itself with wild vegetation that afforded a certain amount of grazing for the animals and some recuperation of fertility for the soil. The system had the advantage of permanence and could have continued indefinitely: but it had the grave disadvantage of low yields and consequently

¹ The very different natural conditions in Central and South Russia necessitated differences in the system, but agriculturally the same general features remained.

of a low standard of living for the peasants. This proved its downfall. In England the change came during the 17th and 18th centuries when a much more efficient system grew up: the strips were consolidated and enclosed into fields which were grouped into farms of varying size, frequently about 150 to 300 acres. The farmer may be owner or tenant; he plans and directs the operations and employs from 3 to 5 men per 100 acres according to his type of production.² The method accords well with the Englishman's need for individual self-expression and his unwillingness to subordinate his personality to a system: on the economic side it fits in with the very varied requirements of the different markets of the country. The Danish method is essentially the same: small farms are set up, owned or tenanted by individual farmers who engage workers to help; but in one important respect it differs from the English method: it aims at a much smaller range of products and in consequence it permits of extensive co-operation between the individuals, especially for the grading, packing and marketing of their produce. Poland is adopting this method, and one of the most interesting modern problems in agricultural organisation is to compare the Polish and the Russian methods.

The Russian method is absolutely different: in no other country can it be seen in operation, and so far as I know it has never been attempted before. It represents an entirely new approach to the peasant problem, and whatever its outcome it is bound to influence considerably the attempts to reorganise peasant agriculture wherever they may be made.

In speaking of Russian agriculture, the same qualifications are necessary as for any other Russian activities. First, and most important, while the methods are based on fixed immutable Marxist principles they are not themselves immutable but are continuously changing, so that the description written today will almost certainly need modification tomorrow.³ And secondly, Russia differs so

² A market garden may employ three times this number.

³ This is true even of the aims. In 1930 my enthusiastic young friends regarded themselves as pioneers of a new order charged with the mission of fostering World Revolution. In 1934 they had given this up and were now concentrating on their own country, admiring, and inviting me to admire their achievements. the Dnieprostroy dam, the Chelyuskin adventure, the Red Army of which they were very proud—if a Napoleon had then arisen, none could have foretold the consequences. In 1937 the interest lay rather in the work still to be done: the weak places in the carrying out of the Plan, the possibility of new developments not foreseen when the Plan was designed: above all, an earnest desire for peace, so that these beneficent activities may proceed unhampered. Many of the scarlet banners carried texts in praise of the new Constitution, while the officials were frequently, and sometimes nervously loud in their praise of Comrade Stalin.

widely from England, both in natural conditions and in the temperament and psychology of its people, that no comparison with England is possible. One can compare Russia today with Russia of yesterday, but if one sets Russian and English figures side by side, it is simply for purposes of illustration, just as one would say that a verst = 0·634 miles, but without any suggestion that a verst is a better or a worse measure of distance than a mile. One thing only on this point I shall say, and I say it once for all. the Russians are in my view running their system at least as well as we could do it if we had it here. Whatever is now happening in Russia would under the same system almost necessarily happen in this country.

It is not my province to discuss the underlying Marxist principles on which the Russian agriculture is based. The three that dominate the agricultural situation are :

(1) there is no private ownership of land or of large implements or of more than a very limited number of animals ;

(2) no one man may hire another man's labour for working on the land allowed to him, or for tending his animals ;⁴

(3) the agricultural production is carefully planned by a central authority which rigidly enforces the carrying out of the plan.

Each farm has its programme to which it must conform : the farm is simply an organisation for production and has no concern with finding a market or with prices.

My Communist friends inform me that the type of farming best according with their fundamental principles is the State farm. This is a large farm owned by the State and run on precisely the same lines as a factory. The workers should live in large blocks of dwellings similar to those familiar to all visitors to Moscow, they should have their meals together in a common dining room, and take their rest and culture together like any other workmen. Thus the outlook—or to use the technical word, the ideology—of the peasant would become entirely homologous with that of the factory worker, and the “conformism” so essential to a classless society would have a chance of developing.

In accordance with this idea, a number of State farms were established after the Revolution. Their history is very interesting. It was not at first possible to “socialise” the farms, as the peasants did not understand the idea and preferred to have the land themselves : in point of fact this led to an increase in the number

⁴ He may, however, hire labour for work that brings no profit.

and a decrease in the size of the holding. An official account⁵ states that "the Communist party observes the fundamental principle established by the founders of communism—Marx, Engels and Lenin, and embodied in the fact, that for the reorganisation of small agriculture into socialistic agriculture no violence over the fundamental mass of peasants can be or must be allowed, but that in this case, the working class which directs the Soviet State must first of all come forward as a guide of peasantry, acting by means of persuasion, example and agricultural help to the peasantry. Every time, during the period of Revolution, when one or other impatient theorist or practical worker, wishing to accelerate the process of social reconstruction of agriculture, spoke out, urging the use of administrative measures in respect to the mass of the peasantry, the Communists most severely resisted these transgressors of the basic principle of communism and even did not stop before their exclusion from the party." So from 1921 onwards the New Economic Policy was for a few years in force, which really left the peasants in control of their holdings and gave them considerable freedom of action in cropping and marketing. But the strict Communists never liked this compromise with principles, and by December, 1927, when the 15th Congress of the Communist party was held, considerable changes had taken place. A planned national production was begun in 1925-26: at first on an annual basis and chiefly for the industrial activities; but later on a five year basis and embracing the whole of the national production, including agriculture; when this plan was formally put into operation in 1928 the "socialisation" of agriculture began in earnest. The grain problem was acute: the peasants were not producing as much as was hoped, and it was decided to set up, under the Grain Trust, huge grain farms as State enterprises: "grain factories" they were often called. They were to be 50,000 to 100,000 hectares in extent, run on very scientific lines—for the socialised production was to be entirely scientific—and taking advantage of every saving that could be effected by large scale management and big implements, particularly tractors.

I visited the well known "Gigant" in 1930 when it was perhaps at the height of its glory and by far the largest farming enterprise the world had ever known. The farm is situated in the Salsk district of the Northern Caucasus Region in rolling steppe country with only light rainfall (about 16 inches, but variable). Its area

⁵ *Paths in the development of agriculture in the USSR* M. M. Wolf, State Planning Committee of the USSR, 1930.

at the time of my visit was about 220,000 ha. (considerably larger than Leicestershire) and I well remember jolting over miles of it on a hot and extremely dusty day and at the end being received by the Director, a youthful politician, who treated myself and my friends to a long discourse on the principles and practice of Communism. How often, during that summer, had I had to listen on equally hot and dusty days, to equally long speeches on this subject! For it was then held that the most important business in hand was to found the new order, and so the Directors must all be sound on the principles on which the new State was to be built. They were given technical advisors who, however, might or might not be heeded: as politicians, they took precedence over the scientist and the technician. The farm was then two years old, having been established in July, 1928: it was at first 126,223 ha. in extent. The whole enterprise had been most carefully planned: a soil survey was made to show which areas were most suitable for cultivation; varietal and manurial trials on a large scale were made, the usual preliminary small scale experiments being omitted, a town was being built along the railway line, planned complete with huge blocks of workers' dwellings, hospital, implement shops, workshops and grain elevators. For convenience of working the farm was divided into 12 sections, each under a manager with an assistant manager; each section was further divided into 25 squares of 400 ha. i.e. of 1,000 acres—but although each square was only 1-25th part of one man's responsibility, it was still 5 or 6 times the size of an ordinary English farm. The area under grain was 114,000 ha., most of it being spring-sown: the average yield was given as 11 dz. per ha.: 9 cwt. per acre, and the seeding rate was 1 to 2 dz. per ha.⁶ I am frequently given this figure of 11 or 12 dz. per ha. on my visits to Russian grain farms, and I am inclined to suspect that this is associated with the fact that the average yield required by the "Plan" is 11 dz. per ha. In 1931 150,000 ha. of grain were to be grown. Two characteristics of the farm were impressed upon me by my Russian friends: its enormous size (this always appeals to the Russian imagination), and the large numbers of tractors used there. I was assured that 126 combines had been at work in the harvest: I could not check the figure, but I had no reason to doubt it. By way of demonstration I was shown a 25 ft. combine drawn by a 60 H.P. Caterpillar tractor, and I was told that in 1929 645 tractors had been used for sowing and 400 for harvesting. The farm had been started with a State loan of 30 million roubles which it was hoped to recover in a very few years:

⁶ By way of illustration it may be pointed out that the average for England and Wales is 18 cwt. per acre 1 dz. (Doppelzeutner) = 100 kilos = 220.5 lb

the profit was forecast at 10 million roubles annually, besides, as was explained to me, putting the soil to use, setting up new towns where none had been before, with schools, hospitals, etc., and in addition, raising the standard of the workers and teaching them how to use machinery. In the meantime a further loan of 10 million roubles was applied for. But in spite of this engaging prospectus this huge "Gigant" did not develop, nor did the other State Farms. They were, instead, reduced in size and in number. State farms still exist, but their importance has gone: they survive only where they serve some special purpose. The Russian Revolution shows many resemblances to the French Revolution, where also State Farms had failed: I do not push the comparison too far as my Russian friends do not like it, claiming that the difference in psychology of the peoples concerned is so great that no comparison is valid. But the organisation of agriculture by the method of State Farms is now abandoned—or perhaps I should say deferred—for my Communist friends still maintain that it is the only true way of conducting agriculture. For the present the State farms are restricted to special crops or retained only for experimental and educational purposes. Thus the State farm, Verblynd, not far from Rostov, is retained for testing farm machinery and for the training of tractor mechanics. In 1930, when I first went, 22,500 ha. had been under grain and 41,000 ha. were to be brought under cultivation for the next year: the total area was to be increased to 100,000 ha. In 1934, when I went again, the area was 110,000 ha. and there were 5,500 workers: i.e. 5 per 100 ha. a much smaller number than on the farms described later. There had been some trouble and a new Director was in charge, sent to speed things up: he was paid 700 roubles per month and each of his two assistants had 600 roubles. In the hall where we talked were large texts in red fastened on the wall: "Practise self criticism and do not judge by looking at other people's faces"; "Develop Party Politics."

The Director was very anxious to show me a combine: "It will be new to you," he said, "there are no combines in England." I asked where he had obtained this astonishing piece of information, and he gave me the name of the representative of a large London newspaper of "Left" sympathies, who had positively assured the manager that it was so. One hears the crudest stories about England,⁷ usually attributed to English visitors of "Left" tenden-

⁷ As, for instance, that no poor person ever receives proper medical attention at a hospital, but only rich people; that no worker's child can ever go to college: that the police are cruel agents of the capitalists, employed to coerce and oppress the workers; that there is no democracy, but a cabinet dictatorship completely under the dominance of the capitalists.

cies, though I gather from André Gide's account that he had heard equally crude stories about France.

It is very difficult for English people to realise the enormous hold that the tractor has on the Russian imagination. It represents for them the latest and highest achievement of science and engineering applied to agriculture: it is the symbol of advance, of modernity, of "culture," which has become a watchword of the revolution.⁸ The Director completely failed to understand me when I said that we regarded tractors and combines only as tools and that we should not hesitate to use horses and reapers wherever we could obtain better results thereby; he seemed to regard the idea as almost sacrilegious. One always finds the tractor and the combine figuring in the propaganda accounts of Russian agriculture, in the films of farm life, and in novels. But, as we shall see later, the tractor has been much more than a symbol; it played a great part in the next stage in the development of Russian agriculture.

But to return to the State farms. I saw other good examples of State farms in August 1937, but always they served a particular and definite purpose. One was the Chakva Tea Farm, situated near to Batum in the very beautiful hill country adjoining that town. This republic of Adzharia is part of Georgia; a land of hospitality and of cheerfulness; of song, wine and beautiful women and children. Life moves quickly in that fertile country; if, as one of my Russian friends said, you put the *tempo* of a Russian at 100 you can put the English *tempo* at 80 and the Georgian at 120.

Of all parts of Russia this region comes nearest to satisfying the natural conditions needed for the growth of tea, and most of the Russian-grown tea is produced within fairly accessible reach of here. In consequence the staff are able to keep in touch with most of the other growers. A large factory has been erected for the manufacture of the tea, and some biochemical investigations are carried out with a view to improving the processes. Thus the farm not only itself produces large quantities of tea but it also sets the standard for production and serves as a centre for disseminating information among the other growers. The Russians are anxious to encourage the growth of tea.

The other two State farms that I shall mention are in Armenia,

⁸ The Russians use the word "culture" to include all material advances and planned activities as well as advances in civilisation. In 1934 I frequently saw notices such as "Without culture there is no Communism" and others urging people to do certain things in a "cultural" way; and even in 1937 no non-political reproach was harsher than to tell a man he was lacking in culture.

in pre-War days one of the poorest regions in Russia, but now improving considerably in material prosperity. But there is no wide-spread traditional high standard of cultivation, and so, for the present, State Farms are deemed necessary for the special crops, grapes and fruit. The State Farm, No. 1 of the Ararat Trust, situated not far from Erivan, is devoted mainly to grapes for making into wine, with some fruit, chiefly apricots but also peaches, apples and plums. Its present area is 280 hectares, but it is to be extended to 2,000 ha. as irrigation water becomes available. 62 varieties of grapes are grown of which 47 are local, the rest imported from the Black Sea region; they are sent direct to the factory to be worked up there, for no wine is made on the farm. There are 150 permanent workers and 350 seasonal workers for the spring and autumn. All are paid by piece work, the units of work being called a "labour day"; 12 to 15 roubles are paid for each "labour day" and workers commonly earn 300 or 400 labour days a year. 44 of them, including 12 women, are Stakhanovites,⁹ and these may earn as much as 600 to 900 roubles a month. The workers are organised into 11 brigades, each responsible for its own area of vineyard and having its own tools. For every three brigades there is an adviser who is paid 400 to 500 roubles a month. The Director was a worker here, then studied and became adviser; his pay is 900 roubles a month.

The total revenue for 1936 had been 1.8 million roubles, and after payment of charges including wages there was a balance of 50,000 roubles, 20 per cent. of which goes to social services and 80 per cent. to the Trust.

Here also the farm is serving an educational purpose.

The State Farm, No. 3 of the Ararat Trust, also near Erivan, is very similar. It consists of 700 hectares of which 251 are vineyards, 273 are orchards, 40 cotton, the remainder is not yet in cultivation. There are 220 permanent and 500 temporary workers, and the pay averages 300 to 350 roubles per month, though some workers earn as much as 450 roubles. The total revenue for 1936 was 6.37 million roubles; after deducting expenditure there was a credit balance of 493,000 roubles. These farms differed from Gigant and Verblynd in that the peasants lived in their own cottages and were not put into great blocks of workmen's dwellings.

On the State farms the workers have to purchase most of their food and other requirements.

⁹ This Stakhanovite movement is officially stated to necessitate an improvement in the methods of production

However important the State farms may be in principle, they are now of little significance in fact. The peasants apparently do not like them: only on this view can one explain their failure to develop when they accord so well with the principles of Communism. Another method called collectivisation has proved much more feasible and that is the one that has developed, the "collectivisation" of the small peasant holdings, and their grouping into larger ones. The peasants saw great machines on the State farms ploughing and reaping far more rapidly than they themselves could do, and they were promised that if their holdings were thrown into a sufficiently large block the tractor could be used there too. I cannot speak from personal experience as to how far this inducement operated, but it is stated to have been an important factor of peaceful penetration. The inception of this method is attributed by Wolf¹⁰ to Markevich, then manager of one of the Ukrainian State farms, "Shevchenko,"¹¹ who had tried the experiment of lending tractors, implements and drivers to a neighbouring village on condition that all landmarks were to be removed and all the land thrown into one large piece—collectivised, as it was called. The peasants were to provide unskilled labour and to hand over to the State farm 25 per cent. of the winter corn and 33½ per cent. of the spring corn to pay the cost. The arrangement proved satisfactory, and so it was decided to set up Motor Tractor Stations (now called MTS)¹² each of which has some 200 or 250 tractors with repairing workshop, staff of mechanics and drivers: each was at first intended to serve some 50,000 ha. of cultivated land. The tractor, as already stated, has high propaganda value in Russia and it is therefore specially significant that the number of MTS has increased considerably, and is officially given as 5,000 for 1936 and 5,612 for 1937, an average of one per 23,000 ha. of cultivated land.

With the development of the MTS it became possible to push forward with schemes of collectivisation, and after the objectors were liquidated the remaining peasants learned to work the system; these new farms are called Kolhoz, while the State Farms are called Sovhoz. 98 per cent. of the cultivated land is said to be "collectivised."

The regulations governing the formation and conduct of a Kolhoz have been codified and issued under the title of "Primerny Ustav Selskokhozyaistvennoy Arteli."

¹⁰ loc. cit.

¹¹ Named after the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko.

¹² Modern Russia has enormous numbers of new names made up, like this, of first letters.

The establishment of a collective farm is thus defined: "Working peasants of a village, farm, etc., forming of their free will an agricultural association to build up by their collective work a collective farm." All land, livestock, implements, seeds, food for livestock and farm buildings and other possessions of the peasants must be made communal. Each member, however, may have a small area of land, from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ ha., in some regions more, on which he may grow whatever crops he wishes. In addition he may have certain livestock, the numbers of which are set out in detail as follows: "In grain-growing, cotton, beetroot, flax, hemp, potatoes, vegetables, tea and tobacco regions, each member of a collective farm can have in his private use, 1 cow, 2 calves, 1 pig with sucking pigs, and if the administration finds it necessary, then 2 pigs with sucklings, 10 sheep and goats, an unlimited number of hens, rabbits and 20 hives. In regions of grain-growing farms and development of animal breeding, each household can have 2-3 cows and calves, 20-25 sheep, unlimited amounts of hens, rabbits and 20 hives. In regions of non-nomads and semi-nomads, where animal husbandry is a predominant part of agriculture, each farmhouse can have in private use 4-5 cows and calves, 30-40 sheep and goats, 2-3 pigs and piglings, an unlimited number of hens and rabbits and 20 hives, also 1 horse, or 2 camels or 2 donkeys."

On all the farms I visited in 1937 the householders either had a cow, or were within reach of getting one. On one farm in Armenia only 12 out of 207 households were without cows and next year they would have them: a credit had been given to the farm for this purpose. Another farm had this year received sixteen new families: they were without cows but would purchase calves at 60 roubles each, the money to be paid within two years. At each farm I was reminded of Stalin's order that by the end of 1938 not a single peasant household should be without its cow; and the Chairman was hurrying up to fulfil this.

The membership is under the control of the existing members; persons of either sex over the age of 16 are eligible excepting kulaks and *lishentsy*, i.e. persons deprived of rights: for these there is no admission until they have first been tested in a "new settlement."¹³ Otherwise admission is by election at a joint

¹³ Admission is possible only for the following: (a) "Children of *lishentsy* who during a number of years have done social work and are honestly working; (b) for those former kulaks and members of their families who had been sent to regions of new settlements because of their anti-soviet and anti-Kolhoz attitude, but who had shown by their honest work during three years, and also by supporting the Soviet Government, that they have improved."

meeting at which two-thirds of the members must be present. At the time of my visit to one of the farms the priest, finding his occupation gone, had applied for membership but his first application had been refused. He was doing his best to make a living on a small piece of land on his own account and was being carefully watched by the members. If he seemed likely to make good as a farmer, he might be admitted.

Peasants entering a collective farm, but possessing no horses or seed grain, must during their first six years contribute the value of a horse and of seed grain. I was given instances where this liability was compounded by payment of a fee of 20 to 40 roubles.

The ownership of the land is now defined in documents like title deeds which each farm possesses, showing the boundaries of the farm and setting out, in all the chief languages of the USSR, the fact that the land is given for the use of the collective group. This is regarded by the peasants as tantamount to ownership, and it was clear from the satisfaction with which this document was shown to me at each farm that they are very pleased to possess it. They believe now that the land is their own and they can settle down to cultivate it in security.

The management is in the hands of a Committee elected by the members and presided over by a Chairman¹⁴ who makes the day to day decisions. The workers are organised in brigades, and their work is assessed, as on the State Farms, in "labour days," i.e. agreed units of labour, such as the sowing of a certain area of land, the tending of a certain number of cows, etc. The workers are not paid in money, but share whatever produce is left after the various government and other dues are paid: these vary with the product, but for grain and potatoes, often the most important, they add up to about 30 per cent. as follows:—

To be sold to Government at an about 4 per cent. of the
agreed low price: a definite "planned" yield.
quantity.

For Motor Tractors Station—

Grain	...	...	...	3 per cent.
Potatoes	...	...	...	3 dz. per ha.

¹⁴ At one farm which I visited in 1937 this was a woman, in the others always a man. On various occasions I have attended gatherings of agricultural administrators and experts called by the Commissar to meet me, and have rarely found a woman present except in a subordinate capacity. This always struck me as curious in view of the general high standard of efficiency among the Russian women, and of the universal acceptance of the principle of equality of the sexes.

For insurance and seed—

Grain	12 per cent of the remainder
Potatoes	7 per cent.

Old and sick people—

Grain	2 per cent.
Potatoes	2 per cent.

Day nursery and crèche—

Grain	1½ per cent.
Potatoes .. .	1½ per cent.

Livestock—

Grain (inferior) ...	12 per cent.
Potatoes (small) ..	10 per cent.

The balance is then divided among the workers on the basis of the "labour days" they have earned: they can either eat or sell their share.

This payment in kind has the advantage from the government and the consumers' point of view that the risk of season is borne by the peasant, while from the peasants' point of view there is the advantage that variations in price only affect the part they propose to sell, not what they want to eat.

Some of the "labour days" are given in Table 1:—

Table 1 —*Shpivky, Kiev.*

	Labour Days				
	1933	1934 expected. ¹⁵	1935.	1936.	1937 expected. ¹⁶
Grain kilos	1	3	1·8	2	4
Potatoes "	5	6	4	10	12
Hay ... "	4	8	1	1·5	2
Vegetables .. "	3	3	1·5	2	2
Apples ... grams	100	200	—	—	—
Honey "	—	—	100	200	300
Cash	79k.	31	70k	11. 10k.	21. 50k.

Labour days per annum · 1936, 150-700.

The great variation in pay between one worker and another is entirely typical of modern Russia. I have repeatedly met on one and the same journey men earning 2,000 roubles a month and

¹⁵ Given me in August, 1934, but probably not achieved.

¹⁶ Given me in August, 1937.

others earning only 150 roubles a month : some living in comfort and others in conditions that we should find extremely trying. And of course many of the wives go out to work and there are corresponding differences in their earnings : I met an actress, not a "star," who earned 4,000 roubles a month and her husband earned 1,500. Already some of the wives are staying at home and have a maid to run the flat : shall we see a leisured, cultured, professional class arise ? Perhaps in the towns, but not, so far as I can see, in the country, for the modern educated Russian has no ingrained love of country life and there is nothing in the village to foster it. There is none of the alluring beauty of an English village : the cottages are poor, the churches unattractive and no pleasing farm houses or groups of buildings set off the landscape : there are of course no shops, no village inns or playing fields, no cinema. But there is a school and a crèche, and the village is proud of both, for remarkable success has been achieved in overcoming illiteracy. Moreover, children are many and the Government is now encouraging their production by giving a bonus equal to about two years' pay for a seventh child. And very bright, attractive children they are, too. Although there is sometimes electric light, I saw no drainage systems and no water supply to the cottages : usually there is a common well, but in some places where a gravity flow was possible I was shown with great pride a pipe supply with a standard and a tap in the street.

Inside the cottages one sees very little furniture, but there are usually beds in each room : I heard no complaints about crowding : "even dying is pleasant if it is done in company," their old proverb goes. There are no ornaments or decorations : usually an icon hangs in one corner "for the older people" we are told, and not infrequently a portrait of Stalin "for the younger people."

There is little colour in the peasants' dress¹⁷ : the women commonly wear a white blouse and black skirt : the old sarafan has gone, little or no embroidery is now made by the peasant girls. I came across no singing or dancing : only technical and political lectures, in which the Party arranges that the proper views are put before the people. In 1934 the Party representative was as important as the Chairman, but now he has gone, though of course the Party remains supreme. In all political and social questions there is of course only one view and that is the Party's. In the

¹⁷ In contra-distinction to the towns, where there is more colour in the women's dresses than in 1934, and considerably more than in 1930, where black was usual, and a touch of dowdiness seemed almost to be *de rigueur* for the strict Communist woman.

villages where I inquired, about one per cent. of the workers were members of the Party, but there was much activity among the children and young people. This proportion of Party members is about the average for the country.

The number of workers per 100 ha. is usually large according to Western ideas, especially if one assumes that much of the work is done by tractors and combines. On the farms I visited it was about two to four times as many as would have been needed in England, but the yields were less and the work not as well done, indicating a considerable difference in efficiency of the workers of the respective countries. The system, however, has the advantage that it permits of large scale operations and of the application of scientific principles. The collective farm has the services of an agricultural adviser and it is linked up with the regional Soil and Fertiliser Institute.

Space does not permit the description of more than two of the collective farms. I choose as my first example the Karl Liebknecht Farm near Odessa. At its entrance stands a big placard setting out the regulations; alongside of it are photographs of the farm Stakhanovites. Near by also is a map of Spain with thick black lines showing the present boundary between the contending forces, for Spain has now become of very great interest to the Russians. Our attitude in the Spanish War was not at all understood, and I was frequently asked why England was helping General Franco.

Near by also was the lecture place, this time in the open air, where a number of planks were arranged so as to make seats for the audience, while in front was a blackboard with a table for the use of a lecturer. Later on in the day the workers were assembled here to listen to a lecture by a Party man on foreign affairs, especially Spain.

The population of the farm is 800 and the number of workers 460.

The area of the farm is 1,180 hectares, of which 600 are in grain crops, 120 in potatoes, about the same in fallow, 60 each in vines and melons, 80 in nursery crops, similar areas in tomatoes and other vegetables. About half the grain is sown in winter; this is chiefly wheat. There are 100 head of cattle, of which 38 are in milk, and the average yield is given as 600 gallons per annum; I had, however, no means of checking this figure. There are 520 pigs, a high number typical of modern agriculture in Russia, because the pig is the most economical producer of meat of all the farm

animals and on the whole the easiest to raise. The outgoings are as follows :—

Government tax on total sales	3 per cent.
Set aside for capital improvements	15 per cent.
Cultural and every day life, including prizes for the best workers	5 per cent.
Sick and invalids	2 per cent.
Running expenses	8 per cent.
Administration	2 per cent.

The following quantities must be sold to the Government at stated prices :—

<i>Meat</i> :	3,200 kilograms of meat, chiefly pork, at 1 rouble 50 kopecks per kilo.
<i>Milk</i> :	140 litres per cow at 1 rouble 28 kopecks per litre, delivered free to the Government factory up to a distance of 15 kilometres.
<i>Crops</i> :	1·7 dz. per hectare of wheat and other grain at 9 roubles per dz., and 3 dz. per hectare of potatoes at 12 kopecks per kilo.

The remaining produce is divided among the workers according to the number of their labour days. The labour day is as follows; it differs from that given on page 331 in that more of the produce is sold :—

Wheat	2½ kilos.
Potatoes	½ „
Vegetables	3 „
Grapes	½ „
Wine	½ litre.
Hay or silage	5 kilos.
Cash	10 roubles.

A common number of labour days per annum is 250, but some Stakhanovites got as many as 750 or 800. A family may obtain 1,000 labour days in a year, and one was getting as many as 1,400.

This farm is of interest, as it includes a number of German-speaking Russians, descendants of a group brought here, according to their accounts, nearly 200 years ago presumably by Catherine the Great for purposes of colonising this region; they had retained their language ever since and spoke it fluently and with a fairly good accent. I spoke with several of them individually and away from other people so that they should be under no fear of being overheard, though, of course, they might still have suspected me of being a police agent or likely to report them; I do not, however, think that this was so, and I gained the impression that they

were saying what they really thought. They expressed themselves as satisfied with collectivisation. One of them told me he now had meat (mostly pork) daily, whilst as an individual farmer he could not have done so.¹⁸ The Chairman told me that the peasants knew that they were able to obtain higher yields under collectivisation than they could have done under an individual system. This was repeated at practically all of the farms by the Chairman and in almost identical words: the same phrase was used also by a Russian official in London who was talking to me about the matter; it may, therefore, be taken as an official statement.

A five-day week was in operation and the day consisted of 10 hours, namely from 7 to 12 and from 2 till 7. There was thus some leisure time which could be spent either on their own ground or in other ways. I was given the results of an enquiry which had been held during 1936 to show how collective farmers spent their time; the figures, being the averages for the 24 hours, are as follows:—

Labour of Collective Farmers (in hours and minutes during 24 hours)

				<i>Collective</i>			
				<i>Head of Family.</i>		<i>Farm Woman.</i>	
				<i>Summer.</i>	<i>Winter.</i>	<i>Summer.</i>	<i>Winter.</i>
Productive labour	...	...	...	8.23	5.35	4.43	2.37
Work on private farm	...	...	...	2.28	2.57	6.50	7.28
Leisure time	...	...	...	5.27	6.29	5.01	5.16
Sleep	...	...	...	7.42	8.59	7.26	8.39

While in this district I visited Lysenko's Research Institute at Odessa, and I refer specially to him because he is of peasant origin, having been born in a cottage and spent his early days in the village working with his people. He retains all the peasant's external characteristics; the white blouse, the cap, the high boots; he has also the thin, long face, the long black hair, the rather tall thin build and husky voice of many of the Ukrainian peasants. He secured some education at school and then was able to get away to college where he distinguished himself in scientific studies. In one of his first posts on an experimental farm in Azerbaidzhan he observed, as many others must have done before him, that winter wheat if sown in spring forms no ears. He pondered over this fact and concluded that the winter wheat needs a period of cold days for rest before it can fully develop. He applied this hypothesis in practice and so developed the method of jarovisation, which has since attracted so much interest in scientific and practical circles in agriculture. He was elected member of the Academy of Sciences,

¹⁸ In 1930 and also in 1934 I had obtained a very different impression and many of the peasants were extremely dissatisfied.

a very high distinction in Russia which gives him the title of Academician.¹⁹ He is, therefore, for the modern Russian, the highest fulfilment of the Revolution, the peasant become academician;²⁰ he is far more than a mere man, he is the embodiment of an idea. "All that I am," he said to me, "I owe to the Revolution which gave me this new environment; I owe nothing to my parents and most certainly nothing to the past."²¹

That is the attitude of modern Russia throughout; there is no debt to the past. Real life began only after the Revolution.

He came very much into prominence through predicting the success of certain of his experiments and convincing the authorities that his prediction had come true. Now he has made another forecast that within two years he will produce varieties of crops possessing stated characters. It is refreshing to find a man with sufficient confidence in himself to forecast the results of his scientific work. But he is engaged in a much bigger task which appeals enormously to his admirers, nothing less than the reshaping of agro-biological science "in our Soviet way."

The second example of a collective farm is from Armenia. The arable area is 200 hectares, of which 180 is under cotton. The population is 856, of which 300 are workers organised in seven brigades.

The farm is distinctly above the average, and everything possible is done to stimulate the workers to greater activity. In the office, where everyone can see it, hangs a chart illustrating the speeds at which the brigades are working; there is a picture of a man riding on a tortoise representing the slowest; then in order of increasing speed come a donkey, a bicycle, a train, an auto-bus and finally, as the most speedy, an aeroplane: the last being marked as 150 per cent. efficiency. The brigades are entered under the appropriate heading, and six out of the seven were placed in the aeroplane column. Cotton picking, I was told, was to start tomorrow and a socialistic competition with another farm had been arranged; this other had undertaken to collect 30 centners per hectare of cotton

¹⁹ Titles confer great distinction in Russia nowadays.

²⁰ In the Agricultural Institutes I have frequently met young people of peasant origin who had obtained appointments on the staff, though none have attained Lysenko's distinction. But like him, they acknowledged gratefully their debt to the Revolution. In 1937 many of the higher administrative officials with whom I spoke were more specific: "What ever you see here that is good," one of them put it, "is due to the wisdom of Comrade Stalin and to the Party; whatever you see that is bad, is due to our failure to understand."

²¹ In the Russian pre-war universities there were unquestionably a larger percentage of peasants with Government scholarships than, for instance, in our own universities at the same time, and several of these rose to the highest rank and became academicians.—Ed.

(including seed) and our farm was trying to do better. I was shown with great pride the banner which had been awarded to the farm last year for exceeding "the plan."

The farm was established in 1928. It then had 28 households and now has 207; only three still stand out. The labour day for 1936 was 22 roubles 6 kopeks, in addition to 1.2 kilos of wheat and about $\frac{1}{4}$ kilo of tomatoes. A number of the peasants earned about 280 "days" in 1936. One family of three workers, with part time help from the younger ones, had over 600 days, and their earnings last year were 12,600 roubles, in addition to about 3,500 roubles obtained from their own land. If one puts the purchasing power of the rouble at 2½d. to 3d., which is the value that many English and French visitors find, their gross earnings will be from £130 to £150, an average of about £1 a week each. It is, however, extremely difficult to compare the purchasing power of the rouble with that of the penny; and so far as bread is concerned—and this is one of the most important items in the peasant's expenditure—the rouble is certainly worth far more than 3d. and more like 6d. or 7d. when the comparison is based on weight alone.

There is, however, considerable difficulty in spending money in a Russian village; industry is hardly as yet producing household goods or the small things that mean so much in Western life.²² The town workers can spend money on a variety of things: the cinema, in the parks of rest and culture, cafés, concerts, sports, etc.; one with whom I spoke told me that he and his friends never saved anything, as there was no need; if they were married their wives kept themselves, and if they were sick the State would look after them; they felt no responsibility for themselves. But in the village the case is different and I failed to discover what the peasants do with their roubles; I sometimes wondered whether, after the fashion of peasants elsewhere, they are starting to hoard. Usually when one sees a new house being built it is on better lines than the old; those I saw had two comfortable rooms and a hall that could be used as a store, also a verandah that would be pleasant in the evenings. The peasants like travelling, and I saw numbers of them on the Volga boat down in the cheapest class in 1934, though not on the Black Sea boat of 1937. I saw in one village a very old baby grand piano, recently purchased, which, in spite of its bad tone, was being played with pleasure, and in another village I saw a bicycle which I was invited to photograph.

The Chairman (like all the others I met) spoke with great pride

²² Some severe strictures on the lag in light industry are contained in the official account of planned production for 1937.

of the amount of money or produce he was able to share out per labour day; and the Chairman of a neighbouring farm, who was less fortunate and only able to give his people 15 roubles a day instead of 22, was extremely apologetic for his failure to pay more; he said he would not invite me to his farm until he was able to make a better showing. The attitude of the collective farmer seems to be very much that of the peasant everywhere; he is not producing for the sake of the Community, but in order to improve his own condition. At every farm I visited it was the same story, emphasising what the peasant was getting out of the farm and the system, not what the system was giving to the Community.

There was a considerable appearance of prosperity about the village, and no question at all that the people were better off than they had been when I was here in 1930. The Chairman invited my little Le Play group to his house for some lunch; it had before the revolution belonged to a small farmer or estate manager, apparently German, some of whose possessions still remained. He was obviously a man that liked reading; there was a German translation of Aristophanes, Meyer's *Konversations-Lexicon*, Humboldt's *Kosmos*, Baedeker's *Ober-Italien* and a German Dictionary with a number of pencil drawings by a child. Both owner and child, however, had long since disappeared and no one knew what had become of them. The room, like others that we saw, had a bed in it, a very simple table and a few chairs. It differed from others only in that it had a kind of cupboard belonging to the previous owner. While I was looking at the books, food was brought in—grapes, melons, mineral water and wine. We waited while the shashlyk was cooked for us; this is a characteristic dish of the Caucasus region, consisting of freshly killed meat cut into pieces about the size of a potato, put on a long spit and then cooked over a fire. The spit is presented to you, and you push off the piece of meat with the dried pancake that takes the place of bread, then, holding it with the pancake, you proceed to eat it. Knives, forks and plates are a modern innovation.

It was my good fortune on several occasions to share a shashlyk with a peasant group and I always found the company kindly, hospitable and entertaining. Armenia, once the poorest country in Europe, certainly is benefiting under the new *régime*; the Russians have penetrated far more thoroughly than in the Tsarist days, and the Armenians have in the course of a very short time completely changed their mode of life; they have given up their religion, for which generations of their fathers had suffered

persecution, and they have accepted the new *régime* with its mechanical devices, cinemas, motor cars and machinery as the highest they have ever known. The improvement of the roads, introduction of the motor lorry and of big farm machinery (I saw a combine at work in one of the fields) and, above all, the development of irrigation which is now beginning, all promise considerable material advance. Here Russians have to take the lead; as one of my Russian friends told me, "These people talk too much and do too little; so we had to come in." And if a great deal of the work is associated with the propaganda which now dominates Russian life, much of it is also inspired by the deep feeling for suffering humanity which is ingrained in the Russian character.

Summing up my impressions of the countryside in Russia, I think there is now far more acceptance of the position by the peasants than in my earlier visits. In 1930 the peasants were deeply resentful, and neither State farms nor collectivisation appealed to them. In 1933 I met and talked with a German-speaking *kulak* who had escaped from the country and was on his way to his son in Canada. The confiscation of his crops and his animals had, of course, annoyed him greatly; but in a way he seemed to take it as part of the hard life of the peasant, and he and his friends had done their best to meet the case by eating the food themselves before it could be taken from them. He related how, in the preceding famine, grain had been sent down for sowing, and the peasants had eaten it; then a second lot of grain was sent with soldiers to watch the sowing, and this time the soldiers ate it. Then, as it was too late for more grain, potatoes were sent for planting; the peasants planted them by day, stole back to the fields by night, dug them out and ate them. These things, however, had not rankled so deeply in his soul as the fact that his land had been taken from him; without his land he felt completely lost. This is a general trait of the Russian peasant expressed in an old proverb "My back belongs to my master but the land belongs to me"; and so long as the land was left to them the peasants would tolerate a good deal, feeling always that recuperation was possible. There is little doubt that they joined in the revolution hoping to secure the land from the landlords for themselves, and they were bitterly disappointed when they found they had not got it. This trouble is now met by the grant of the deeds of settlement to which I have referred and which were always produced with sparkling eyes and great enthusiasm. I got the impression that the peasants have now accepted the situation and that for the first time they are prepared

to work the system properly. We shall, therefore, see what a "planned" agriculture on Russian lines can do, and to the agriculturist this is one of the most interesting experiments in the world at the present time. Already there are more signs of prosperity than in my earlier visits.

Taking a wide view, the problem is still far from solution. The trend of events in Russia is towards the building up of an urban, rather than of a rural, civilisation. It is the factories, the cities, the city parks of rest and culture, the large theatres, the cinemas, the Metro, that the Russians show with the greatest pride to their visitors and which are most frequently described by writers. But these things touch only a small part of the population, not more than some 20 per cent. The remaining 80 per cent. is resident in the villages away from all of these things and hardly influenced by them, scarcely as yet receiving their products. It is difficult to find anything in common between the peasant and the educated Russian of the town and during the period in which I have visited Russia I have seen no signs of any approach. On the contrary, the tendency for segregation of the different groups seems to increase; University professors, for instance, are housed in a block of buildings of their own and in holidays they go away to their own rest houses. One finds in some of these groups artistic, sensitive people—temperamental some would call them—with an amazing power of intense emotion, and of sounding the depths of life and rising to its fullest heights: they must find their own way of self-expression. For the present, however, the tendency is for conformism: "unity of thought" (in which our friends found us sadly lacking). "We all like all music equally. We have no group preference for one musician over another," a young enthusiast told me. And while many of the workers and peasants are manifestly inspired by self interest to earn as much as they can, I found professional people and higher engineers who were undoubtedly sincere in their assertion that they were working for the public good and not for their own advantage. I never in the villages met anything but a desire to earn as much as was possible while there was the chance of doing it. The Russian peasant, in short, retains the general characteristics of the peasant in other countries. His desire is to be secured in the holding of his land and to be left in peace to look after his animals and his crops. The fusion of country life with town life still remains one of the great problems before the Russians, as indeed it still is before the Western peoples as a whole.

E. JOHN RUSSELL.

YAROSLAVSKY ON RELIGION IN RUSSIA

I

SIX years ago we published in this *Review*, under the title "Speeches of Yaroslavsky," the directions of the leader of the crusade against all religion in Russia, Mr. Emilian Yaroslavsky, President of the Union of Militant Godless and also a prominent servant of the Soviet State on different sides of its activity. Mr. Yaroslavsky has now issued new instructions to his followers which cannot fail to be of interest to those innumerable persons who are following with the keenest anxiety the condition of religion in Russia. Mr. Yaroslavsky is, inevitably in present conditions, the very first source of our knowledge of this subject. There can be nothing but purely haphazard connections between the followers of religion in Russia and the outside world. Day after day there have appeared in the Soviet Press articles insisting that foreigners are to be regarded wholesale as spies, and the purges which are proceeding in such volume and intensity ram home the warning. It is intelligible with the direct menaces to the integrity of the Soviet State contained in the authoritative words of Hitler, the actions of Japan and the Anti-Comintern Pact, that the Soviet Government should at this time be peculiarly nervous of connections with abroad; but throughout its rule no service could have been done to Russian Christians or other believers in God by any inquiries into the question of religion. Mr. Yaroslavsky, on the other hand, knows the whole field of his subject as one who is constantly at work in it. He is a man of great ability and intelligence, and he does not fear to face facts as they come before him.¹

Yaroslavsky was born in 1878 at Chita in Siberia, which is hallowed to Russian revolutionaries by the memories of those exiled for their part in the first real political conspiracy in Russia, that of December, 1825. He was the son of a peasant colonist-exile, who afterwards, like many other exiles, became a schoolmaster. His mother was the daughter of a fisherman. At the age of nine he went to work in a book-binding shop, pursuing his education in the evening. Later he became a chemist's assistant. In 1898 he first began to study the literature of social democracy. In 1901 he was

¹ When I visited Moscow at the end of 1935, I specially asked for a conversation with Mr. Yaroslavsky, but for intelligible reasons it has not yet been possible to arrange this.—B.P.

abroad, and supervised the introduction of illegal literature into Russia. In 1907 he attended the London Conference of the Party. On his return he was arrested in Petersburg, and spent eighteen months in "preliminary" confinement. In the autumn of 1908 he was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, afterwards reduced to five, which he spent in Petersburg, Moscow and Nerchinsk in Siberia. On his release he was at once exiled to Irkutsk. In exile he organised two forbidden groups, which afterwards supplied the leaders of the revolutionary organisations in that city and district in July, 1917. After the March Revolution he was able to return to Moscow, and took a very active part in the Bolshevik Revolution in October. He has written a history of the Communist Party and is a member of the editorial committees of *Pravda* and *Bolshevik*.²

Mr. Yaroslavsky's introduction to public life in Russia, as outlined in the above sketch, will help us to understand his attitude towards religion. Though there has always been a fringe of crudities and even of crass superstitions on the borders of Russian religion, faith in God has probably been the most vital of all root instincts with the Russian peasants, and in constant intercourse with them both in peace and war—the last named gave further reality and vigour to it—I have often thought that they knew even better what they meant by religion than those with more education. The best thing ever said to me on the subject was said by a Russian peasant as far back as 1907. I had a revolutionary friend named Theologov; himself the son of a priest, he had deliberately declassed himself into the peasantry—not a very easy thing to do—in order to teach revolution and, above all, to convert a Russian village commune into a force in modern socialism. Talking with one of his peasant followers, I asked: "When you have all those things that you are working for, will you have a Church or not?" His reply was an exact summary of what had happened in Russia from the days of the Great Schism in the seventeenth century: "There is a community. That is the reason why there is a State, and that is the reason why there is a Church. The State has got wrong with the community, and it has dragged the Church with it. We are going to put the State back, right with the community, and we shall put the Church back right with it too. And then you shall see we shall all be Orthodox."

Orthodox to what?

Orthodox to the community.

Is this so far from the ideals of Communism, and is it not just what the Church was in the days of its founder? But if we are speaking

² *Malaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopedia*.

not of the Church but of its hierarchy, what was the situation which Yaroslavsky found?

There are two very different outstanding figures in the history of the church hierarchy in his youth. Neither of them was a priest. The first was Constantine Pobedonostsev. The Communists have very cleverly "iconised" him, putting a bust of him, admirably well done, but profoundly satirical, in a niche formerly occupied by an icon in the Kazan Cathedral in Leningrad, which is now the Museum of the History of Religion. Pobedonostsev was a man of absolute honesty and of unstained personal integrity, but he is much more entitled to a place in the History of Irreligion. He held that post created by Peter the Great and styled by him the "Tsar's eye," which carried the title of Over-Procurator of the Holy Synod. He was a lawyer, and he was there to drill the Church to the intentions and orders of the State. He was the tutor of the last two Tsars, and for twenty years (1881-1905) he was engaged in trying to turn other inhabitants in Russia, so full of various nationalities and confessions, into Russian and Orthodox. He set the final tone of this period, and no one suffered so much from him as the clergy themselves; I had two personal friends among them, both deeply religious men, who were unfrocked for their liberal opinions.

The other outstanding figure was Rasputin, a kind of lay brother who gave himself a direct commission from God and was literally in command of the Russian Church for the last two years before the Revolution. This disgusting charlatan, the extent of whose outrages is only known from a close study of the detail of all this period, caused the premature death of one head of the Russian clergy, the Metropolitan Antonius of Finland and St. Petersburg, a friend of our own Archbishop Maclagan, and the removal to Kiev of another, the Metropolitan Vladimir, whom he replaced with a puppet of his own. He caused the dismissal of the one good holder of the post of Pobedonostsev, Alexander Samarin, a kind of Russian Lord Hugh Cecil, and he even brought about irregularly and in defiance of the Synod the canonisation of a new saint. What has followed in the history of the Church since the Revolution is regarded by many devout Russian believers as a great and sorely needed purification.

II

Let us analyse the new instructions issued by Mr. Yaroslavsky in a pamphlet entitled "On Religious Propaganda."

It is preceded by an article from *Pravda*, possibly from his pen, published on 7 May, 1937. This article denounces the "rotten

theory that religion at the present time has ceased to play any part in the Soviet Union, that workers and kolhoz farmers have grown up in a cultural way and, therefore, have no need of anti-religious propaganda." To this it attributes the fact that "in the last six years the Trade Union authorities have not given a single direction on anti-religious work, that anti-religious propaganda has died down in the clubs and libraries." It quotes a resolution adopted at the Tenth Congress of the League of Communist Youth calling for an explanation to the young of "the mischief and superstition of religious prejudices," and declares that a year later there has in fact been no execution of this demand of the programme of the Komsomol. It goes on to state:

"The Union of Militant Godless is working arch-badly; in the last few years it has curtailed its activity. In a number of districts the sections of the Union have fallen to pieces, have lost their active nucleus and are clotted up with persons strange to the work. The issue of anti-religious literature and periodicals of the Union of Militant Godless has for unintelligible reasons sunk down to insignificant proportions. Mass literature of a popular kind simply does not exist. Meanwhile the tasks of conquering religious survivals are still far from being accomplished in our country."

There follow numbers of examples of the penetration of religion into public institutions in different parts of the country; for instance, the Chairman of a kolhoz is also Chairman of the Church Council. We are told that houses of prayer are closed without the agreement of the citizens, and that in some places persons are discharged from their work for being believers. The writer continues:

"The 'busy administrators' do not notice that this kind of struggle can only drive religion below the surface, and hampers any real struggle with it . . . It must be clearly understood that a believer is not thereby an enemy of the Soviet Government, and that we have to fight religious prejudices with widely developed anti-religious propaganda and not with measures of administrative caprice."

III

Mr. Yaroslavsky's own instructions then repeat this verdict, sometimes in the same words, but we have left them unchanged. The article speaks authoritatively as the organ of the Communist Party, and Mr. Yaroslavsky confirms in detail as the President of the Union of the Godless. The instructions were issued as a report to the meeting of propagandists in Moscow on 17 April, 1937.

The origins of Christ are ordinarily dismissed in Communist propaganda with the general assumption that they, like those of all other religious beliefs, began with a myth. Yaroslavsky says that he will not deal with this subject, and merely quotes the verdict of Marx and Lenin that "it was fear that created the gods"—"fear," he adds, "of the elemental forces of nature, in face of which man was helpless and on which his life depended." This makes it very much easier to pass on to the perversion of the use of religion in individual instances in historical times.

"It has become a powerful force in all capitalist countries, in the hands of all exploiting classes. There it is the servant of the exploiting State, which has sanctified and sanctifies all the abominations and the crimes of the exploiting class against those who labour."

He quotes the maxims "Servants submit to your masters," "Fear God and honour the king." "The Church," he says, "has often declared the 'divine' origin of kings, and has called them 'the anointed of God.'" He recalls with truth that Tsarism often resorted to "nationalist slaughter," citing the disgraceful pogroms, and adds, with much less regard for truth, that "no one will cite the church organisation which has even once come out against this monstrous man-hating propaganda and the dark and bloody deeds of the *pogromshchiki*." He ridicules the teaching that Eve was created out of a rib of Adam, and that women were doomed to bear children in pain and sorrow, and man to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. He recalls the crimes of the Inquisition, the pyres and the tortures, and quotes Luther in his denunciation of the peasant rising in his time. The Bible, he says, is entirely penetrated with a spirit of militant nationalism (Islam with contempt for women,) and Buddhism with a division of human beings into castes. He remembers the small and sectional group of reactionaries organised in the Black Hundred League of the Archangel Michael, and claims that after the March Revolution of 1917 "the Church remained as before connected with the dominating and exploiting classes, with the monarchists." For this last assertion he has only the flimsiest support in the facts, for monarchism in its Russian sense of absolutism had practically no supporters by that time, and the principle of constitutional monarchy was at once abandoned. He mentions "the regiments of Jesus and of the Virgin" organised for a moment on the Siberian front by Kolchak, who stood for the restoration of the Constituent Assembly, and revives the memory of the religious trials of Easter, 1923, when the

Church, already deprived in 1918 of its former property, had been ready to contribute all except the sacred vessels to the relief of the starving.

"It may be urged," he says, "that only the dominant church of Tsarism" (the Russian Orthodox) behaved in this way, and that there were also Nonconformist groups, of which at least some were democratic. But this, he claims, was only so up to the Communist Revolution, which, as he omits to mention here, declared itself hostile to all religions. Almost, immediately afterwards he quotes Lenin as saying that "the difference between so-called purified religion and crude religion is the same as between a blue devil and a violet one, not more."

Then there is the usual attack on religion for teaching humility

"Religion says to man: 'You are a worm, a slave, you can never get finally to know the secrets of nature, the secrets of life and death. All that you do, like your life itself and all your destiny, depends on God.' Religion promises man in return for earthly sufferings, or as a reward for them, a heaven beyond the grave. Communism (on the other hand) raises man, raises the labouring masses to the height of scientific knowledge. It teaches us to believe in our own strength, not to hope for a heaven beyond the grave, but to build up a joyful and happy life here on earth. Man can not only learn to know the world, but can change it and does change it in the interests of those who labour. Communism raises men and leads them to a real and not an after-life equality, to the destruction of all oppression, all exploitation and all inequality, whether political, economic, national, racial or cultural."

He attacks the hypocrisy of priests who, while promising to others the good things of heaven, take care to secure for themselves those of earth. Very much more might have been said of these corrupt priests who sought high office through Rasputin. Even the cynical Beletsky, the Director of Police at that time, avows that he almost blushed to hear their extravagant material demands.

Yaroslavsky now passes to the Communist programme for the struggle against religion.

"We Communists fight religion by the word of persuasion, and such a transformation of life as cuts at the root of religion and makes it unnecessary and useless in the eyes of the labouring masses . . . The Communist Party is guided by the conviction that only the realisation of regularity and consciousness in all social work of the masses will bring with it complete extinction of religious prejudices . . . With this it is necessary, carefully to avoid any offence to the feelings of believers, which leads only to the strengthening of religious fanaticism."

Here he quotes the very interesting maxims of Lenin, as laid down before the Revolution, in 1905: "The State has nothing to do with religion; religious societies ought not to be connected with the power of the State. Anyone ought to be completely free to confess to any religion whatsoever, or not to acknowledge any, that is, to be an atheist, which is what the Socialist usually is. Differences of any kind between citizens, in their rights, in their dependence on religious beliefs, are absolutely inadmissible. Any mention, even, of this or that religious belief of citizens in official documents ought to be unconditionally abolished."³ "But," Lenin added "in regard to the Party of the Socialist proletariat, religion is not a private matter. Our Party is an association of conscious, front-rank fighters for the liberation of the working class. Such an association cannot and must not be indifferent to unconsciousness, ignorance or obscurantism,⁴ in the form of religious beliefs." "To him who thinks that our Party can do without any religious propaganda Lenin answers: 'Our programme is all built on a scientific and also definitely materialistic conception of life.'" On this ground Yaroslavsky therefore urges his followers to engage in anti-religious propaganda; for "every religion is something opposed to science." And thus every opposition must offered to the undermining influence of "the reactionary clergy . . . who poison the consciousness of the labouring masses. No Communist who does not take this view, ought to have his place in the Communist Party."

He proceeds to the question of how far this has been realised and carried into action, repeating the condemnations contained in the *Pravda* article. "Have we, since the Tenth Congress, heard much of lectures organised by the Komsomol on anti-religious propaganda? Have we heard something of them either by broadcast or at meetings? Are there many circles of the Komsomol organised for carrying on anti-religious propaganda? . . . As a matter of fact, the resolution of the Tenth Congress of the *Komsomol* *has not been carried out in any degree at all for a year.* (The italics are the writer's) . . . And what have the Trade Unions done? They have not only failed to organise such propaganda regularly—they have not organised it at all, they have liquidated it. They have not only not strengthened it, but they have ruined what had been done in this province by the Union of the Godless. For the last six years the

³ The official insertion of this question was to be found in the last census and again in the registering of voters for the present elections to the Supreme Council, see p. 458.

⁴ *Mrako-besnichestvo* "actually obscurantist bedevilment."

Trade Union authorities have not given any directions at all on this question. The factories and works committees have simply not interested themselves in the position of this propaganda; the Clubs, as a rule, do not include it in their programme. In their libraries there is no anti-religious literature. No one takes any trouble in the matter."

Summing up the results achieved, he remarks: "There is no doubt that we have had comparatively big successes in spreading atheism in the Soviet Union . . . as a matter of fact, in a comparatively short time—twenty years, millions of labourers, old and young, in the Soviet Union have abandoned religion; by those data which we possess in the Union of the Godless, we may say that in the towns more than half of the workers, about two-thirds of the adult population above sixteen, consider themselves and are unbelievers.⁵ In the villages on the other hand probably more than half, about two thirds, are believers, and that means not only old men and women, as some think, but among the young in the villages there is still a very high percentage of believers . . .

"If we take the Komsomols, the active nucleus of the Trade Unions and kolhozy, that will make at least not less than ten millions. This active nucleus have fully broken with every form of religion and with all religious views . . . It is true we must not under-rate the significance of the fact that children are educated not only in school. They are no less educated at home; and the authority of parents in a religious family is often not less, but more, than the authority of the teacher or of the Communist organisation at the school . . . In the land of the Soviets there has taken place in these years a great change with regard to religion and the church among the Soviet intelligentsia, especially among the new young teachers, engineers, technicians, chemists, agronomes and doctors.⁶ We have among them a great number of people who could help us to conduct anti-religious propaganda, as they themselves are godless." Yaroslavsky counts confidently on the influence in this direction of the mechanisation of life in town and country. He also considers that the significance of the measures taken to separate the Church from the State and the School from the Church in 1918 has had an enormous effect, as no doubt it has. He again cites some of the most important steps for the defeat of religion when he refers to

⁵ There is every reason to think that in the recent census numbers of believers registered themselves as unbelievers. This gives all the more significance to the large numbers of those who avowed their religion.

⁶ This class was largely irreligious even before the Revolution.

the introduction of the six-day week, carrying with it, as it did, the abolition of Sunday, and "the destruction of the whole religious calendar"; and he might add that the corresponding penalties for absence from work on a working-day have given peculiar effect to this change, making five Sundays, out of six, days on which church attendance has meant material and perhaps permanent privations.⁷

He also quotes some interesting and very important figures of comparison between 1897 and 1926. In 1897 there were 295,000 employees of religion, exclusive of their families. This in 1926 had sunk to 79,000. With this he contrasts the vastly increased numbers of school-teachers, engineers and other public workers. The following figures illustrate the changes which have taken place in Moscow —

	1897	1926	1935
Priests	7,638	943	—
Engineers	374	8,057	66,000
Students with State scholar- ships .	779	34,000	100,000
Teachers	1,837	12,159	24,000
Doctors .	1,380	6,443	12,000

In the last nine years the population of the big towns has doubled. "New great towns have grown up, in which there is not and has never been a single church, for instance Magnitogorsk, Karaganda and present-day Stalinsk in Siberia; but it is essential to give the warning against any self-deception that in these towns, where there are no churches, there are no believers or only very few. To these new towns, particularly such as Magnitogorsk and Karaganda, many have streamed in from the villages, and there are a considerable number of the former 'deprived' (*lishentsy*). They do not cease to be believers because they have come to a town where there is no church."

Yaroslavsky next essays a picture of the present work of religion in the Soviet Union. But he does not so much illustrate this work as pick out certain manifestations in the Press which suggest increased religious activity.

"There are in the Union," he says, "more than 30,000 religious communes (parishes). If we simply multiply this figure on an average by

⁷ See the law inflicting dismissal with loss of quarters and rations for one day's absence from work, the text of which was published in the *Slavonic Review*, Vol. XI, No. 33.

twenty-five, which is the number of the members of the council of each commune, we shall get a figure of three quarters of a million, and in fact it is much bigger, not less than a million. This is that active nucleus which, so to speak, constitutes the government of the religious communes, the leading groups in them, the top of the religious organisation. This nucleus has at its disposal 30,000 places of worship in the country, of which many might be envied by our clubs. These places are not badly decorated—of course from a religious point of view—in some cases they still have the old religious paintings. Many religious communes have a good choir. The churchmen spend a good deal of money on the choir. The incomes of the Church are still very considerable.”

He gives a striking description of the wealth that is lavished on the Jewish synagogue in Moscow, which he says has a yearly income of about 800,000 roubles with paid seats. He takes occasion to emphasise the distinction in seating between rich and poor. “The church singing,” he declares “attracts not only old men and women, as many think, but also a pretty large number of young folk. We must remember that young people sing in the choir.” The pro-church of the Resurrection in Moscow in the course of ten years, according to church statistics, had a clear profit from candles alone of 312,000 roubles.

“On a moderate estimate, not less than half a milliard (of roubles) is spent by the labourers of the Soviet Union yearly on the upkeep of the Church.”

“Some console themselves with the thought that a great number of churches have been closed, which they think means that religion is finished. This is a profound delusion. The danger consists in the fact that after the church has been closed, with no serious work carried on in the masses and the whole population not convinced of the necessity of closing the church, the priest remains without a church, but surrounded by a mass of believers, and becomes a ‘travelling missionary.’ The ‘travelling missionary’ goes about with his simple equipment. It can be packed in a travelling case: censer, communion wafers, a bottle of church wine for communion, a stole—that is all that is wanted; and the servant of religion travels from village to village, wherever he is invited. If he has not been there for a year, then he at once christens all who have been born since, marries all who have mated, sings the mass for all who have died, and receives an agreed payment, and goes on somewhere else. When the church has been closed in a district where there is still a large number of believers, the priest does not cease to be wanted . . . We must not close our eyes to this.”

This is a striking tribute from the opposite side, and it tells us that religious persecution in Russia has brought the Church back to the conditions in which its first teacher founded it, to those early

days when the believers "had all things in common." Even in so stern a battle there can be courtesies from the most convinced of adversaries, and I should like to match this remarkable passage of Yaroslavsky's with an equally striking tribute to Communist education from a simple parish priest who saw the worst years of the struggle in Russia :—

"The Pioneer⁸ can be distinguished, whether at home or at school or in the street, from children who do not belong. He is as different from 'the rest' as before the Revolution a pupil of any privileged school or institution differed from the 'free' pupil. He has been trained and educated in godlessness. Himself, he not only will not go to church, but as he passes the house of God, he will not even notice it. Perhaps if he chances on the priest, he will meet him and follow him with a peculiar look. In his sensible, clever eyes there will be either astonishment or curiosity. But if his parents are believers and take him to church, he may do everything that he is told by his father, his mother, or the priest, though according to his rules, he would not dare to do so, and if his superiors heard of such behaviour, he would bear the punishment assigned as part of his 'pioneer discipline.' Lord! what a good child of our Mother the Church might be made of him!"⁹

The same witness gives us what Yaroslavsky could not give, the picture of religion from the inside, of the Church as it is seen and treasured by its followers :—

"Now a man comes into church only to pray, and not to show anyone that he is Orthodox. Now he is not given credit with anyone, but rather loses by it. And he prays till the very end of the service. Also, the priest has no reason to hurry. At home he has only his family and poverty and thoughts of tomorrow, but in the church, at the time of the service, he has his 'family,' that is, his flock, and nothing to trouble him. He has even wealth and satisfaction, for he has come here for the riches of the soul, and here he has enough, because he is here with the 'Giver of all good things' even for the whole world."¹⁰

"Very many priests," writes Yaroslavsky, "have learnt how to mask themselves successfully. Externally, the overwhelming majority of them seem quite loyal." He narrates instances of the ways in which priests have penetrated into the official organisations and even collected money for the repair of their churches, and he then goes on to make a very interesting analysis.

⁸ The Pioneers are children trained in Communism from the age of eight.

⁹ "Russian Religion on the Defensive," *Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. XII, No. 34, page 92.

¹⁰ "Russian Religion on the Defensive," *Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. XII, No. 34, page 95.

"Who supports this work? It would be a very great mistake to think that it is supported only by our enemies. It would be a mischievous delusion to think that all believers are our enemies. Nothing of the sort. The majority of them are people who socially and even politically are close to us, but among these people we have ceased to conduct politically enlightening and anti-religious mass work, and they have thus passed on to all the more firm control of the church organisation." He here quotes examples of strange and even fanatical letters which have been circulated against the collectivisation of agriculture or a participation in the census, some of them obviously indicating that the writer was either deluded or a charlatan. There is, for instance, in the Shatsky district a prophecy of the end of the world associated with an eclipse of the sun. Very different are the examples that he cites of wide-spread refusals to go to work on a Sunday or feast day. "There are by no means isolated instances where priests have succeeded in inducing workmen and kolhoz labourers to serve as members of the church councils. In the Gorkovsky district 4 per cent. of the Chairmen of the church councils are workmen or former workmen, 32 per cent. are kolhoz labourers In some districts a large proportion are illiterates. . . . Even at the factory 'Forward,' (named presumably after the pre-revolutionary organ of Lenin) in the Moscow area . . . a number of working women have sung in the church choirs. In almost all the churches of Moscow there is a so-called nucleus of women." Yaroslavsky gives instances of religious obscurantism taking the form of spiritualist séances.

Returning to the weakness of his own army, Yaroslavsky quotes Zhdanov, Stalin's deputy in Leningrad, as saying that many of the Godless have turned from militant into peaceful Godless, and asking whether they have not concluded some kind of "an alliance with God." The work of the first years (he is going back to 1918) undoubtedly led to very great successes. He recalls the Komsomol Easter, the Komsomol Christmas, the largely attended debates for instance between Lunacharsky and Bishop Vvedensky; but all this relates to a very definite period, which was the earliest in Communist rule, and he passes on to the great indifference which has followed. He again vigorously rebuts certain current theories, as for instance that religion is dying out of itself or, again, that as there are few individual peasants left, there are few believers.

"There is another mischievous theory that only old men and

women are believers. This is not true." And he complains that the Komsomol has done no work among youthful believers. "It is true that the former social roots of religion have been undermined, but religion has still many followers. The religious organisations are drawing into their church councils a new nucleus. They try to attract workmen and kolhoz farmers and women." Meanwhile "in the Moscow area, for instance, almost all regional councils of the Godless have been liquidated. . . . Some of our Moscow comrades think that a mass Union is not needed." Lectures, he insists, are not enough, as one cannot tell what has been the effect on the audience. Spade work is required. In particular he asks that the occasion of the elections should be used extensively for anti-religious propaganda, which we may think is a very different and much more legitimate method than those previously employed. He declares that "it is absolutely right that priests have the franchise." He quotes Stalin himself as having said at the Eighth Congress: "Not all former kulaks, white guards, or priests are hostile to the Soviet Union. . . . Among the believers there is an enormous number of workmen and kolhoz farmers; that they have not yet known how to free themselves from the deceit of religion, is not their fault. We ought to help them and not count them as enemies. The leaders of the church are also very various. . . . Among the priests there are men who do not engage in any direct conflict with the Soviet Union, and it would be wrong to regard them as enemies or as counter-revolutionaries." He quotes an Archpriest Pospelov, as having written: "The Soviet Government, existing in our country with the *de facto* agreement or recognition of the people, is not only lawful, but is a government established by God, and the successes of socialist construction are a sign of God's good will to it." We are closely reminded of the words used by the most notable of present-day champions of Russian Christianity, Father Sergius Bulgakov, once a leading Communist. I quote from his "Judas or Saul?"¹¹ He describes the anti-religious movement among the Communists as having "arisen on the basis of a search for the truth of life, for the kingdom of God on earth with an apocalyptic tenseness of faith in the future and with a sincere desire to realise it. And we may hope," he adds, "that this will for the future is not displeasing to God, and will not be turned to shame."

When speaking of churchmen abroad, Yaroslavsky writes: "There are priests standing particularly close to the masses among

¹¹ *Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. IX, No. 27.

the lower clergy who come out with quite opposite declarations (to those of the supporters of capitalism). Ought we to disregard these? No we ought not." He sums up: "In our anti-religious propaganda we should observe the instruction of our programme to avoid any unnecessary roughness, to listen closely to the mass, to know and study its moods: not to repulse believers, but help them to free themselves from the influence of religion."

Such are the very valuable indications as to the present state of this struggle in Russia which we obtain from this highly informed article. It is, as Mr. Yaroslavsky points out, very different from that of the earlier days. The time of open conflict appears to be past. The period when the Communists definitely attacked the marriage tie and more than indulged indiscipline in children is also over. The State has called for the strengthening of that tie. Notices posted all over the schools insist on respect for parents, teachers and elders; and the lesson has been effectively brought home by the severe measures now adopted against youthful hooliganism and the call to parents to assist in removing this evil. Trotsky in his bitter book, *The Revolution Betrayed*, utters the taunt: "Along with the seventh, the fifth commandment is also fully restored to its rights—as yet, to be sure, without any reference to God."¹² The Communist League of Youth—reinforced, it would appear, by many of those who were once waifs and strays and have since undergone the Soviet training, has become a very exacting school of character—as we have seen, drawing tributes from priests themselves. Its insistence on ethics has been definitely emphasised as a substitute for religion; but even among young Communists themselves it has been felt that there is something still lacking.

After all, the attack on religion is a greater failure, the more fanatical it becomes. We return to the confession of Lunacharsky in 1928 that "religion is like a nail, and the harder you hit it the deeper it goes into the wood." Personally, I have no doubt whatever that, for those who have adhered to their religion, it has a much deeper meaning than it ever had before; and in times when—as Yaroslavsky has mentioned and as we know only too well from other sources—belief has been the occasion of definite sufferings or privations, his statement that probably two thirds of the country population and one third of that of the towns are still believers sets a standard which it might well be difficult to equal in any other country, for instance, in our own, where, if all that was nominal or fictitious were struck away,

¹² Page 148, *The Revolution Betrayed*; by Leon Trotsky.

we should be proud to be able to quote the same figures. It has to be remembered that all this cooling off, of which Yaroslavsky writes, has been a feature of precisely that period since the State in 1929 passed over from non-religious instruction in schools to anti-religious. Russians are clever, and Russian children are clever; and what is one to expect from a repetition week by week and year by year of a statement that there is no God, but a sense in the listener that there is here some weakness which the teacher is trying to cover? Why should one be talking all this time about God, if He did not really exist?

In all my own conversations with Russians I have felt a genuine and vigorous enthusiasm, not only in the speaker but in myself, when we have been talking of how the limitless resources of one of the richest sixths of the world are now being utilised as never before, and not for the profit of any millionaires, but of the whole community, and I have in the same way felt in any discussions of the question of religion, that the speaker almost knew himself to be at a disadvantage in the necessity of so much argument, explanation and even special pleading. I derived the same impression from my visits to anti-religious museums in Moscow and Leningrad. It was a case that had to be made out at all costs. The actual work of religion in humanising society had to be left entirely without recognition. The life of the actual founder of our religion disappeared all together, and so did those first wonderful three hundred years when the Christian was the under-dog and when persecution by precisely the most far-seeing of the Roman emperors failed to prevent it from making its conquest from below, the conquest of the European community from bottom to top. Everything has to be concentrated on an eclectic accumulation of examples of the misuse of religion for purposes which would wound most deeply the conscience of the Christian himself. The picture displayed of the persecutors of the Inquisition says nothing of the faith and firmness of those who died as martyrs to their religions. After all, Jesus Christ was what is now called a proletarian, lived and worked with and for the poor, and for that reason was condemned, as a revolutionary, to the death of a slave by one of the most powerful of capitalist systems known to history.

BERNARD PARES.

THE JUGOSLAV CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM

I

THE constitutional problem in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, proclaimed on 1 December, 1918, and formally recognised by the Peace Treaties, had found its normal and regular solution in 1921, when a freely elected Constituent Assembly voted the Constitution of 28 June, 1921. From the legal point of view, this first Yugoslav Constitution was the work of two political factors, the nation and the Crown. It may be regarded as a compromise between the will of the nation and the royal power, a compromise all the more remarkable because it was obtained by mutual good will and to the satisfaction of the two parties concerned. The definitive and complete text of the Constitution of 1921 was passed by 233 votes, that is, by a majority consisting of more than half the total number of 412 deputies. It was not a simple majority of voters, but a real majority of popular representatives. None the less, it had from the political point of view a serious defect. The majority of the Croat deputies had not only not voted for this Constitution, but had abstained from all share in the work of the Constituent. The unitary and centralist organisation of the Yugoslav State, as it emerged from the deliberations of the Constituent of 1921, was not to the taste of the Croats, and was the reason why these deputies refused to collaborate with a body which from the outset seemed little disposed, and which indeed really was not at all disposed, to consider specific Croat demands. They would have preferred to give the State a federal or autonomous character, such as would take account of Serb and Croat peculiarities and correspond better to Croat national sentiment.

The opposition of the Croats to the centralist régime adopted in 1921 ended in 1925, after seven years of verbal controversy and passionate discussion. In that year the Croats, united in the Peasant Party and led by their chief Stephen Radić, decided to come to Belgrade, to recognise formally the Constitution of 1921, and to form within the Serbian Radical Party a Serbo-Croat governmental coalition, such as would guarantee in practice the parity and equality of Serb and Croat throughout the political life of the new state.

We may leave aside the reasons why this coalition of the greatest Serb and the most powerful Croat political parties, so

intelligently conceived and so well realised in practice, did not produce the results expected on both sides. The important point for our present inquiry that the Constitution of 1921, after the Serbo-Croat agreement of 1925 and after the formal adhesion of Croats to the unitary idea as a fundamental law of the country, was generally accepted and recognised. It might be criticised for its excessive centralisation, but this was a matter of opinion and of opportunism, and it was not possible to reject the Constitution as such, since it had been legally voted by the people, sanctioned by the Crown and freely accepted by the majority of the Croats in 1925. Thus the prestige and authority of the Constitution of 1921 was incontestable; and this may be judged by a concrete example which is worth quoting. When in July 1921, after the death of Peter I, his son, the late Regent Alexander, announced his accession to the nation in a proclamation countersigned by the Cabinet, he said that he did so in virtue of Article 56 of the Constitution (that which regulates the succession to the throne). This was a solemn confirmation that the Constitution represented the real source, not only of the political rights of the nation, but also of the sovereign right of the monarch.

On 6 January, 1928, however, King Alexander, ill-advised by his immediate entourage and for reasons into which we cannot enter here, abrogated the Constitution and proclaimed a dictatorship. In suppressing political liberties, the national representation and the independence of the Courts, King Alexander had concentrated into his own hands at once the legislative, the administrative and the judicial power. It is perhaps not superfluous to note that in proclaiming the Dictatorship he had placed himself outside the Constitution, since it accorded neither to people nor to King the right to abolish it. Articles 125 and 126 of the Constitution provided for the possibility of modifying the constitutional clauses, but solely by agreement between King and Parliament, and according to a special procedure regulated by the Constitution itself. Now King Alexander had abolished the whole Constitution, without any agreement with Parliament. Article 127 authorises Parliament to suspend certain sections of the Constitution, relating to political liberties, in the event of war or mobilisation; but when the Coup d'Etat of 6 January, 1929, was executed, there was neither war nor mobilisation in Yugoslavia. Besides, if Parliament was authorised to suppress provisionally certain constitutional guarantees, under the form of a special law, the King alone did not possess this prerogative. Thus the act of 6 January was an altogether uncon-

stitutional act, executed in violation of the Constitution; and the King had no authority for proclaiming his will as the supreme law of the country. Without examining the political motives which underlay King Alexander's action, it may be recalled that the defenders of the dictatorial régime had invoked in favour of the King the state of dire necessity in which he found himself in 1929. Without examining the validity of this claim, it may be considered as a fact that the King acted contrary to the Constitution, and was helped in his anti-constitutional attack by the Army and a certain number of politicians. He had succeeded in imposing his will upon the country, and his power was very real. But the realities of the situation did not correspond with the formal text of the Constitution of 1921, by virtue of which King Alexander exercised the royal power.

After two years of dictatorship, the King decided to return to a constitutional and legal system. But instead of restoring the Constitution of 1921, which alone could be reasonably regarded as the true national charter, he committed a fresh blunder by trying to impose upon the country a constitutional law of his own. Without consulting anyone, without any help from the people, he drew up of his own accord, with a few close collaborators, a new Constitution which was proclaimed on 3 September, 1931, and imposed upon the country—as before, with the aid of the Army and the bureaucracy. This new Constitution, “promulgated” (*octroyée*) by the King, was based exclusively on the royal power, and its validity depended on real facts. From the juridical and political standpoint, the Constitution of 1931 differs from that of 1921 in two essential points. It sensibly increased the effective power of the King, and correspondingly reduced the rights and powers of the people. The parliamentary régime was virtually abolished, and the executive, represented by the King, rendered all-powerful. Secondly, it divided the country into nine provinces large enough to develop on autonomous lines, but gave to them a centralist organisation modelled on that of Tsarist Russia. The provincial Bans or Governors represent the central power of Belgrade, and this in every manifestation of power and in every sphere of political life. It is this constitution which is still in force in Yugoslavia and which now has to be liquidated by a regular constitutional reform.

In actual fact, no one in Yugoslavia seriously considers that the constitutional problem has been finally solved by the Constitution of 1931. Its predecessor, that of 1921, had the great defect of not having been voted by the Croats, and though they recognised it in

1925, they never concealed their antipathy for its excessive centralisation, which in their view wiped out the whole past of Croatia. Now that of 1931 has a double defect. It was desired neither by the Serbs nor by the Croats, and may indeed be said to be equally distasteful to both. The demand for a new constitutional charter is almost universal in Yugoslavia, though for different reasons. The Croats insist above all upon the desirability of a federal organisation of the state, such as would guarantee the autonomy of the Croat districts. The Serbs accept in principle the autonomy of the Croat districts, but one which would not imply the division of Yugoslavia into several states. The new Constitution should be presented as a work of Serbo-Croat agreement, as a compromise between the unitary and federal ideas. Moreover the Serbs and Croats are in perfect agreement as to the general character of the future Constitution. Both insist on the necessity for a liberal Constitution, according political liberties and guaranteeing the parliamentary régime. The constitutional problem thus posed would not seem to be insoluble. It is in the main a question of realising a Serbo-Croat entente, without which the position of Yugoslavia will never be consolidated, and on the other hand of re-establishing equilibrium between people and Crown, by restoring the rights of the national representative and reducing the prerogatives of the Crown to the normal level of parliamentary monarchies.

II

Two difficulties of a very special order have arisen, and seem likely to delay, if not entirely to arrest, the activity of political circles in favour of a new constitution.

The first of these is raised by the Regency, which is said to consider that it lacks the power to proceed to modifications of the existing constitutional régime. According to statements made in circles close to the Court, it does not regard itself as the formal titular of the royal power, and merely exercises a provisional mandate till the majority of the future King. The Regents, in this view, have the power to represent the King under the existing Constitution; but not being themselves the Crown, they could not consent to a complete change of the Constitution. Only the King when of full age can discuss and decide a question so important and vital for the country and the dynasty. It should, however, be noted that hitherto the Regency has made no formal declaration in this sense. Constitutional reform has not been presented to it

in such a form as would compel it to take up a position; and this is why the question can be freely discussed. Two different points of view are at issue, the one political, the other juridical or legal. From the political side it may be admitted that the question is open to discussion and that the opinions hitherto expressed are diametrically opposed to each other. It is characteristic that the two theses can be defended by solid arguments. The one holds that the Regents are merely mandatories of the future King by virtue of the existing constitution and in their own view. They replace the King in the normal exercise of the royal power. They do not act in their own name, but in that of the future King. In this quality as mandatories, they are well able to take the necessary decisions foreseen by the Constitution, and to act as substitutes for the King. But when vaster questions are at stake, such as the general status of the King and of the dynasty in the State, and of the fundamental problem of the character of the State and its organisation on unitary or federal lines, then their powers would be inadequate. They are not qualified to represent the King as such and to assume the real responsibility of the Crown. Hence it is necessary to wait till the King comes of age and can himself assume responsibility.

The partisans of the opposite view, on the contrary, insist that it is in the interest of the future King and of the dynasty as a whole that the system inaugurated on 6 January, 1929, and regarded as an error from the true dynastic standpoint, should be definitely liquidated. They consider that it would be far preferable that the young King should mount the throne, free from all memories of a régime hostile to the people and to the national will. He would then reign under normal conditions, and according to the rules which guarantee the stability of the monarchy and the necessary balance between the forces of the nation and authority of the Crown. It is added that the supreme interests of the State demand a speedy solution of the constitutional problem, and that it should not be postponed solely because of the minority of the future King. It is a matter of state which will not brook delay; public affairs must be regulated at the moment when they become ripe for solution. As soon as there is an agreement between the political parties, that is, as soon as the popular representatives reach a generally acceptable solution in principle, and, above all, as soon as the Croats are in a position to put forward a constitutional platform acceptable to the Serbs, it is not clear for what reasons the Crown could oppose the elaboration and promulgation of the

new Constitution. Nor is it proved, even from the standpoint of the dynasty, that a Regency composed of three persons, one of whom belongs to the dynasty itself, while the other two were presumably selected by King Alexander for their loyalty to the dynasty, should be less capable of safeguarding and upholding the interests of the Crown and dynasty than a King who had only just reached his majority and still lacked experience of affairs of state. We are here reproducing the arguments invoked on both sides, without wishing to comment upon them or to give them any special political signification. What is certain is that there is something to be said for the reasoning of both sides.

From the juridical or legal side, the constitutional problem assumes a different aspect. The rights of the Regents as holders of the royal power are not limited by the present Constitution. The three Regents represent the King, and in the opinion of the jurists they possess the formal right to carry out modifications of the Constitution also, though it is true that these do not belong to the normal and regular functions of the Regency. But abnormal conditions in the country may impose exceptional solutions. Now no clause of the existing Constitution forbids the Regents to modify or even to change it altogether, if state interests should demand this. On this point no doubt is possible. The legal aspect being quite clear, the question resolves itself into a political one. Are the Regents to help the country to extricate itself from its difficulties and return to normal, or are they bound to uphold the present system whatever happens? This is a grave problem which they can only decide on their own responsibility, which will, however, be less grave in proportion as they remain in harmony with the will and sentiments of the people.

III

The second difficulty which prevents constitutional reform relates to the demand of the Croat leader Dr. Maček that the present Constitution should be abolished and a new one drawn up as if that of 1931 had never existed. The Croats do not admit a mere modification of the Constitution of 1931, nor even the adoption of an entirely new one on the present basis and according to existing procedure. They decline to continue the present system, they want to create a new one; and this is why they demand as the first step the total abolition of the Constitution of 1931.

This demand requires explanation, for it has given rise to various explanations and has even been treated by some unduly severe

critics as a threat to the very existence of the Yugoslav State. Certain circles in Belgrade affirm that those who demand the suppression of the constitution of the state are thereby aiming at its existence. The question thus posed has caused a certain confusion, and the Croat demand has provoked in Serbia certain unfriendly and entirely negative rejoinders. The unfavourable view of the Croat demand seemed to be confirmed by the interpretation given in Zagreb political circles, in the sense that the internal situation of Yugoslavia must be brought back to that which prevailed on 1 December, 1918, the day when the union of the Kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro with Croatia and other districts of Austria-Hungary in a State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed. The Croats would thus ask to move backwards to a situation which existed before the creation of Yugoslavia, or on the day of its creation. In some Serbian political circles, an attempt has been made to draw the disastrous conclusion that, by putting forward such a demand, they wished to indicate that they did not recognise the Union and that it was the Union which they wished to challenge. The Croats thus accept Yugoslav unity in a conditional manner, which means that they also reckon with the possibility of separating from the Serbs, if the latter should prove recalcitrant in face of Croat demands.

If this were the dominant idea in the mind of the Croat leaders, and if they really wished to challenge the Union of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; if they did not admit the creation of Yugoslavia as a definite and unchangeable fact, then any conversations with the Croat representatives would assume another complexion. We do not, and cannot, believe it. But even if the Croat leaders were to fall into the error of steering the Croat movement in this negative direction of opposition to the Yugoslav idea, it would still be necessary to regard this as a regrettable aberration, which would not, however, have the results counted upon by certain Croat extremists. Indeed it is not proved that the leaders of a nation possess, in their quality of leaders, the right to lead their own country into ruin. The destiny of the Croats is indissolubly bound up with that of the Serbs. The Croats must live in one community with their Serb and Slovene brothers, sufficiently free and strong to maintain an independent life, fully conscious of their own individuality and of special features which do not affect the idea of union. I venture to add here that the extremist claim referred to above would render useless all negotiations with those who had the *arrière pensée* of a dissolution of the Yugoslav State and the creation

of an independent Croatia, inhabited only by Croats. There may well be individuals in Croatia who cherish this view, but it may be affirmed, in all sincerity, that these extremists form only a small minority. The great majority of Croats stand behind their acknowledged chief Dr. Maček, and only aim at the reorganisation of Yugoslavia on a new basis differing from the centralism of today and treating the Croat individuality as something closely akin to the Serb and Slovene, but not entirely identical with them. Dr. Maček has on more than one occasion publicly made clear his attitude on this capital point. I may add that in my conversations with him, even when the most delicate subjects were under discussion, I never noticed any sign of separatist tendencies. It is only people without any understanding either for the psychology or the special outlook of the Croats who could put a separatist interpretation upon their demands. I therefore confidently repeat that Yugoslavia as such is not put in question by the Croats.

As a clear proof of this assertion, I would recall a highly significant fact which speaks for itself. In speaking of the future Constitution, the Croats constantly repeat that they do not wish to discuss the existence of the Yugoslav State and that they accept in advance the monarchist form and the Serbian dynasty of Kara George. So striking a proof of their attachment to the Union should suffice to remove all suspicions as to the essential character of the Croat demands for the reconstruction of Yugoslavia. But if the Croats really do not seek to weaken, and, still less, to break up Yugoslavia, for what reasons do they insist upon the abolition of the existing Constitution as a preliminary step, and a return to the state of things which prevailed before 1 December, 1918? Is it not more natural simply to demand in the first place a new Constitution more in keeping with Croat ideas of common life, and is not the procedure by which we arrive at this a secondary matter? The Croats think that the procedure proposed by them is inevitable if a Serbo-Croat compromise is to be reached, and regard this question of procedure as very important from the angle of Croat national *amour propre*, which they beg the Serbs to understand. It is useless to add that by this demand they have no thought of doing any injustice to the Serbs or Slovenes; they merely consider it the best method of proving the equality and parity of all three branches.

To explain this Croat attitude and the reasons for Zagreb's insistence on the preliminary abolition of the Constitution, it is not superfluous to quote their answer to the criticisms put forward in

certain Serbian circles. They argue that its abrogation would in no way affect the existence or solidity of the State. In abrogating a law, even a constitutional law, one is not abrogating the State as such. Moreover, they point out that the State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, as created on 1 December, 1918, managed to exist quite well for two and a half years without possessing a written constitution. Yugoslavia only got her first constitution in 1921, yet no one could assert that the State did not exist before that date. A State regularly formed and fulfilling all the necessary conditions of existence, does not need a written and formal constitution; and in this connection the Croats quote the example of England, a constitutional state *par excellence*, which lacks a written constitution.

There is yet another argument worth citing, against the criticism of Croat claims. Those who oppose the abolition of the constitution of 1931 on the ground that it would strike at the very existence of the State, are just those who applauded the abolition of the Constitution of 1921 by King Alexander on 6 January, 1929. Now, the Constitution of 1921 had been regularly voted by the national representatives, whereas that of 1931 was promulgated by the will of the monarch. If the one act did not injure the State, it is abundantly clear that the abolition of a law imposed by the King upon his people will not provoke any serious protest among the masses, especially when they know that it is to be replaced by another more in keeping with their wishes.

The main reason for the Croat demand of abolition is that they cannot admit any constitutional charter for the common state, which does not bear the Croat signature. Here we are confronted by a question of principle to which the Croats attach much value. It is not to deprive Yugoslavia altogether of a constitution that they demand the revocation of that of 1931, as they had formerly demanded the abolition of that of 1921; on the contrary they desire to see the State purified from anything that does not emanate from the concentrated will of Serbs and Croats.

IV

At first the difficulty caused by the demand for special procedure seemed insurmountable, and did indeed greatly deter the conversations between representatives of the Serb parties and the Croat leaders. But in recent months, as a result of a very frank and full exchange of views, a compromise seems to have been found between the Croat thesis of the necessity of abolishing the Consti-

tution of 1931, and the Serb view of the danger of touching, even indirectly, the existence of Yugoslavia as an independent State. The solution reached is very ingenious and seems to have been approved by Dr. Maček. The Croats, to give a striking proof of the sincerity of their arguments and of their lack of ulterior motives in demanding *tabula rasa*, have accepted the Serb suggestion that a provisional Constitution should be proclaimed at the moment of abolishing that of 1931, thus avoiding any constitutional interregnum or *vacuum*. The interval between the suppression of the old and the voting of the new by a Constituent Assembly could not be fixed in advance, and in view of Yugoslav political habits might be somewhat prolonged; it would therefore be filled by a provisional Constitution, proclaimed by the Regency, but bearing the signature of all the national leaders, that is, of all the party chiefs possessed of a real backing among the people. This document would be very short, and would be limited to the main rules indispensable for the normal functioning of the State. It would be superseded at the moment when the new Constitution was voted by a majority of Serbian deputies, Croat deputies and Slovene deputies.

What the Croats demand is, that it should in future be clear to everyone that nothing can be done by the sole will of the Serbs, and that all public life in the united State shall bear the marks of their equality and parity. This is obviously stressed for psychological reasons, but these possess a very special juridical and political value in Croat eyes. It is really a question of moral satisfaction, and this the Serbs must grant freely and gladly to their Croat kinsmen, especially as it can clearly do no harm to the united State. It seems indeed that nothing will contribute more to the consolidation of the State, than the spontaneous adhesion of the Croats. Thus the difficulty on procedure does not seem insoluble, and the Serbs must yield on this point. They will probably not make serious difficulties, if once they see that a real agreement is possible on the fundamental issues of internal organisation.

V

It remains to consider whether the Serbs and Croats can agree to give to Yugoslavia an internal organisation corresponding not only to the special wishes of the three ethnical groups, the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, but at the same time guaranteeing the development and solidity of the State. Is the *rapprochement* between the Serbian Opposition Bloc and the Croat leader Dr. Maček far

enough advanced to assure agreement upon the organisation of Yugoslavia? An agreement on the various aspects of the constitutional problem will not be easy to attain, for on both sides there are numerous extremists who are opposed to any intermediary solution and try to impose their own special Serb or Croat view. The Serbian extremists would like to cultivate an integral Yugoslav idea, without taking any account of the Croats, while the wilder Croats dream of a separatist solution. It is certain that a Constituent would have a better chance of fulfilling its task, if there were a preliminary agreement between the political parties on the essential principles of internal organisation. Some Serbian politicians while desiring an entente, would prefer that before a Constituent Assembly was convoked, the broad lines of the Yugoslav Constitution should be laid down in advance; otherwise they fear serious difficulties in the Assembly itself. This opinion is very reasonable, but unfortunately it cannot be put into practice. Firstly, for ideological reasons, if the democratic platform be upheld and if the country is to have a constitutional charter based on a Serbo-Croat entente in all fundamental questions, it is indispensable that this should be the work of real popular representatives. Such an entente can only be reached in a freely elected Parliament. The idea that the chiefs of the Serbian parties should accept in advance the Croat demands, without consulting the masses and learning their views, seems altogether impracticable to men who have always been accustomed to work in conjunction with the people.

It must not, however, be deduced from this that the Serbs and Croats are very far from agreement. What is indispensable to re-establish mutual confidence and overcome Croat fears has already been accepted by the Serb Opposition Bloc. They have freely abandoned the principle of an absolute majority, and admit that the future Constitution can only be valid if it has been voted by a majority in each of the three groups, Serb, Croat or Slovene. In other words, the new constitution, if it is to have a truly Yugoslav character, must be voted by all three branches of the nation. At the moment, the Serb politicians could not go beyond this point; they have no right to commit themselves further in questions of internal order, without consulting the electors upon whom they ultimately depend. This is a matter of indispensable prudence, if a real agreement is to be reached. The controversy as to the division of Yugoslavia into several autonomous regions, as to the number and boundaries of these regions, as to the juridical status of the

autonomous bodies, as to relations between these regions and the State, etc.—all this is not very simple to think out and organise. We must know what the true representatives of the people desire, and how they represent the political structure of Yugoslavia.

One thing, however, is certain, that in view of the outlook of the Croat and Serb masses, the two extremist solutions of the constitutional problem cannot be envisaged without endangering the civil peace and the foreign security of the country. The first lays down the principle of integral Yugoslav unity and complete centralism as the basis of all political life, and only admits the existence of a single nation, already blended so completely that there are no Serbs, Croats or Slovenes, but simply and solely Yugoslavs. According to this theory, there are not merely no Serb, Croat or Slovene communities, but not even individuals bearing these names, and hence in organising the country no account must be taken of special traditions or communities.

The second extreme solution rests on the opposite theory of the existence of three different peoples, the Serb, the Croat and the Slovene, each forming an independent national State, and the three having to agree upon their union in a Confederation. This Confederation would only be concerned with safeguarding certain common interests and would have no power beyond what these three States choose to accord it. The whole organisation of the Yugoslav State would in that case rest upon the theory of three separate peoples, each maintaining their national individuality and their special mentality. Even in the future the Yugoslav national idea would be excluded from the sphere of political reality.

Neither of these extreme solutions can count upon the free consent of a majority of either Serbs or Croats. To adopt one or the other it would be necessary to employ force, in other words it would have to be imposed upon the country. To escape from such an *impasse*, an intermediate solution must be sought, taking account of Croat particularism and assuring to the Croats complete autonomy for all matters of local or regional interest, without impinging upon the essential functions of the State. If a Serbo-Croat entente is impossible either on a basis of unrestricted centralism or of pure confederation, we must have recourse to something between these two extremes, to some kind of provincial self-government, regional autonomy, or, rather, regional federalism, with a strong central federal power. The boundaries between these various types of composite State are not easy to define, but in the Yugoslav case

it should be quite possible to find a special system corresponding to the necessities of the nation. Above all, the delimitation of provinces and the apportionment of powers will not be difficult, if on the one hand any idea of confederation, and, on the other, of centralism, domination or preponderance is carefully avoided. Yugoslavia needs a political organisation in which the idea of any kind of hegemony has no place, and in which every district and branch of the nation finds suitable scope for the development of its own peculiarities, within the framework of a single State and an united nation. This is not impossible, if only Serbs, Croats and Slovenes really desire it, in all loyalty and sincerity.

If, on the other hand, a positive agreement between Serbs and Croats should prove impossible owing to Serb intransigence, or again owing to Croat demands in excess of the autonomy compatible with State unity, the result would indeed be deplorable. Such an issue must at all costs be avoided, for if it came, it would be the proof that national passions are not yet appeased and that the necessary calm with which to judge the vital interests of both Serbs and Croats is still lacking. Constitutional reform would in that case have to be adjourned till better times, but sooner or later it must come. Yugoslavia, such as her structure and ethnical elements have made her, can neither develop her internal forces nor assure her future, save by close collaboration between Serbs and Croats.

LAZAR MARKOVIĆ.

[The above article was written and submitted to us in September. On 8 October an Agreement was reached between the Croat Peasant Party and the three Serbian Opposition parties, which undoubtedly marks a new stage in the internal development of Yugoslavia. We thought it both right and necessary to append the full text of this Agreement, which is the best commentary on Dr. Marković's statesman-like article.—ED.]

The Radical People's Party, the Democratic Party, and the Agrarian Party on the one hand, the Croat Peasant Party and the Independent Democratic Party, reunited in the Peasant Democratic Coalition, on the other hand, have reached the following Agreement.

I. Starting from the principle of democracy, we consider the Sovereignty of the People as the basis of every State organisation, and the people as the source of all power.

II. The Constitution of 28 June, 1921, was voted without the Croats. The Constitution of 3 September, 1931, has no moral validity, for it is opposed to fundamental democratic principles and it was promulgated

not only without the Croats and against the Croats, but also without the Serbs and against the Serbs. A Government which rests upon a Constitution unilaterally proclaimed, and which leans upon a mock Parliament, has no authority either among Croats or among Serbs.

III. We are agreed that it is indispensable to set up a new constitutional order, which must be founded on principles of popular self government, and must be realised as the common work of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

IV. Our parties, conscious of representing both the Serb people and the Croat people, are of opinion that the last moment has come for ending, once and for all, all un-democratic régimes, and for giving to the Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes, the possibility of organising their State by agreement, for the equal satisfaction of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

The sole just path leading to this goal is that the direction of the State should be assumed by a popular Government, composed of representatives of all these political parties which are genuinely rooted in the people. Such a Government, in agreement with the Crown, should, on the very day of its accession to power :

(A) Proclaim a provisional Fundamental Law of Yugoslavia, by which at the same time the Constitution of 3 September, 1931, would be abolished. This Fundamental Law will comprise the essential principles of the State, which are outside discussion, and it will remain in force, until the new Constitution takes effect. The Fundamental Law shall include the following provisions—Yugoslavia is a hereditary, constitutional and parliamentary Monarchy; in Yugoslavia King Peter II, of the Karagjorgjević dynasty, reigns; until the King's majority the royal power is exercised by the Regency; civil and political liberties are protected, and the system of parliamentary government is guaranteed; and the Constitutional Assembly shall vote by the decision of a majority so composed as to include a majority of the Serb, a majority of the Croat and a majority of the Slovene, deputies to the Constituent.

(B) Proclaim on the same day an equitable and democratic electoral system and decree elections for a Constituent Assembly. The Government shall ensure every guarantee that the elections for the Constituent may be carried out freely, in such a manner that the real will of the people may find full expression.

The Government shall be responsible to the Constituent Assembly, according to the principles of parliamentarism.

V. The said parties constitute, in the spirit of this Agreement, a Bloc for common struggle, with a view to realising and applying the political and State programme contained in this Agreement.

Zagreb-Belgrade, 8 October, 1937.

(Signed) Dr. VLATKO MAČEK.
ADAM PRIBIČEVIĆ.

ACA STANOJEVIĆ.
LJUBA DAVIDOVIĆ.
JOVAN JOVANOVIĆ.

NATIONAL MINORITIES IN EUROPE.—VIII

THE GERMANS OF SOUTH TIROL

In 1928 the present writer had a conversation with the then Austrian Chancellor, Monsignor Seipel, on conditions in South Tirol. After a brief reference to current grievances, Dr. Seipel suddenly turned to another part of the problem, namely the question of a revision of the Brenner frontier. With an emphasis and cheerful confidence which amazed me, he explained in some detail his firm conviction that South Tirol would be restored to Austria. He based his hope upon Italy's need for colonies. The Italians, he argued, were good colonists and in contrast to other nations, had a special gift for making land productive. They were accustomed to a hot climate and thanks to their thrifty habits were specially suited for colonisation. At the division of territory under the Peace Treaties Italy had not received her due, but sooner or later her need for more land was certain to be satisfied, and then would come the moment when the South Tirolese question could and must be solved by its restoration to Austria. When the writer said goodbye, Seipel with a very cheerful expression on his face pressed his hand and repeated: "Reassure yourself, we shall get back South Tirol."

This incident is worth recording for two reasons. In the first place it is obvious that in Seipel's foreign policy South Tirol was a very important aspiration, which he linked up with the major currents among the states of Europe. At the same time we are entitled to assume that a statesman so well known for his sober and practical outlook and strictly rational methods, could only have reached such a conclusion on the basis of concrete grounds drawn from his relations in the international sphere. The first coincides with an observation clear to anyone who follows closely political life in Austria. Not only the North Tirolese, but the whole Austrian people feel the question of South Tirol to be "a burning wound"—a phrase used by several statesmen. South Tirol is for Austria rich in common memories from many centuries. Close artistic and social contacts linked it with Innsbruck and Vienna, and its loss meant a weakening for Austria both economically and politically. Hence during the negotiations at St. Germain the Austrian delegation made special if unavailing efforts to save it from foreign rule. It is

well to recall the reasoning and arguments then put forward by the Austrians. Above all they insisted on the principle laid down and promised by the Allied and Associated Powers as the basis of territorial change. They pointed out that the Italian annexation would be a breach of the principle of nationality. The district lying between the Brenner and Salurn, known as South Tirol, was purely German, inhabited by about 223,000 Germans and only 6,000 Italians. Moreover to the east of this purely German land there were in the Dolomite valleys 16,000 Ladines, who after centuries of union with Tirol had come to form a cultural unit with the Germans. On the other hand the territory lying to the south of Salurn in Trentino was solidly Italian in character, and could be annexed in accordance with the principle of nationality, but never the German districts.

The Austrian delegation also based its claim on the solemnly agreed principle of self-determination of peoples. The South Tirolese had put their last man into the fight against Italy during the World War. They had during the Armistice sent to President Wilson a memorandum signed by all the German and Ladine communes, protesting against the Italian claim to annex South Tirol—an attitude which showed clearly that they rejected Italian rule with all their strength. But the delegation also demanded a plebiscite in the event of any doubt as to the wishes of the Tirolese themselves.

A point to which the Austrian delegation attached a special importance was Point Nine out of the "Fourteen Points" laid down in President Wilson's peace programme of 8 January, 1918, which was accepted in the so-called Lansing Note of 5 November, 1918, as the basis of peace negotiations. This Point ran as follows:—"A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognised lines of nationality." It could not be gainsaid that the Allied and Associated Powers had thus specifically bound themselves to reject Italy's claim to the territory north of Salurn.

It was known to the Austrians at that time that Italy based her demands on strategic grounds. In order to deprive them of such arguments, the Austrian delegation proposed that South Tirol should be neutralised in the same manner as the territory of Upper Savoy under the decisions of the Congress of Vienna in 1815. This idea had been worked out by the famous Austrian international jurist Heinrich Lammasch, who also made use of the personal connections which he had acquired in England and America in connection with the arbitration of the fishery dispute in the North Atlantic in order to save South Tirol. It was proved to the Allies that in the whole course of history there had never been a political

frontier on the Brenner. Already at the end of the 17th century, Bozen, in the heart of South Tirol, had belonged to Bavaria. The *Schwabenspiegel*, the German medieval law book, fixes the frontier between Germans and Italians a mile north of Trient, in other words south of Salurn. At the beginning of modern times the national feeling of the South Tirolese was already so developed, that the town councils of Bozen and Meran in the year 1524 resolved that no Italian might acquire citizenship in these towns.

In its direct communication with the Italian Government Austria also raised the possibility of a kind of "condominium" between Italy and Austria in South Tirol, in the event of Italy not being disposed to give up her claim entirely.

All these efforts failed. The decision of the Allies assigned the whole territory south of the Brenner to the Italians; and they did not merely restrict themselves to the territory whose rivers flow towards the Adriatic, but also gave to Italy the beautiful Sextental, Innichen, which had been founded by the Bavarian duke Tassilo in the 8th century, and several villages on the Drave, whose waters flow into the Danube. This frontier was proposed in the last Note to the Austrian peace delegation on the sole ground of strategic expediency. The objection that in this case a purely German district was being handed over to Italy was met by the following declaration in Clemenceau's note of 2 September, 1919: "The Allied and Associated Powers are of the opinion that no change can be made in regard to the frontiers between Austria and Italy, as laid before the Austrian delegates in their peace conditions. According to the very definite declaration made by the Italian Prime Minister in the Roman Parliament the Government intends to carry out a wide and liberal policy towards its new German subjects in respect of language, culture and economic interests."

A certain amount of light is thrown upon the previous history of this decision by the memoirs of various statesmen. On the one hand it has become known that the Entente, by the secret Treaty of London of 26 April, 1915, promised to the Italians South Tirol to the Brenner (but not Sexten, Innichen and the Drave villages) as the price of entering the war against Austria. This secret Treaty had become invalid by the Lansing Note of 5 November, 1918. It would, therefore, have been above all a task for President Wilson to secure for Tirol a southern frontier corresponding to his own Point Nine, to the principle of nationality and self-determination and to the interests of Tirol and Austria. The following passage from *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, by the President's

secretary, Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, gives us a clue to Wilson's attitude to this question :

" Unfortunately the President had promised the Brenner pass frontier to Orlando, whereby about 150,000 [*recte* 230,000] German Tirolese were handed over to Italy; an act which he acknowledged to be a grave mistake and one which he deeply deplored. It happened before he had studied that question carefully, and now he was pledged and an accomplice to Orlando's demands for a strategic frontier. Perhaps also he believed that a concession in the Alps would modify the Italian claims in the Adriatic, but the Italians wanted both."

As regards Great Britain Mr. David Hunter Miller in his *Diary of the Conference* reports that Mr. Lloyd George tried to hold back the Italians from insisting upon the demand for *German* South Tirol, and in the same way M. Clemenceau strongly advised them in the same sense. Compensation in the colonial sphere appears to have been offered to them in this connection. Professor Holland Rose wrote on this point in a recent article : " Yet in vain we in 1919 urged her (Italy) to restrict her Tirolese and Slovene claims and extend those for colonies. This was declined." (*Sunday Times*, 12 September, 1937). Thus Italy acquired a strategic frontier. Was it also a good frontier? This raises the question, when a frontier can be described as good. Objectively considered, any frontier would appear to be good, if both states are satisfied with it, since it then offers a prospect of stability, and stability is as a rule equivalent to peace. But it cannot be said that a frontier which, to the proved disadvantage of a neighbouring people, is drawn right through its territory, can be called a good one, even from the subjective standpoint of the nation whom it favours. In the highly developed national feelings of today among all the European peoples no state can claim to be better protected by securing a strategic line, than by a frontier that follows the ethnographic division and does not tempt any of its neighbours to demand any change. In his constant fear of such a demand the holder of such a strategic frontier is sure to seek other insurances. In particular he will tend to deprive the unhappy racial unit which he has forcibly separated from its motherland of its culture, traditions and desires for freedom, and he will not be able to rest until he has rooted out every trace of that nationality. Here Schiller's words come true,

" Das eben ist der Fluch der bösen Tat,
dass sie fortzeugend Böses muss gebären."

The history of South Tirol since 1919 confirms this view. The Brenner frontier seems advantageous for Italy from a military

point of view. Italy could from the Brenner put the Valley of the Inn, only fifteen miles distant, under artillery fire, and thus cut the communications of Vienna and Eastern Europe with the Western States. This new frontier has frequently been described as a jumping-off place, in particular because it renders possible an advance of the Italians from the Drave valley and so into the flank of the Yugoslavs. Certainly Austria is gravely endangered by the frontier of St. Germain. But on the other hand it has brought no peace of mind to the Italians. Appetite comes with eating, and Italian politicians and military writers have already begun to speak of the necessity of pushing the Italian frontier to the northern border of the Alps. At the same time for nineteen years Italy has been engaged, and engaged in vain, in the attempt to solve the cultural and political assimilation of the Germans of South Tirol. This process reveals with terrifying clearness the psychological state of mind which seeks to wipe out a consciousness of guilt by a second guilty act.

This is not, however, true of the first stage of Italian rule. The occupation of South Tirol took place, not as the result of fighting, but after the cessation of hostilities in the armistice of Villa Giusti on 3 November, 1918. The first Italian commanders presented themselves in the town hall of Bozen as guests, and the Italian troops on the whole adopted a cautious attitude. Moreover during the first three years after the signature of the peace treaties there was little change made in the administrative system and the racial conditions. Education remained purely German and included gymnasia in Bozen, Meran and Brixen, a teachers' training college in Bozen, a state "Realschule" and a municipal school in Bozen, a state industrial school in Bozen, a municipal Realschule and commercial school in Meran and a theological seminary in Brixen. Elementary education consisted largely of 700 German schools, besides which there were a considerable number of German kindergarten and crèches. In the courts of South Tirol proceedings were conducted in German only, the official language of the commune was German and so was that of the state administration in its dealings with the outside world. Business inscriptions, placards and street signs remained German, while social life and sporting and cultural societies preserved their German character as before.

From the Italian side the South Tirolese have been blamed for not voluntarily making linguistic concessions and in general accepting the annexation. But this was a moral impossibility. After an extraordinarily bloody resistance, disappointed in all

their hopes of a just peace, they could at first, in their slow conservative way, do nothing but protest against submission to a foreign rule and cling stubbornly to what was left to them of their national patrimony. It was in this spirit that on 15 May, 1921, they proceeded to elect their first deputies to the Roman Parliament, and this occasion showed beyond all doubt the German character and will of the population. At this first election the Italians did not even put up candidates. The four candidates of the "Deutscher Verband," Dr. Reut-Nicolussi, Count Toggenburg, Dr. v. Walter and Dr. Tinzl received a 90 per cent. vote and voiced the clear sentiments of the people. In Rome they began by protesting against annexation, but at the same time declared themselves ready to co-operate with the Italian Government in establishing the promised autonomy for South Tirol. The Italian statesmen had indeed, under the impression of the peace negotiations, solemnly declared that the cultural rights of the Germans should be carefully respected, and an autonomous administration erected for their defence.

In reality nothing happened. The democratic Governments on the whole left existing conditions untouched, and this could be interpreted as a sign of tolerance: but on the other hand they did not lift a finger, in order to adapt cultural conditions in South Tirol to the needs of the new constitutional position and to provide a legal guarantee. The Tirolese could only be partially satisfied by the continuance of these conditions. They had lived in the old Austria since 1867 in an atmosphere of national equality of rights with other races. The famous Article XIX of the "Fundamental Law on the general rights of the citizen" (21 December, 1867) had passed into their flesh and blood:

"All races in the State enjoy equal rights, and every race (Volksstamm) has an inalienable right to the maintenance and cultivation of its nationality and language.

"The equal rights of all languages in habitual use is guaranteed by the State, in school, office and public life.

"In the provinces inhabited by several races public educational institutions are to be so equipped that without applying compulsion in the learning of a second language (*Landessprache*) each of these races receives the requisite means for education in his language."

Despite this training in equality, they were clear that their union with Italy made certain innovations indispensable. For instance, there could of course be no question of the language of the law courts in South Tirol remaining exclusively German, and again in the

sphere of administration reforms could not be delayed indefinitely. The Tirolese wished, however, that they should receive reliable guarantees for an unrestricted German intellectual life, and this seemed to be secured by the promised autonomy. Hence from 1919 to 1922 their deputies continued to press successive Italian Premiers—Nitti, Giolitti, Bonomi and Facta—for the fulfilment of their promises. As an excuse for these statesmen it is perhaps possible to point to the acute social crisis from which Italy was then suffering and which claimed the entire energies of their Governments. But there were certainly other reasons for their inaction. In the case of some of them, according to the confession of the head of the department for the new provinces, Signor Salata, there was the ulterior motive that the promises had fulfilled their purpose, by keeping the South Tirolese quiet during the most dangerous period after the occupation of the province.

But it was not only the Tirolese themselves who disapproved of this passive attitude of the Italian Government: it was still more fiercely criticised by the Italian nationalists, and their Fascist advanceguard. Mussolini, it is true, had in September, 1919, written as follows in the *Popolo d'Italia*:—

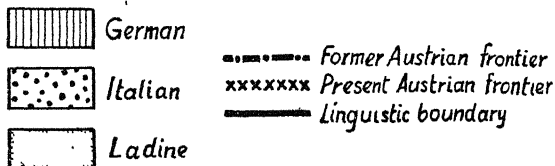
“Italy must pursue an open and legal democratic part in the territories of the Upper Adige. The press and Parliament must henceforward say to the Germans of the Upper Adige, who are to-day politically Italians, that Italy has no designs of violence and denationalisation, that she will respect their language and customs and accord to them the necessary administrative autonomy.”

But in the year 1921 the Fascists found in the question of South Tirol a very convenient instrument of agitation against the Government. They treated it as a degradation of the victory, and hence a betrayal of the nation, that these Germans should continue to live as though the Austrian double eagle still ruled. The Fascists made it their business “to bring the Tirolese to reason” by force. There were bloody assaults in South Tirol, and after one of them, on 24 April, 1921, Mussolini wrote in the *Popolo d'Italia* in quite another tone:—

“If the Germans on both sides of the Brenner do not submit, the Fascists will bring them to obedience. South Tirol is Italian and bilingual, no one thinks of Italianising the German immigrants by force. But no German must imagine that Italy could be driven back to Salurn, and from there to the Lake of Garda. Perhaps the Germans believe that all Italians are of the type of Governor Credaro; but here they make a tremendous mistake. In Italy there are several hundred thousand



SOUTH TIROL



Fascists who are ready to destroy and ravage South Tyrol rather than let in the Tricolor which waves on the Vetta d'Italia. If the Germans must be beaten and stamped on, in order to learn reason, very well, we are ready. Many Italians are trained for this business."

A further Fascist raid into Tirol early in October, 1922, preceded the March upon Rome as a trial mobilisation. The occupation of Bozen by 3,000 armed men led to the compulsory deposition of the last German Mayor of that town, Dr. Perathoner, whose term of

office lasted for thirty years. In his place a Government commissary was put in, and so ended the first period of Italian rule in Tirol.

The second period was shorter, but more instructive. Signor Guerriero, the new commissary of Bozen, was at first left in office after Mussolini came into power, and with the latter's sanction made the attempt to bring about a compromise between the demands of the Germans and of the Fascists. After detailed negotiations a draft *modus vivendi* was reached, which was endorsed at a big meeting of representatives of the "Deutsche Verband," and which also obtained the signatures of the leader of the local Fascio. The approval of the Fascist Grand Council was still to be obtained. The regulation of the conditions among the Germans was conceived on fairly tolerant lines, as is shown by the following points :—

1. The National Fascist Party will not pursue any programme of denationalisation.

2. The two German parties, of the "Deutsche Verband," pledge themselves not to treat the question of the German minority as an international, but an exclusively internal question of the Italian state—in the sense that within the boundaries of the Kingdom of Italy there is a German minority which abstains from every kind of irredentist propaganda, relying upon the Government of Italy, in its sense of fairness, to rule them justly and peaceably. The German parties pledge themselves to influence their members to behave as loyal Italian citizens.

3. The Italian language, as the language of the State, is entitled to precedence in public offices, on placards and public inscriptions, etc. But every citizen of German nationality is assured the possibility of making good his rights in the German language in all state, provincial and communal offices in South Tirol, and to receive an answer in this language or in two languages.

4. The German parties recognise it to be not only just, but desirable that all new citizens of German tongue in the Kingdom of Italy should acquire a knowledge of the Italian language, without however a normal German school instruction being in any way interfered with.

5. The contracting parties will use their influence so that in the mutual relations of their members every hostile attitude should be eliminated.

6. In accordance with Point 4, the Germany primary and middle schools will be absolutely respected; anti-Italian propaganda in them remains excluded. In communes where the Italian school is officially introduced and where the number of German children exceeds 40, German private schools may exist, with a communal subsidy, under state supervision. If, however, their number does not reach 40, German private schools can be erected without any communal subsidy, and under state

supervision, in accordance with existing school laws. But such varieties of school may be attended by German pupils only, for whom, at present valid legal provisions are decisive. (Royal Decree of 28 August, 1921, No. 1627).

12. This general political agreement can be published ten days after signature and is valid for one year.

13. The following are entrusted with drawing up the agreement :—

For the National Fascist Party, Luigi Barbesino, Secretary-General for the province of Trento.

For the Tirolese People's Party, Deputy Friedrich Count Toggenburg.

For the German Progressive Party, Deputy Dr. Wilhelm von Walter.

The Fascist Grand Council rejected this draft at its meeting of 14 March, and its Radical wing, which saw the solution of the question in the complete Italianisation of South Tyrol, won the day. This line was then adopted by the Government, and was publicly proclaimed, in a deliberately sharp form, in a speech of that expert in denationalisation, Senator Tolomei on 15 July, 1923, in the Town Theatre of Bozen. The promises of the Italian Government to the Allies, to the Austrians and to South Tirol itself were no longer mentioned, and the main effort was to deprive both land and people of their Tirolese character. In this programme we find the following points :—

Nomination of Italian secretaries in communes.

Revision of options.

Measures to render more difficult the entry and residence of German foreigners.

Prevention of German immigration.

Revision of census.

Introduction of the Italian official language.

Dismissal of German officials, or their transfer to the old provinces.

Dissolution of the "Deutsche Verband."

Dissolution of Alpine societies.

Prohibition of the name of South Tirol.

Suppression of the daily newspaper *Der Tiroler*.

Italianisation of German place names.

Italianisation of public inscriptions.

Italianisation of street names.

Italianisation of "Germanised" family names.

Removal of the monument of Walter von der Vogelweide at Bozen.

Increase of the Carabinieri, exclusion of Germans from their ranks.

Special favours for immigration of Italians and their acquisition of land.

Demand that foreign countries shall take no interest in South Tirol.

Dissolution of German banks and establishment of an Italian Land Credit Bank.

Erection of frontier customs offices at Sterzing and Toblach.

Promotion of Italian language and culture on a grand scale.

Erection of Italian asyles, primary schools and middle schools.

Strict control of foreign University degrees.

Rearrangement of the diocese of Brixen.

Italian as language of the Courts.

Supervision of Chamber of Commerce and agrarian corporations.

Project for railways from Milan to Mals, Valtellina (Veltlin) to Brenner, Agordo to Brixen.

Reinforcements of troops in South Tirol.

When the Tirolese read this programme they found it difficult to take it seriously, to such an extent were they still living in the idea that the State had to protect the personality of the individual, the rights of the family and historical traditions; and that the equality of citizens and a certain measure of individual freedom were intangible. But they soon had to convince themselves that in the Fascist world of ideas the idea of state omnipotence was a matter of course, and that to it every spiritual and physical value must be subordinated and sacrificed.

The practical execution of the programme began already that summer. It opened with a prohibition which hurt the Tirolese alike in his family pride and his national honour. The ancient name of Tirol, derived from the original castle of the race, was forbidden, and with it every such variety as "South Tirol," or "German South Tirolese." The text of the decree is worth reproducing.

Trento, 7 August, 1923.

The Prefect of Trento orders:

After taking note of the Decree of 27 January, 1923, No. 93, and being of opinion that in addition to the official title "Provincia de Trento" only the regional title "Venezia Tridentina" can be allowed, and that "Alto Adige" may be used for the province of Trento and "Trentino" for its southern district, as subregional titles;

Being of opinion that the subregional title "Alto Adige" corresponds to the German "Hochetsch" and that the suitable equivalent for "Altesino" is "Etschländer";

Being of opinion that it is of urgent necessity that the use of titles be finally fixed, and the preservation of titles contrary to law and public order be prevented;

After taking note of Article 3 of the communal and provincial law,

No other titles are permissible save the official titles "Provincia di Trento" and the regional titles of "Venezia Tridentina" for the

northern part of the province, and "Trentino" for the southern part; provisionally and tolerantly the use of the titles "Hochetsch" and "Etschlander" as corresponding to "Alto Adige" and "Alesino" is allowed. Every other title is forbidden, and particularly "Südtirol," "Deutschsüdtirol," "Tiroler," and the like.

Infringement of this Decree will be punished according to Article 434 of the Penal Code.

Printed matter, manifestos, newspapers, inscriptions, proclamations, illustrated cards, etc., bearing the proscribed titles, will be confiscated.

The Quaestor of Trento, the Vice-Prefect of Meran and the subprefects of the districts are charged with the execution of the above Decree, which comes into force fifteen days after the date of signature.

Guadagnini.

And now an uninterrupted series of denationalising measures rained upon South Tirol, so that hardly a day passed, without some new order being issued. The German language was completely abolished in official intercourse, and the language of the court might now be Italian only. Inscriptions and circulars of all kinds might only be sent out in Italian, place names were Italianised, and the use of German equivalents strictly forbidden. Even on tombstones the German language was no longer tolerated, and all new tombstones must be inscribed in Italian only. They went even further and issued a special law for South Tirol, by which German family names "might be brought back to the original Italian form." This law was afterwards extended to the Julian March. Poor or dependent Germans were forced to Italianise their family names, and thus it came about that in 1935 a total of 1,041 "voluntary" applications for change of name were sent in on behalf of about 3,000 persons, and in 1936 as many as 1,136 applications for 3,850 persons.

Specially harsh measures were taken against the traditions of Tirol. A number of German monuments were destroyed, especially those which recalled Tirol's heroic resistance in 1809. On the foundations of a monument to the fallen "Kaiserjäger" in Bozen, which was blown up, a colossal monument was erected to the victory of Italy. Streets named after persons of Tirolese origin were rechristened after Italian personalities or towns.

The Germans were severely punished for every expression of German feeling and banished to the islands or to South Italy. In the years 1934-36 alone 155 Germans of Tirol were banished, while many hundreds were warned and placed under police supervision. With personal illtreatment cultural persecution kept pace. The German educational system was completely destroyed, kindergarten,

primary and secondary school alike Italianised. German private instruction outside school was strictly forbidden, and care was taken that the children should pass their spare time in Italian institutions (Balilla, Avanguardia, Piccole Italiane, Dopolavoro), so as to withdraw them from the influence of their German parents. Even the summer holidays serve for denationalisation, and the children are allowed journeys to the sea at the expense of the State, not a word of German being of course allowed.

The German language courses whose erection Mussolini had promised to the Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg, were opened for one winter at Bozen, Brixen and Meran, but have all without exception been again forbidden, despite the fact that 28,000 German children from the various communes handed in petitions to the authorities.

Lending libraries, hotels and newsagents are forced to provide Italian books and papers in equal number with non-Italian. German lectures and theatrical performances are prohibited, German films without exception forbidden. The Bozen transmitter only brings Italian radio messages, and innkeepers are strictly forbidden to turn on German foreign broadcasts.

Cultural and political persecution is supplemented by economic also. Above all the capital of the province has to be Italianised, and out of its 45,000 inhabitants Mussolini wants to make a town of 100,000. This is being done by the introduction of an industrial zone in Bozen, the erection of workmen's dwellings and the establishment of a Corps-Commando. Expropriation for military and other purposes has deprived the Germans of a great deal of land—the more so as a special bank in Venice has been equipped with State means, in order to buy up German farms in South Tirol and let them to Italian tenants. So far about 150 farms have been bought by this institution, the so-called "Ente" (Rinascita Agraria per le tre Venezie): and not a month passes without an average of five German farms changing owners. The Italian tenants enjoy a number of financial advantages and remission of taxation, while taxes are levied with relentless severity from the German owners. This severity combined with overtaxation of German land, leads to deterioration of the economic situation, which often results in forced sales.

Proprietary rights are frequently restricted for military reasons, and a sale is dependent on the sanction of the Prefect, who can thus control agricultural conditions as a whole. Sales of land to Germans are frequently not sanctioned, in order to further Italian pene-

tration. Worse still, an Italian village has been erected and Italian families settled there, after the German holdings had been expropriated and their owners driven out. (The village of La Vittoria am Sinnich.)

As the success of these measures was still not enough for the Italian Government, it issued on 7 January, 1937, a decree of expropriation for the frontier provinces (Tre Venezie) where national minorities live, especially for South Tirol. By this decree the semi-state Bank "Era" in Venice (Ente di Rinascita Agraria per le tre Venezie) is authorised to expropriate any piece of land which seemed suited for its purposes. Article I of the law lays down: "The Agrarian Reconstruction Institute for immoveable property in the three Venetias (Era) can demand the transfer of immoveable property (land and houses), no matter to whom it belongs, if this should seem suited for the purposes which the Institute pursues, namely the execution of laws for the creation of a small peasant class and organic agricultural units in the territory of the Venetias." This decree, which forecasts a veritable expulsion of the Tirolese from the soil of their fathers, has up to the present not been put into execution; but it is an ever present threat to their very existence.

Such then are the methods by which Italy, through a *fait accompli*, seeks to perpetuate her questionable acquisition of South Tirol—in the hope that neither Austria nor the German Reich will raise a claim to this territory, if every trace of German life in it is rooted out.

The question whether Italy has miscalculated in this, may remain unanswered. But it is of interest to note how a system of complete deprivation of national rights has affected the Tirolese themselves, and whether fifteen years of such harsh treatment has broken their normal resistance and made them ready to accept absorption in Italy. Undoubtedly many overzealous Fascist politicians have nursed this hope. But according to the most elementary laws of popular psychology the very opposite was bound to happen. Just as a tolerant and just treatment would not have let them forget their own history, but would have made them into peaceful citizens, capable of constructive work, so they were bound to be embittered and antagonised by the arrogant methods of enslavement adopted by the Fascist Government. Not only in private conversation, when one has won their confidence, can one hear an expression of the torment from which they suffer; sometimes it even finds public expression, though only in legally sanctioned

form. For instance, in the autumn of 1935 no fewer than 28,000 school children addressed separate petitions to the Prefect of Bozen for permission to be taught in German, when there seemed some possibility that the Italian Government would grant the appeal of the Austrian Chancellor for such a concession. There was nothing more than a promise, but the voice of the people could be heard through the mouth of the children. Still more noticeable was the bitterness of the Tirolese, when during the Abyssinian campaign about 1,500 Tirolese deserters crossed the frontier, preferring to be cut off indefinitely from their homes, rather than fight in Africa for their oppressors. It is true that such outbursts of indignation in no way influence the Italian Government's resolve to continue its denationalising policy. In view of the utter disproportion of forces Rome thinks that it can ruthlessly ignore the sufferings of the Tirolese. When the Berlin Government under Stresemann, and the Austrian Government through the mouths of the Chancellors Ramek and Seipel loudly complained in their respective Parliaments as to the oppression of South Tirol, Italy's attitude was one of sharp resentment.

Can, then, Italy enter its policy in South Tirol as a statesmanlike success? We are entitled to doubt this. It goes without saying that such ruthless methods cannot fail to produce certain external effects, and there is an optical delusion of assimilation in the sense that the rising generation of Tirolese will employ Italian methods to evade the hardest blows of economic and political persecution. But history has always and everywhere shown that in such cases the results are only apparent, and the inward powers of resistance are unbroken and even intensified. Moreover, Fascist oppression provides the best proof of how little this country belonged to Italy in its national composition and its historical traditions when it was detached from North Tirol and incorporated with the Kingdom of Italy. And this also illustrates the grave blunder committed by the Allies when they drew the frontier, and their no less unpardonable mistake in trusting Italian promises of tolerant treatment in their own territory. Today it is clear that Italy ought at the very least to have been pledged to a tolerant rule in South Tirol by a treaty which would have admitted of formal indictment. This view is doubtless shared today by all the Chancelleries of Europe, and this prompts the hope that at a suitable moment Italy should be asked to atone for the wrong that she has done to South Tirol.

The form of such atonement has repeatedly formed the subject of publicist and private discussions. The first and most natural

solution is that suggested by Seipel that the province should be reunited with North Tirol, with which it has formed for many centuries a political unit, and with which it still today has connections of blood and sentiment. *A priori*, then, the two portions of Tirol should be allowed to share once more a common fate. In this connection it is well to remember that at the time of the peace negotiations the Diet of Tirol intimated to the Allied Powers that Tirol was ready to constitute itself as an independent country, if it could thereby escape a foreign yoke.

A second solution might be found in creating a provisional settlement on lines similar to those of the Saar, and in leaving to Italy a certain amount of military control. The administration might assume a partially international character until a final constitutional decision could be reached in accordance with the wishes of the population.

From a quarter which ardently desires the achievement of permanent peace guarantees, it has been suggested that South Tirol might be united with German Switzerland. The similarity of their character, the strong mutual sympathies and analogous political tendencies of the two populations, whose history has always shown the same love of liberty and of healthy constitutional institutions, are put forward as arguments in favour of such a settlement.

Without attempting to estimate the chances of any such solution being adopted, we may revert to the opening argument of this article and indicate how much to the point it is today. Italy has acquired large colonial possessions, and an unlimited field has been opened up to her expansion. Would it not then be altogether fitting that she should be invited to restore South Tirol? For the Tirolese themselves this would mean salvation to a far higher degree than the solution at which Italian irredentism aimed while an Italian minority was still under Austrian rule. On the other hand Italy would obtain a really secure and durable frontier at the gorge of Salurn, across which no northern neighbour would make any further effort to possess itself of Italian soil.

E. REUT-NICOLUSSI.

University of Innsbruck.

IZVOLSKY'S PERSONAL DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE¹

To the collection which has recently appeared of the secret correspondence of A. P. Izvolsky, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs (1906-10), with the Russian Ambassadors in Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Paris and London,² one might give the sub-title "Europe on the road to the Great War." One must at once make one correction. With all its engrossing interest, *In the Service of Russia* is not a book for the general public, and unfortunately not for future generations; the letters of the Minister and Ambassadors are a kind of footnote, a key to the diplomatic dispatches, declarations and meetings of that time. One has to remember or study them in order to appreciate the significance of this correspondence for an understanding of an epoch which is already far away from us, but is truly of a decisive importance, and to enable us to define the part played by the Governments of the different Great Powers in the joint production of a common result, and to estimate the role of the various sovereigns and statesmen as organisers of peace or guilty of causing the War.

We have often been told that "the diplomat is given a tongue in order to conceal his thoughts." With a demagogic distortion and naïve exaggeration of the "mystery" of diplomatic work, public opinion, especially on the Left, has often represented the diplomats of the "Imperialist" Great Powers as a kind of international Mafia of conspirators, hungering for the profits of various Krupps, Schneiders, Skodas, Vickers, etc., and longing for a "slaughter of peoples." From this idea, at the time of the Great War, arose quite naturally the cry: "Away with secret diplomacy."

However, since the War, the open market-place diplomacy of the League of Nations has shown that the very nature of international diplomatic relations calls for extremely cautious and careful handling, with a strict demand for a preliminary preparation of every serious act of diplomacy, requiring long, secret and, sometimes, highly confidential office work.

The very existence of various conflicting interests of States and nations demands a particular method of diplomatic work, in just

¹ *Au Service de la Russie. Correspondance Diplomatique 1906-1911* Alexandre Iswolsky: Tome I, Paris 1937, Editions Internationales.

² Count Osten-Sacken, Prince Urusov, N. V. Muraviev, A. Nelidov and Count Benckendorff.

the same way as the general staffs of armies have methods of their own. We must remember that the diplomatic service is an organ of state defence—and sometimes of aggression—in time of peace. To paraphrase Clausewitz, one might say that diplomats continue the work of military leaders when the guns are silent, and the fundamental condition of success is the same with the general as with the diplomat—the correspondence of the external tasks prescribed to the internal powers of the State. However, in the state hierarchy, the diplomat stands, or at least ought to stand, higher than the fighting man, for the army is only the final instrument of diplomatic conflict, avoided, where possible, even by the most “imperialist” governments and employed only in extreme necessity.

All the same wars take place. There are both “little” wars, ordinary, as one might say, and “final” wars, great cataclysms, wars which are revolutions, breaking up the destinies of peoples and of whole social systems which have become stagnant or out of date. Why should that be so? This is not the place to dwell on that question. The philosophy and psychology of war is a subject apart. Only one thing may be definitely asserted. “Final” wars, which set the limit to whole epochs, arise outside human will and despite all the intentions of different governments and, still more, of peoples.

In confirmation of this the correspondence of Izvolsky supplies excellent and first class material, just because it is the correspondence of the Russian Foreign Minister with all the Russian ambassadors in Europe (except Zinoviev in Constantinople)—secret, strictly personal, without any “tongue concealing the truth.” On the contrary it reveals to us the real meaning of the Russian diplomatic work of that time, and gives us an actual estimate of the general international situation, of the motives of action of this or that foreign government, the disposition of this or that Parliament, the psychology and views of this or that monarch or Minister. And we are ourselves enabled to feel all this atmosphere or, as we say now, “climate,” of the peaceful, prosperous Europe of the pre-War years, in which is proceeding such a tense competition of the equally legitimate, but competing interests of the various States, where that turbulent growth, “prosperity” is all the time pushing all the Parliaments and Governments to extend the sphere of their “economic influence,” where the least weakness or blunder of one player at once becomes the gain of another, stronger or more lucky.

We feel how in this peaceful competition the diplomat, like the General at the front, has always to be on the alert, must know in advance through his confidants, social contacts, or paid agents—who are really the scouts of diplomacy—the real meaning of what are apparently quite innocent proposals. And we see how very often it is only the “secrecy” of the preparatory work of diplomacy that averts the risk of war.

For many years, until the full time was come, the diplomats succeeded in balancing the natural contradictions of the interests of the Great Powers by a corresponding distribution of international forces. And now, as we all see already, the League of Nations has altered nothing in the substance and methods of diplomatic work.

In the correspondence of Izvolsky one can feel quite clearly three complications in the inter-relations of the Great Powers; the Austro-Russian (in the Balkans), the Franco-German (in form colonial, but really concerned with Alsace-Lorraine) and the Anglo-German (naval supremacy). After the Japanese victory over Russia the Franco-Russian alliance lost its former meaning. Russia had to reinsure either in Germany (Treaty of Björkö) or in England. For France there was no choice. England, formerly the hereditary enemy, becomes the reliable ally. The England of Edward VII, Grey and Haldane alone has its hands completely free in the choice of allies or travelling companions. The history of Europe would have been different if the Russia of Nicholas II, Stolypin and Izvolsky had supported the last attempt of Berlin to restore the “conservative” alliance of the three Emperors. On the evidence of Izvolsky himself and of the Russian Ambassador in Berlin, Osten-Sacken, it was only the Anglo-Russian negotiations which prepared the brilliant agreement of 1907 that made William II furious, and the correspondence of the Russian diplomats fully confirms the fundamental mood of governmental Germany as shown in the correspondence of William and Prince Bülow: fear of England, the mania of seeing everywhere the “cunning” hand of Edward VII, “isolating” Germany. For a whole number of reasons of nation and state and, what is still more important, of public psychology, imperial Russia was bound, not without a struggle in the higher circles, to choose the English orientation. Izvolsky and Benckendorff saw in this decisive turn in the direction of England a means of prolonging the period of peace till Russia had completed the transformation of her armament, and had changed into a constitutional and moderately liberal power.

I will here mention that the Russian diplomats, the "professional" men, understood the absolute need of peace for Russia far better than our Liberal or Conservative public, which in the Third and Fourth Dumas showed such an untimely enthusiasm for "Neoslavophilism" and for "the cross on St. Sofia." "As concerns Constantinople," wrote Izvolsky considerably later, "I always held the view of those Russian statesmen who thought that the possession of this town would be a danger for Russia." . . . "Russia would never digest Constantinople, even if she ever got it," he would add in conversation.³

The internal weakness of Russia in the years when a readjustment of spheres of influence between the Great Powers had become imminent, for the time made it impossible for her to conduct an independent foreign policy—the foreign policy of which Witte had long since dreamed with the foresight of genius—and determined her orientation towards England. And, again, the history of Europe would have followed a different channel if the long and persistent attempts of England to come to terms with Germany on a limitation of naval armaments and on limits to the penetration of German influence in Turkey in the direction of the Persian gulf and India had been crowned with success (which at one time was not altogether unlikely). By the way, at the present time in relatively similar conditions Mussolini will have to show whether he possesses the "Latin measure of things," and the instinctive diplomatic intuition which were not shown in the pre-war years by William II and Bülow, men who were certainly above the ordinary and had no longing for "war at all costs."

When we are speaking of Mussolini we cannot fail to note the reflections in the letters to Izvolsky of N. V. Muraviev, Russian Ambassador in Rome on Italian foreign policy. Indeed this is where in the "new" Duce we hear so plainly the "old story" of Tittoni and Giolitti, from whom one can go straight back to Crispi. It is the "pretension" to the position of a Great Power (provoking the irony of Muraviev), the balancing between Berlin with Vienna and London with Paris in their search for a place of their own in the sun, which old and fundamental tradition "the new Cæsar" is now following in his international policy, and that is his strength. Between Tittoni and Mussolini there is just the same direct connection as there is between Grey and Eden. In the two cases,

³ This was the view of wise conservative reformers such as the first President of the Third Duma Homyakov, but their voices were lost in the hubbub headed by his successor Rodzyanko.—ED.

the partners are different but the objects of the diplomatic game remain the same.

The letters of Count Benckendorff from London give a general picture of the methods of British diplomacy, which certainly deserves our study. This change of the whole Russian policy of the British Cabinet immediately after the Japanese War, a change of 180 degrees in the shortest time, is a classical model for the politician or diplomat who is really capable of serving no interest but that of his own country; but for such a bold, calculating diplomatic achievement, the country, both Government and people, must be able to rise to the height of the demands made upon it by history.

Again, the correspondence of Izvolsky, especially his own and Benckendorff's letters remind us that all foreign policy is only a product of the internal condition of the country, of its measure of material organisation and moral balance.

In those blessed times when there were no "totalitarian régimes" of Left or Right pattern, Russia was regarded as the most reactionary country in Europe—of course not counting Turkey. Foreign public opinion at the least sign of the police oppression of "Tsarism" raised an unbelievable uproar over all Europe. For Russian ambassadors in London, Paris, Rome and even Berlin this was very unpleasant and caused them trouble and sometimes annoyance. But this is not what really agitated and disturbed them and sometimes brought them to despair. Count Benckendorff, an enlightened European, saw clearly in the excesses of the revolution of 1905-6 the effects of the inability of the Government to deal with the internal situation, its steady dislike to lean on the moderate liberal circles of the public. He cautiously hinted to Petersburg that the watchword "First tranquillity and then reforms" was out of date, inappropriate, and it was necessary to set about it in the English way: "First reforms" and then tranquillity will come of itself. And in another letter Benckendorff writes plainly that the main evil which greatly damages the international interests and dignity of Russia is not the fanatical propaganda in Europe against the Russian Government on account of the pogroms (which of course were also disturbing to himself), the executions, the disorders and so on. All this agitation plays only a "secondary part" in the loss of Russian prestige. What deprives our Government of all sympathies is its own incapacity to foresee and to stop in time these bloody manifestations of religious and racial war and of class enmity, its inability to stop in

time appeals to fanaticism of every kind.⁴ The conclusion is of course an honourable transition to a constitutional régime.

Izvolsky himself writes in sorrow to Osten-Sacken, Benckendorff and Urusov (Muraviev was the only one who was definitely for the old régime) that all his insistence on reconciliation with the First Duma⁵ and resignation of the Cabinet has no influence on Goremykin, his colleagues or the Tsar himself. Izvolsky even tried to resign, but remained at the request of his sovereign, thinking that the international position was too serious.

In the Ambassadors' letters we see what was the attitude of the Europe of that time to the internal position in Russia. I am not speaking of foreign public opinion, but of foreign Governments. What the friends of Russia among them wanted, of course according to their own national impulses, was to see Russia, as King Edward constantly repeated, "prosperous and powerful." And so they tried to "recommend" to the Government and to the Tsar himself an internal policy reconciling Government and people, a constitutional policy.⁶ The counsels of the King of Italy were even extremely disturbing and irritating to the ambassador Muraviev by their "radicalism." Even William II, when speaking with the Russian Ambassador Osten-Sacken, broke out against "lying reports" that he was recommending a reactionary tendency to Nicholas II, and at a moment when he was extremely irritated by the Anglo-Russian negotiations he exclaimed: "You would do better to occupy yourselves with internal reforms. There are enough intrigues in Europe without you."

And of course if the period after 1905 had been devoted in Russia to internal reforms and the introduction there of responsible government, the country might have carried on a steady and independent foreign policy, and foreign diplomats like Baron Aehrenthal could not have fought the Russian Foreign Minister with support not only in Vienna, but in Petersburg. As is seen from the letter of the Russian Ambassador in Vienna, Aehrenthal

⁴ This very important addition to our knowledge throws a clear light on the spirit in which Benckendorff and Grey co-operated in the cause of Anglo-Russian friendship and the powerful influence which the Entente exercised on the atmosphere of internal Russian politics.—ED.

⁵ Izvolsky was the most Liberal member of the Cabinet, and, as we know from his Memoirs, pleaded for over an hour with his sovereign against the dissolution of the First Duma. He even took a hand in the alternative negotiations for a Liberal and partly parliamentary Ministry.

⁶ This was certainly the tenor of Grey's advice. King Edward sent out at this time to Russia Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace, the best British expert on Russia, who had conversations with Stolypin and with Nicholas II.—ED

carried on his double game with Russia at the time of Buchlau—we may definitely say—with only too well-grounded information from his friends in Petersburg—for instance the Minister Schwanebach, who even came to see him.⁷ What most of all ruined the diplomatic service of Russia, was precisely the independence of the Foreign Minister from the control of the Duma; for, as we see from the correspondence of Izvolsky, with the international and Russian public the Foreign Minister carried all the formal responsibility for foreign policy, while in fact not only he often did not direct this policy, but even was not informed of matters which were already well known in foreign countries through their informants or through court ties. Thus we find Count Benckendorff writing to Izvolsky: "Some accuse us of dissimulating. I think these are an insignificant minority. Others explain everything by the more or less organised distressing absence of authority which exists. Result—distrust all along the line. . . . I am convinced that they (foreigners) have been better informed on our policy than ourselves, and evidently know we were uninformed. That is the cancer (Voilà le cancer)."⁸

I have only been able to note some subjects which occur to me in reading the correspondence of the Russia diplomats, but there is one which I have avoided on purpose. Izvolsky's correspondence is published under the title *In the Service of Russia*. Of course we shall at once recall the book *In the Service of France* by Raymond Poincaré, and we shall not recall it without reason. The publication of Izvolsky's diplomatic correspondence aims at clearing the memory of the Russian Foreign Minister, later Ambassador in Paris, from a very widely current interpretation of his work as deliberate preparation of the War, an extremely convenient interpretation for those who, now that the effects of July, 1914, are still destroying Europe, look for scapegoats as far as possible from their own countries in whose service they stand, and easily find them in the escheated inheritance of Tsarism. If the contents of the second volume of this correspondence prove to be as convincing, not only the memory of Izvolsky, but Russia of the past will be freed from a load of great and heavy responsibility which is superfluous and perhaps belongs in greater measure to others.

ALEXANDER KERENSKY.

⁷ I myself, about this time, actually saw the text of an appeal for reaction in Russian internal policy by Schwanebach the State Comptroller, written in German and addressed to the German Emperor.—B.P.

⁸ As was usual at that time, with the exception of N. V. Muraviev, the Ambassadors and Ministers corresponded in French.

EARLY BALKAN MIGRATION

THE geographical configuration of the South-East European Peninsula may serve as key to a whole series of ethnological problems. On the western side of the Peninsula runs the Dinaric Alps, whose direction, parallel to the Adriatic coasts, is indented by a series of longitudinal valleys. Near the bay of Medua the coast line shows a break and now runs from North to South. The Dinaric Alps are blocked southwards by the abrupt and savage chain of the Albanian Alps, or Prokletije. Skutari and Durazzo have their amphitheatre, behind which the Pindus range runs towards Greece. While the two Dinaric and Pindus groups favour the progress of invaders from north to south, the eastern half of the Peninsula presents an entirely different aspect. Its mountain ranges, the Balkans and the Rhodope, run from East to West. If the Western half favours advance on longitudinal lines, the eastern half is more suited to what may be called transversal movements. The former tendency brought the Slavs as far as the Peloponnese, while the Bulgarians, forced by the geography of their mountains to look westwards for an outlet, found the road to Constantinople barred against them. Their advance on several occasions followed the gap between the Dinaric Alps and the Pindus—a gap which allows such rivers as the Neretva, Drim and Vojusa to force their way westwards. This was the road followed by the Visigoths of Alaric, the Ostrogoths of Theodoric, the warriors of Simeon and Samuel. This was the road of every invader coming from the East, who sought to reach the Adriatic.

Between these two regions of the Peninsula—the one with longitudinal, the other with transversal mountain ranges, there is a central region consisting of the Morava and Vardar valleys. The Danube at Belgrade is barely 75 metres higher than the Black Sea. Even at the highest river point between Danube and Aegean—at the two defiles of Kačanik and Preševo—the height is barely 500 metres. A small stream, the Nerodimka, forks into two and sends its waters north to the Danube and south to the Vardar. After Kosovo the valley slowly descends to the Aegean near Salonica.

In the Middle Ages, after the great invasions of the 7th century, the Balkan Peninsula was divided up in the following manner. On the East were two transversal sections—Bulgaria between the Danube and the Balkans, and Eastern Roumelia, the mould

for that amalgam of peoples and races which made up Byzantine unity. On the western side of the Peninsula the Slavs pressed on beyond Salonica to the Aegean, and the Emperor Constans II found it necessary to undertake a campaign "against Sclavinia." The Slavs settled so densely along the coast, that Fallmerayer felt justified¹ in putting forward the theory that on the territory of modern Greece the original Greek element had long disappeared and been replaced by new, completely foreign, elements, above all, Slav in origin, "The Hellenic race in Europe," so he writes, "has been completely annihilated. Its physical beauty, keen mind and simplicity of custom, its art, the palæstra, the luxury of its columns and temples, even the nation's name, have vanished from the Greek mainland. A double layer of ruins and mud left by two different new races, covers up the tombs of the ancient Greeks. The immortal creations of the spirit of Hellas and a few ancient ruins on its native soil form today the sole witness of the past existence of the Greek people. And but for these ruins and tombs and mausoleums, and but for the unhappy fate of its inhabitants, on which the Europeans of our time have expended an *élan* of human compassion, tears and eloquence, one might say that only a vain mirage, a lifeless image had touched the chords of their heart. ✓ For not a single drop of true Greek blood flows in the veins of the alien population of modern Greece. A terrible storm scattered over the whole territory between the Ister and the most distant corners of the Peloponnese, a new race akin to the great Slav people. The Slavo-Scythians, the Arnaut-Illyrians, children of the Hyperborean lands, blood relations of the Serbs and Bulgars, Dalmatians and Muscovites, such are the peoples whom today we call Greeks and whose origin, to their own astonishment, we trace back to Pericles and Philopoemon. . . . The Albanian upland shepherds, with their marked Slav features and bushy eyebrows, are assuredly not sprung from the blood of Narcissus, of Alcibiades and of Antinous. It is only a romantic and florid imagination which in our days can still dream of the renaissance of the ancient Greeks, with their Sophocles and Plato."

Today the hypothesis of Fallmerayer is no longer accepted in its extreme conclusions: its true originator, according to N. Petrowski, is no other than Kopitar, the friend of Vuk Karadžić. What still interests us in Fallmerayer is his "Albanian" theory, according to which the Greeks and Slavs who inhabited Greece

¹ *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters*, Vol. I (1830), pp. iii-xiv. See Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantine*, I, 231-3.

would seem to have been replaced and subjected by Albanian colonists during the second quarter of the 14th century. It was they who, according to Fallmerayer, gave the first impetus for the Greek insurrection of 1822. He bases his theory on Evagrius,² a writer of the 6th century, who says that the Avars had seized "all Greece," and on Constantine Porphyrogenitus,³ who says that after the plague of A.D. 746 the Peloponnese was "Slavinised and became barbarian." Their assertions do not exclude the survival of the Hellenic element in Greece: the Slavs are very numerous there till the 15th century. Under Turkish rule Greece recovers more and more its Hellenic character.

When, however, we have attributed the east of the Peninsula to the Bulgars and the Byzantines, and the west to a great Slav mass which was organised in the state units of Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia, and even if we assign the south as far as the Peloponnese to a mixture of Greek and Slav such as might threaten the disappearance of Hellenism, there still remains the central district of the Morava and Vardar Valleys. It is there undoubtedly that we must look for the descendants of the Roman provincials.

There have been lengthy discussions as to whether the Roumanians really held during the Middle Ages the country which formed the Dacia of Trajan and is now Roumania. In 1871, when the Roumanians were loud in their complaints at the abolition of Transylvanian autonomy by the Government of Budapest, Robert Roesler published his *Rumänische Studien*, in which he tried to prove that the Roman colonists had completely evacuated Dacia and had taken refuge by order of the Emperor Aurelian in 271 in the western part of Moesia and Dacia, which then received the names of Dacia Ripuaria and Dacia Mediterranea. According to this theory the descendants of the Roman provincials must have lived there till the 13th century, and not till after the collapse of Byzantium in 1204 can the migratory movement have begun which was to bring the Roumanians from the neighbourhood of Salonica to the country which they occupy today. Roesler relies upon Flavius Vopiscus Aurelianus—"cum vastatum Illyricum ac Moesiam deperditam videret, provinciam transdanuvinam Daciam, a Traiano constitutam, *sublato exercitu ac provincialibus* reliquit desperans eam posse retineri, abductosque ex ea *populos* in Moesia collocavit." He also quotes Eutropius (IX, 15)—provinciam Dacian intermisit, vastato omni Illyrico et Moesia, desperans

² *Hist. Ecclesiastica*, VI, 10.

³ *De thematibus*, II, 53.

eam posse retineri, abductosque Romanos ex urbibus et agris Daciae in Moesia collocavit—and finally Sextus Rufus.

It has been asked whether the text of these authors would allow us to admit the possibility of a partial evacuation. Iorga, in "Le Problème de l'Abandon de la Dacie par l'Empereur Aurélien,"⁴ argues that Aurelian limited himself to fixing the "defensible" zone of ancient Dacia, which he extended and even consolidated, instead of restricting and abandoning it, applying this name to Western Moesia, in honour of Trajan." Densusianu⁵ holds that Roesler had "raised the most burning question in the history of the language, and a capital question in Roumanian history." Roesler's theory has been described as too audacious. The partisans of continuity, above all Jung, have quoted the case of the evacuation of Noricum, which was not complete, since in 798 there were near Salzburg 324 houses whose proprietors were "Romani tributales."⁶ The opponents of continuity quote the evacuation of Nisibis, as having been complete and compulsory.⁷

Roesler reminds us that the Dacia of Trajan was subject to the Goths (272–375), to the Huns (375–453), to the Gepids (453–566) and to the Avars (566–799). After the Slavs it was invaded by the Magyars, the Petchenegs, the Cumans, the Tartars. Philippide admits⁸ that if the Roumanians were able to maintain themselves for ten centuries till the Tartar Invasion, this was a unique, miraculous phenomenon, contrary to every probability. It need not surprise us that the opponents of continuity made full play of this, but they were interested parties, Magyars (notably Paul Hunfalvy, Ladislás Réthy and L. Thallóczy) and Bulgars (Mutafčiev, *Bulgares et Roumains dans l'histoire des pays danubiens*, Sofia, 1932). It is not our purpose to discuss the present state of the question.⁹ It is, however, admitted today that the Morava and Vardar valleys were during the Middle Ages inhabited by the descendants of the Roman provincials, and there only remains the question whether the coming of the Wallachs to Transylvania was an immigration (Roesler) or an admigration (Onciul).

The Roumanian question is, however, of great interest not

⁴ *Revue du Sud-Est Européen*, I (1924), p. 37–58

⁵ *Hist. de la langue roumaine*. (1901), I, 288.

⁶ Eugippius, *Vita Sancti Severini*:—Onnothus vero praecepto fratris Odoacri admonitos universos iussit ad Italiam migrare Romanos.

⁷ Amm. Marcellinus, XXV, 9, 2.

⁸ *Originea Românilor*, I, 427.

⁹ See Matthias Friedwagner, *Über die Sprache und Heimat der Rumanen in ihrer Frühzeit*, in *Zeitschrift für roman. Philologie*, liv, Dec. 1934, pp. 641–715.

only from the standpoint of the national sentiment of a nation which claims to carry on the traditions of Rome and Byzantium, but also because it forms a valuable point of departure for the Albanian question. It has been found that between the date of the evacuation of Dacia (271) and that of the occupation of Transylvania there was a gap of almost 1,000 years. Now an almost identical gap separates the first data about the Albanians and the starting point of Albanian history as we know it. With one difference which cannot be regarded as negligible, while Trajan's conquest and the organisation of Roman Dacia are incontestable historical facts, a dread uncertainty hangs over the origins of Albania. The name "Albania," "Albans" is very widespread. Alba Longa and Mons Albanus are linked with the origins of Rome. When Pompey led his legions to the Caucasus, he found between Coure and Rhion a series of tribes, with warlike instincts, known as Albans. Their fame still survived in the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and the Imperial author describes in his book of ceremonies the welcome reserved by the Court of Byzantium for the chiefs of these Albans. Are we to suppose that they emigrated from their country and were gradually transferred to Asia Minor, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and finally across Macedonia to what is now Albania? If one studies the costumes of the Caucasian peoples, one is tempted to notice striking resemblances both of dress and physical type, especially among the women. There are even certain Caucasian dialects which are called Albanian. A. Schiefer published in 1863, through the Academy of St. Petersburg, a grammar of the Udik language (*Udische Grammatik*); but there certainly seems to be no point of contact between this dialect and Albanian, for otherwise the resemblance would have been noted by Antoine Meillet, who in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* wrote an article on Albanian, and in 1903 published a comparative grammar of classical Albanian.

Thus it only remains to seek the original home of the Albanians by falling back on the indications of Claudius Ptolemy, who mentions in the Peninsula the town of Albanopolis and small groups of Albans. Their exact position, however, is not certain. Hahn¹⁰ and Bopp¹¹ believe that Albanopolis and Croia are identical. They saw ruins not far from the latter town and thought

¹⁰ *Albanische Studien*, Vienna, 1853, I, 213.

¹¹ "Über das Albanische in seinen Verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen" (*Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akademie*, Berlin, 1854).

they might well be the site of Albanopolis. This is not impossible, but it may be asked whether it was not the present position of Albania which was most responsible for the hypothesis of Bopp and Hahn. Tomaschek leans to another theory: he puts Albanopolis east of Salonica, perhaps on the Struma.¹² But may not the name indicate a fortress where Albans, perhaps even Caucasians, were concentrated in relatively recent times? Claudius Ptolemy also mentions Albans, but it is not quite clear where they were located. There is known to have been a group not far from Pécs in the Hungarian Baránya. Jireček even seems disposed to accept their migrating from Pannonia to Dardania (whose capital was Naissus, now Niš) and thence to the Adriatic coast. In short, nothing definite is known as to the original home of the Albanians, or admitting that it really existed, as to an Albania in the Balkan Peninsula. But if we admit Albanian continuity in their present territory, it is certainly surprising that no one between Claudius Ptolemy and the 11th century should have left to us the minutest indication as to the existence of Albanians or of an Albania. This silence is much more astonishing than the corresponding lack of data as to present Roumania. For Roumania lay outside the political sphere and interests of the Byzantine state, whereas a whole series of events took place on the territory of present day Albania between the 2nd and 11th centuries. The passage of the Goths of Alaric and Theodoric, the Slav and Avar invasions, the expeditions of Constans II and Constantine IV, the reigns of Leo the Isaurian and of Constantine Copronymus, the struggles for Adriatic hegemony between Byzantium and Charles the Great, the Arab inroads, the first state-formation round ancient Dioclea, the assaults of Simeon and Samuel, the struggle of Basil II for Durazzo and Ohrida, the Bulgarian risings of 1043 and 1073—all these events took place without a single document or manuscript indicating the existence of Albania or an Albanian.

Michael Attaliatus does, it is true, note the presence of Albanian soldiers (*Ἀλβανόι*), for whom he uses the same designation as does Constantine Porphyrogenitus for the Albans of the Caucasus, in the armies of Maniakes (1042) and of Vasilakes (1078). Attaliatus also uses the term *Ἀρβανῖται* (ed. Bonn, p. 9, 18, 297): but he gives us no indication of the country of these soldiers. The first indications of a country inhabited by Albanians are to be found in Anna Comnena. Its situation can be fixed between Durazzo

¹² Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1309.

and Debra in a very mountainous district, containing numerous fortresses. George the Acropolite, who was governor of the district of Durazzo in the 13th century, speaks of the fortresses of Croia and of the country of Arbanon. Tatel-Thomas (II, 122) quote Latin documents of 1210 in which occur the names Arbanon and Arbanenses. The Turk Balabanbeg bears in 1415 the title of Subasha of Croia and Rabu.¹³ Marin S. Drinov is of opinion that Croia and Albanum are two names for the same place,¹⁴ and relies upon the interesting correspondence of the Archbishop of Ohrida, Demetrius Shumatian.

In a letter of John Castriot to the Signoria of Venice, the Albanian prince protests against the assignment of twelve parishes to the Bishopric of Alessio, and claims them for that of Croia and Albanum, which for 800 years has been in possession of their territory.¹⁵ Now it is quite possible that the two places formed a single diocese in the 15th century, but there is nothing to show that the union was permanent. In the *Notitia Episcopatum* of Parthey¹⁶ fifteen bishops are described as suffragans of the see of Durazzo—namely Stephaniake, Honavia, *Croia*, Elisos, Dioclea, Skutari, Drivaste, Politi, Glavinica, Valona, Dulcigno (ὁ Ἀδκινδῶν) Bar (Antivari), Čerminika near Elbasan, Pulcheriopolis (probably Berat), Gradic (to the east of Valona). No Albanian Bishop is mentioned, and we may note the presence of several Slav names. Now this *Notitia* of Parthey, which ignores the existence of a diocese of Croia and Arbanum and only knows the bishopric of Croia, is earlier than the reign of Basil II (976–1025). To find an Albanian Bishop or diocese, one must go to the 12th century. But this Albanian Bishop who took part in the consecration of the Church of St. Tryphon at Kotor (Cattaro) in 1166¹⁷ was simply the suffragan of the Archbishop of Bar and is named together with a Bishop of Croia.¹⁸ In 1286 we find side by side a Bishop of Croia and a Bishop of Arbanum: and the union of the sees was, in the opinion of Thallóczy and Jireček, carried out after the Turkish conquest.¹⁹ Thus the assertion of John Castriot is

¹³ Pucić, *Mon. Serb.* I, p. 132.

¹⁴ *Visantuskij Vremennik*, I, p. 332–40.

¹⁵ *Episcopatus Albaniae iam sunt anni octingenti fuerit in terris et contracta sua*—Ljubić, *Vistina*, v, p. 94–5.

¹⁶ *Hierochs Syneodemus et Notitiae Graecae Episcopatum*, Berlin, 1866, p. 124–5, 220.

¹⁷ Smečklas, *Codex Diplomaticus*, II, 102.

¹⁸ Farlati-Coleti, *Illyricum Sacrum* (1817) VII, 191–2: Drinov in *Visantuskij Vremennik*, I, 333–5.

¹⁹ *Illyr.-Alb. Forschungen*, I, p. 119, and *Archiv für Slav. Philologie*, XXI (1899).

not a proof of the existence of a diocese including both places during eight centuries.

This absence of the Albanian name before the 12th century is all the more symptomatic because we see in the territory of present day Albania, at a period anterior to Basil II, several names of towns or districts obviously inhabited by Slavs, while there is a complete lack of Albanian names. This is all the more remarkable, if we take the trouble to consult the texts of a period relatively recent, but still anterior to the first traces of Albanians in their present home. The chronicler of Dioclea, who ought after all to know something of them, makes no reference at all. When Prelimir partitions his state into four, Hvalimir receives Zeta, Boleslav Trebinje, Dragislav Zahumlje and Svevlad Podgorie. On this occasion the districts, or Župe, forming the ancient kingdom of Dioclea, are also mentioned. Zeta is composed of Lužje (Ljeskopolje), Podlužje (Žabljak), Gorska (today the Slav name has been replaced by the Albanian name of Hoti), Kupetnik, Oblik (today Tarabosh), Prapratna, Crmnica, Budva with Kučevo (Tchevo) and Grbalj in the Gulf of Kotor (Cattaro).²⁰ Even the partition of Dioclea under Voislav about 1050 gives no clue as to the Albanians, and yet it included large portions of present day Albania. It should be noted that the coastal district, during the first part of the Middle Ages, is divided into two parts, the northern being constantly called Sclavinia, while the southern, or Romania, began north of Durazzo or Valona.²¹ The name of Albania is entirely unknown before the second half of the 12th century. Since then the geographical term widens, the Angevins, lords of Durazzo, assuming the title of "Kings of Albania" (1272). Towards the end of the 14th the district of Skutari is included in it, and till 1797 the Gulf of Kotor is known as Venetian Albania. This extension of the name in the 14th and 15th centuries forms a striking contrast with the complete absence of evidence for the earlier period. And it must be noted that the Byzantines, far from clinging to historical traditions, give to countries the names of the population inhabiting them. This is shown by the diffusion of the name of Slavonia. The districts occupied in Italy by the Lombards were called, even in the south, Langobardia; and the same applies to Gothia on the Black Sea, and to Valachia, which sometimes means Thessaly, sometimes the territory of Užice, sometimes the plain north of the Danube. The logical conclusion

²⁰ Chronicle of Dioclea, chap. xxx.

²¹ *Illyr-alb. Forsch.*, I, p. 129.

to be drawn from these facts would seem to be that the period up to the second half of the 12th century is marked by a complete absence of any reference to Albania.

Are we to conclude that the Albanians, up to the 12th or even 13th century, lived outside present Albania and only emigrated there later?

The mystery of the origins of the Albanian language has long occupied scholars. It used to be regarded as certain that the Albanians were simply the descendants of the Illyrians, and that their language is old Illyrian in a modern form. Today less categorical views are held, but it is certain that Albanian is of Indo-Germanic origin. Beyond this, however, very little is known. Xilander, Schleicher, Stier, Bopp, Hahn and even Gustav Meyer²² seem now superseded. Certain inscriptions of Southern Italy have been treated as a proof of Illyrian origin.²³ But doubts have found vigorous expression in the famous study of Hirt,²⁴ who sees far more resemblance in the Albanian language to Thracian than to Illyrian. Weigand has formulated the objections to the theory of Illyrian origin:²⁵ to him, the present form of Albanian is only to be explained by a symbiosis, during many centuries, between Albanians and Roumanians. This contact did not take place, as might be expected, in the present Albania, but in the districts bordering upon the Roumanian national territory on the side of Thrace. Weigand was not the first to put forward this hypothesis: far more daring than he, Holgar Pedersen²⁶ held that Albanian revealed analogies with the languages of the Baltic Slavs and with Armenian. Without endorsing the extreme views of Vasmer,²⁷ Pedersen sees in the Albanian language, as it is today, traces of having been settled for many centuries in the plains of Thrace.²⁸

An analogy which cannot but strike the veriest amateur in comparative philology may suffice to illustrate the hypothesis of Holgar Pedersen. Like the two languages of the eastern half

²² "Die Stellung des Albanischen in Kreise der indogerm. Sprachen" in *Beilagen zur Kunde der indogerm. Sprachen*, viii, pp. 185, sqq.

²³ S. Bugge in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*, xviii, 193: Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Gesch. der griechischen Sprache*, p. 262.

²⁴ *Festschrift für Kiepert*, p. 181, etc.

²⁵ *Balkanarchiv*, iii (1927), p. 231.

²⁶ *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie*, in Vollmöller, ix, p. 210, etc. and *Albanische Texte* mit Glossar, Leipzig (1895).

²⁷ *Acta et commemorationes Universitatis Dorpatensis pro* 1921, I, 1, p. 39.

²⁸ Ebert, *Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte*, I, p. 219-26.

of the Peninsula, Albanian puts the article after the noun (Roumanian, om-ul, carte-a, frate-le; Bulgarian, voda-ta, selo-to; Albanian, ka-u, guri-i, stepi-ja, uje-te). A symbiosis of the three peoples in some part of the Peninsula cannot be relegated to the realm of fantasy: and this of course presupposes the Albanians having lived outside their present territory.

None the less, despite these facts, whose importance cannot be challenged, most philologists are extremely cautious in formulating their opinion. The ground on which they build does not seem sufficiently solid, and on the other hand it is becoming increasingly evident that the old formulas no longer suffice to cover the reality. Antoine Meillet finds in Albanian undeniable Indo-European characteristics, above all in the declination of pronouns, and in certain verbal constructions of a curiously archaic kind (the periphrastic future and conditional). He is struck by the fact that Greek influence in Albanian is relatively sporadic, which must surprise us in a people originating from the Adriatic, where the Macedonian influence and in the Middle Ages the impress of Byzantium were considerable. Meillet finds that Latin influence is much greater than Greek upon Albanian. One might expect some effects of Roman, or Italian, civilising expansion. But it is the Latins of the East, the Roumanians, who seem to have influenced Albanian in a manner intensive enough to determine its present form. Meillet is even of opinion that Albanian was not far from merging completely in Roumanian. Difficult though it may be, according to Meillet, to fix the territory in which this influence was exercised, we must guard against any exaggeration of the Illyrian influence on Albanian. Meillet does not seem to show the same eagerness to exclude Thracian influence.

The impossibility of declaring positively for one or other alternative is brought out by Norbert Jokl,²⁹ who states the problem as follows: It must first be established whether the ancestors of the Albanians are, or are not, natives of the Balkan Peninsula. If they are, it must be asked whether they are natives of Thrace or Illyria. Each alternative has its champions. To test their value, Jokl considers it necessary to study the links which attach the structure of Albanian to that of the ancient Balkan languages. It will be found that Albanian has ties with ancient Illyrian, but also with Thracian: and it would thus seem justifiable to seek the original home of the Albanians in a region equally distant from Thrace and from Illyria, namely, the ancient

²⁹ Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, I, 84-96.

Dardania, round Naissus (the present Niš). Jokl finds confirmation of his theory in Jireček,³⁰ who, basing himself on the third book of Claudius Ptolemy's geography, believes that the Albanians are refugees from the corner between the Danube and Drave (the Baranja), to Dardania, and thence to the Adriatic coast

Henry Barić³¹ does not regard Jokl's hypothesis as tenable. Jokl's view that Albanian is derived at one and the same time from both Illyrian and Thracian, is impossible owing to the great difference of the two idioms. While admitting that Jokl has proved an affinity between Albanian and Thracian—two languages of the "satem" group—Barić considers that his argument in favour of affinity between Albanian and Illyrian is less convincing, since in the latter case the analogies may, as he contends, be a survival of fragments from pre-Albanian languages in Thracian.

It would be interesting to see whether the derivation of Albanian from Thracian is confirmed by similar analogies in costumes, family tradition and folklore. Certain investigations have actually been made.³² The legends relating to the Emperor Trajan, the use of the "coteda," the festival of the "rosaliae," common to Bulgars and Albanians, such superstitious beliefs and practices as "Vukodlak," "sjen," and the cult of the snake, give some ground in this direction. But if we once admit such a possibility, we are very near the view that the Albanians were domiciled in the eastern part of the Peninsula before finally settling in their present home: and if the hypothesis of Albanian immigration be once accepted, it remains to fix a period and circumstances under which it took place.

As regards the date, we are unhappily reduced to mere deductions, often of a very laboured kind. What most interests us is to know whether the Albanians came before or after the great Slav invasion. At first sight one might be tempted to believe that they reached the Adriatic later: for there is not the slightest evidence, from any source, of their having served as an obstacle to the invaders from the North. We are thus dependent on mere symptoms and indications. Even the most superficial observer must be struck by the essentially Slav character of the place-names of Albania, in so far as it is not Roman. Since the 10th century its stability is very impressive. Whereas the place-names of neighbouring

³⁰ *Gesch. der Serben*, I, 152.

³¹ *Arhiv za arbanasku starinu, jezik i etnologiju*, II, 151-161.

³² Dietrich, "Die Volksdichtung der Balkanländer in ihren gemeinsamen Elementen" in *Zeitschr. d. Vereines für Volkskunde*, Berlin, 1902.

regions, such as Zeta and Hercegovina, undergo changes during the 13th and 14th centuries owing to the great Vlach invasion, in Albania there is hardly any change. The Slav names have come down to us unchanged, and even the localities and towns which are not Slav, but either Illyrian or Greek or Roman, have preserved in the Albanian language names which can only be explained by a Slav influence lasting for some centuries. In one of his numerous studies on place-names, Peter Skok³³ gives a whole series of names which the Albanians have adopted along Slav models. The same observation has been made by Norbert Jokl, who points out that the present form of the Albanian name for Skutari cannot be derived from an Illyrian source. Moreover "Durrës," the Albanian name for Durazzo (the ancient Dyr-rhachium) also comes neither from Latin, Greek nor Illyrian, but from the Slav name "Drač." Skok thus concludes that the Albanians cannot have been in these countries at the moment of the arrival of the Slavs. It was from the Slavs that the Albanians took the names of the country where they were to settle. "It is clear," writes Skok, "that this nomenclature is only comprehensible if at the time of the coming of the Slavs, the Albanians were not yet in the town of Durazzo, and that it was the Slavs who first learned the name of the town from the mouth of the Roman population, to hand it on at a later date to the Albanians coming from the mountains."

This appropriation of Slav names by an ethnic element which it is usual to treat as indigenous and as descended directly from the ancient Illyrians, cannot shake our belief in the existence of a national Albania during and even before the great Slav invasion. We are thus reduced to admitting a much more recent date for the coming of the Albanians. But must we really believe that this epoch corresponds with the first appearance of the Albanian name in the 12th century? If this were so, we should be bound to find in the documents of the 12th and above all the 13th century traces of the seniority of the Slav as against the Albanian element. Or again, if as is generally supposed, Albanian is really the indigenous element, and not the Slav, this fact could hardly fail to reveal itself from a thousand little details in the charters of the period. Yet, if we compare sources of the 13th with those of the 15th century, we find that the names of persons in the former century are either Greek, Roman or Slav, and that Albanian names are distinguished by their complete absence. And when in the 14th century Albanian

³³ *Arhiv za arbanasku starinu*, II, 107-121.

names suddenly become frequent, the social position of those who bear them shows clearly that they are recent immigrants.

The case of Durazzo is perhaps the most instructive. The town had fallen in 1205 under Venetian rule, but was speedily conquered by the Despots of Epirus. The names of citizens of Durazzo are preserved for us in several Greek and Latin documents.³⁴ Among these family names there were between 1205 and 1258 Greek names, some Latin though less numerous, and also a few Slav. It is interesting to note that up to 1250 there is no Albanian name in Durazzo. A complete change took place in March, 1273, after the earthquake. Several old houses were destroyed, hundreds of people were killed and injured, and the sea flooded in. In the mountains round the town there lived Albanian shepherds, whose presence had till then hardly been noticed, but who now raided the town and pillaged it from end to end. It was not rebuilt till 1284, and received privileges from Charles of Anjou, in whose charters the names of the Captain, the Castellan and the town magistrates occur. This time there are among the citizens Greeks, Latins and Albanians, while Slav names are comparatively rare. It is thus possible to argue that the Slav element has been supplemented in the country round Durazzo, by an entirely new element, coming from the mountain districts, and consisting of nomad shepherds who took the first chance of becoming masters of a country till then not theirs.

This Albanian immigration would seem proved by the evidence of two personages who have not enjoyed very great credit, because their views were so obviously inspired by religious motives. The one is the Archbishop of Bar (Antivari), Guillaume Adam (1322-41), a French Dominican and an ardent partisan of the House of Anjou, who wrote for Philip VI of France the project of a crusade against Serbia (*Directorium ad passagium faciendum*), under the pseudonym of Brochard. He expresses the opinion that the conquest of Serbia is not a difficult enterprise, because the Serbs have against them not only the Latins of the Adriatic towns, but also the Albanians, a nation which has great sympathies for the Catholic religion. Guillaume Adam describes the occupations of the Albanians: they are shepherds who wander with their flocks from one mountain district to another. One has the impression in reading him, that the characteristic trait of the Albanians is their instability, and this is still further confirmed by studying the *Anonymi descriptio*

³⁴ Miklosich in Muller, *Acta Graeca* III, p. 239, and several charters of Dubrovnik in Vols. 3 and 4 of Smičiclas, *Codex Diplomaticus*.

Europae Orientalis, published in 1916 at Cracow by the care of Dr. Olgierk Gorka. The anonymous author of this "descriptio" is a Dominican, obviously an agent of the Angevins of Naples, and his aim is to supply information for an enterprise against Serbia. His information is not accepted as reliable, but in my opinion wrongly: if he does not conceal his sympathies, or rather his antipathies, it is clear that he has no interest in giving misleading information, for that would injure the cause which he seeks to serve. He says, among other things, that in the region between Macedonia Achaia and Salonica he has met Vlach shepherds expelled by the Magyars from their original home on the banks of the Danube. From the Vlach country the road to Durazzo passes through a country inhabited by Albanians, fierce warriors who travel at night from mountain to mountain, accompanied by huge and savage dogs. Albania is divided into six districts in which the chief places are Tumurist, Clisura, Cumania, Stophanatus, Polatus and Debra. In this country there is a peasant population subject to the Albanians (*sunt tributarii et quasi servi eidem Albanensibus, quin exercent agriculturam*). In the 14th century, then, there are to be found in the territory of Albania two nationally and socially distinct elements. On the one hand there are agriculturalists living in stone houses, while their masters and lords live in tents and change their domicile during the night. These nomad shepherds speak a language of their own, unknown to the people of the country, that is to say to Greeks, Latins and Slavs. Is it necessary to demonstrate that this language, unknown to the local inhabitants, must be Albanian, and that according to the evidence of this anonymous writer, the Albanians are new arrivals by comparison with the local Slavs?

There are a whole series of minor facts which confirm us in this view. The first data relating to the family of Musachiz in the plain of Saura, date from 1280.³⁵ At about the same time, in 1290, there are signs of a grave crisis in the social life of the neighbourhood of Skutari and especially Surda, whose church "inter nationes perversas posita est."³⁶ Sufflay³⁷ also notes a profound crisis in the situation of the churches of Albania in the middle of the 13th century. The position of the Archbishop of Bar (Antivari), the Primate of Serbia, is seriously menaced. A stubborn struggle

³⁵ Hopf, *Chronicles*, p. 532.

³⁶ Theiner, *Mon. slav. merid.*, I, 109.

³⁷ *Die Kirchenzustände im vortürkischen Albanien*, in Thallóczy, *Illyrisch-albanische Forschungen*, I, 132, 280.

is in process between Rome and Ohrida for the ecclesiastical domination of central Albania and Epirus.

This crisis corresponds in time with the great emigration of the Vlach tribes, whose phases are recorded in the archives of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and Kotor (Cattaro). A formidable inroad seems to have pierced the longitudinal dyke connecting the Slavs of Dioclea with those of the Peloponnese, towards the middle of the 13th century. A radical change, a profound upheaval, seems to have occurred in the customs, composition and national and religious formation of the population of these regions. Between the time of Progonos,³⁸ who was lord of the country south of Skutari, and the middle of the 14th century, the colonisation of the land between the Lake of Skutari and Aspropotamos seems to have taken place. The incessant wars had depopulated the wide plains occupied by a pacific and industrious race and those who profited by this were nomad shepherds accustomed to drive their flocks through mountain districts and ready for war and plunder. We can follow the change pretty closely, thanks to the voluminous correspondence of the Archbishop of Ohrida (1230) and the charters of the monasteries of Visoki Dečani and St. Michael the Archangel near Prizren. In the districts inhabited today by scattered groups of Albanians a numerous Slav population was to be found in the middle of the 13th century. Marino Sanudo, in his famous letter of 1325³⁹ describes how this population was terrorised by nomads from the mountains, "et ad presens consumunt et destruunt taliter, quod quasi nihil remansit penitus extra castra." Trade soon felt the effects of this: the once frequented ports of St. Sergius on the Bojana, of Durazzo and of Valona, were silted up with sand. Navigation became insecure owing to the Albanian pirates, who lay in wait for merchant vessels in their small barks hidden near Capes Rondoni or Pali. Soon came the turn of the caravans, and the result was the complete downfall of an ancient civilisation.

Cvijić, in his great work *La Péninsule Balkanique*, had intuitions of this. He has a great admiration for Hercegovina, Montenegro, the districts of Novipazar—"the most active regions of the Peninsula." But was not this activity the result of the misery into which these provinces were plunged as a result of the upheaval of the 13th century? Cvijić himself found during his wanderings "ruins of imposing buildings which must once have sheltered

³⁸ Mentioned in the correspondence of the Archbishop of Ohrida, Demetrius Chomatianus, ed. Pitra, col. i.

³⁹ Tafel-Thomas, *Fontes Rerum Austracarum*, xii, p. 500.

a pretty advanced population." He finds that the splendid forests of past times have been pitilessly ravaged, and assumes that under such conditions the local population may well have given up agricultural pursuits as too exposed.

Apart from this, there are districts where the ancient Slav population managed to survive. Even in the 14th century the Slavs formed a majority at Opari⁴⁰ The French Consul Lejean notes at the time of Napoleon III the presence of numerous Slav oases not far from the mouth of the Vojuša. In the Musachia the place-names are all Slav. As late as 1880, six centuries after the invasion, the Slavs of Debra brought their herds down to winter quarters on the sea coast. But the most striking result of the invasion is certainly the fundamental change in the social structure. "In the regions north of the Šar," writes Cvijić, "we find a patriarchal organisation, and this also exists further south in the high Rhodope and Pindus. The patriarchal régime is not a backward state: the population which lives under it has high moral conceptions, a slapdash outlook upon life, a very definite social and economic organisation, very solid institutions, an altogether special æsthetic sense, which finds expression in poetry and the decorative arts."

This patriarchal régime was native to the Slavs in their original home north of the Carpathians and developed after their immigration to the Peninsula. It grew weaker under Byzantine influence and state authority, only to resume its old vigour under Turkish rule. There was thus a kind of regeneration of the old social structure: the old social customs were revived. This new régime differed from the old above all among the Serbs, among whom the long experience of the Middle Ages left more or less profound traces. Left to itself, the patriarchal population took on vigorous new forms, and acquired new outlooks and feelings. Its moral evolution was far freer and more spontaneous than among the Slavs subjected to German influences. What most strikes us in the patriarchal organisation is its social and economic form. There are tribes (in Albania, the *fis*) in Montenegro, in certain districts of Novipazar, in northern Albania, both among Serbs and Albanians. The "Zadruga," i.e. the family communal system—exists throughout the central and western parts of the Peninsula, among Serbs, Croats and Albanians: it disappears wherever the Greeks begin, and it does not exist at all among the Bulgarians and Turks. It is found in the Lika, in Croatia, in Syrmia, owing to the immigrations to those districts in Turkish days.

⁴⁰ Hopf, *Chronicles*, p. 280.—il paese d'Opari, ch'è habità dei Schiavoni.

Connected with this tribal and family system are forms peculiar to the material life and psychology, and these affect the healthiest and freshest sections of the Balkan peninsula. The centre of this civilisation is in the districts formed by Montenegro, Brda, Hercegovina and North Albania. Here has been preserved, alike among Serbs and Albanians, the conception of tribes, clans and families, and the institution of the vendetta. These are most prolific tribes, possessed of great vital energy, and for the most part devoted to stock breeding. They are proud and vigorous men, sinewy, tall, light and elastic in their movements, with expressive and well developed faces—the handsomest race in the whole Peninsula. In these districts there are no degenerate types. Their moral sentiment and spirit of sacrifice and devotion is admirable. They offer a profound contrast to those populations which underwent Byzantine influence. This difference is best seen by contrasting the natives of northern Albania with the Tosks of the south, in whom there is a Greek and Vlach element.

There is no doubt that Cvijić has reproduced with much verve and plastic vigour his personal observations, and that he found great satisfaction in discovering high moral and physical qualities among individuals and communities which he regarded as representing the early organisation of the Slavs in their primitive home. It is certainly interesting that such phenomena are to be traced in the districts which separate the Dinaric Alps from the Shar and Pindus ranges. When we set ourselves to contrast the social conditions of the countries which have not been affected by the great transversal invasion with those that were affected by it, we are driven to the view that Cvijić's results, though deserving very serious consideration, are not so convincing as regards the national individuality of those who founded the patriarchal régime. The same criticism applies as regards the period at which the patriarchal régime was restored. Cvijić attributes the change to the Turkish conquest, while the data collected from the archives by Jireček show that the true representatives of this régime were the Vlach and Albanian tribes who moved from the centre westwards in the 13th and 14th centuries, in other words, before the Turkish conquest.⁴¹

The change in social and economic structure described by Cvijić operated at another period and in distinctly different circumstances: this was the result of the infiltration of a new ethnical

⁴¹ "Die Wlachen und Maurowlachen" in *Berichte der Kgl. Bohm. Akad. der Wiss.*, Prague, 1879.

element against which all resistance was vain. For it must not be supposed that this territory, so important as a bridgehead of Byzantium towards Italy, was abandoned to the conqueror without any defence of its ancient civilisation. From one end to the other of the territory now regarded as the domain of the Albanian people, the urban communities united in a common defence and tried to prevent the settlement of Albanians. The watchword, *Μη προσοικίσω Ἀλβανίτας* is heard not only at Pteleon in Thessaly,⁴² but also in communes which today are so completely Albanian as Valona, Canina and Berat. It was on condition of being set free from the Albanian invaders from the mountains, that these communes abandoned the cause of the Despot of Epirus and espoused that of Byzantium in 1330. This opposition to the Albanians makes itself felt at Skutari also, and even at Drivaste. When this town submitted to the Venetians in 1442, the latter had to promise that they would not admit in the territory of the town either Albanians or other strangers.⁴³

It is difficult to concede that a population which has been settled in its present home for at least 2,000 years—and this is the current opinion of the Albanians—should not have been able to establish some *modus vivendi* between country and town. But this difficulty becomes much more explicable if we accept the view that the Albanians were immigrants, or rather invaders, whose coming, far from being welcome, was destructive of the ancient prosperity of the Roman towns which the Slavs had respected. The result of this reasoning is favourable to the hypothesis which treats the Albanians as having immigrated from the central or even eastern districts of the Peninsula.

It only remains for us to fix the historical framework of this immigration. That some Albans of the Caucasus, as loyal and courageous soldiers, were introduced on several occasions in the countries bordering upon the northern invaders, is not improbable: from Trajan right on till Abdul Hamid Caucasians have been brought in from Asia through the intermediary of Constantinople. It is also possible that the name "Albanian" was not a national one, but served to designate, without distinction of language or origin, a whole class of people engaged under stipulations similar to those employed towards the Albans of the Caucasus. These Albanians who guarded the frontiers towards Bulgaria were assigned more distant tasks after the victories of Basil II (976-1025).

⁴² Miklosich-Muller, *Acta Graeca*, v, p. 260.

⁴³ Albanenses vel alios forenses—Ljubić, *Listine*, ix, p. 158.

They form the nucleus of the troops which took part in the various pronunciamientos of the 11th century. It was the Norman danger which imposed the necessity of employing them in the country round Durazzo and Valona, and it is possible that Alexius Comnenus installed the first batch of Albanians in Albanum, not far from Croia. It was Manuel Comnenus who in 1166, after the Norman invasion, fixed the status of these Albanians and their relations with the Roman population of Croia.

After the death of Manuel I (1180) and the great Vlach-Bulgar insurrection of 1185, the situation of the Albanians—living it would appear in the Struma Valley—became unstable. It was the Fourth Crusade which gave the signal for their departure westwards. The Crusaders having first seized Constantinople in 1204, pushed on towards Salonica, where they founded the ephemeral kingdom of Boniface of Montferrat. The Byzantine troops, in whose ranks there undoubtedly were Albanians, found themselves driven back towards Epirus, where a centre of resistance was formed in the territory of the former Theme of Durazzo. The first movement was followed by a mass immigration, after the defeat of the Epirotes at the Battle of Klokotnica in 1230 and perhaps also after the Tartar invasion of 1241, which separated the northern Vlachs or Wallachs—the Roumanians of today—from the southern Vlachs who in the 14th century invaded Thessaly, Zeta and Hercegovina and penetrated as far as Istria. Driven back from the centre of the Peninsula, the Albanians saw themselves obliged to seek new homes in the gap between the Dinaric Alps and the Pindus. They met in this territory three populations who were living side by side. That of the countryside were Slav, grouped round monasteries which were for the most part Benedictine. That of the towns was Roman in the north, mixed with Greeks to the south—Catholic in the Roman towns, Orthodox in those further south. While the Slavs in the open country could not resist invaders, the Romans and Greeks held out till the Turkish invasion, which brought with it the last influx of Albanians, who had meanwhile passed over to Islam. It is under the Turkish conquest that the territorial unity of Albania was achieved.

A. DABINOVIĆ.

WALLENSTEIN AND THE HABSBURGS¹

[In our last number we published an obituary notice of Joseph Pekař, perhaps the most remarkable of the modern Czech historians. We now publish a translation of the Epilogue to his great book, *Wallenstein*, which was to have appeared during his lifetime.—ED.]

Der Mann ist uns ein kostbares Gefäss,
Das wicht'ge Dinge einschliesst. Fand man viel?

WHAT have we found? A weakling overcome by physical suffering, led astray by superstition, driven on by titanic plans of revenge and megalomania, a timid traitor, a foolish intriguer. We certainly cannot say that we can see right through this character or know the mysterious twilight regions of his soul. For brief moments something echoes from him, which threatens to play havoc with many carefully studied theories, something which surprises us and fills us with doubt. This violent and explosive man, so pitiless and insatiable, who terrified his entourage with his curses and imprecations—this very man greedily stretches out his hands towards the secrets of high Heaven, listens longingly to the mystic language of the stars and then again falls a prey to attacks of “angry depression.” The incomplete character of our material rarely vouchsafes us such a glimpse into the depths of this mysterious figure; but when it does, the effect is all the more overpowering. We only need to extract from the documents of the investigation the passage in which General Scherffenberg reports on his audience with the Duke in January, 1634. The General had been summoned to the Duke. When he presented himself, there was no answer, and a long silence followed. Then suddenly Wallenstein sat half up in the bed where he had been lying, and called out the words, “O peace! O peace, peace, o peace!” Or again we remember a scene from that dreadful February morning when Trčka had brought the news that the majority of the army was for the Emperor, and that no course remained save to fly to Eger. The Duke called Colonel Beck to him, and after a long silence said:

“Well, I have had peace in my hand . . . God is just.”

Is not this pained resignation in face of the shipwreck of a high and worthy effort? Is it not the sigh of a soul in agony? Does it

¹ The reader may be glad to know that an admirable German edition appeared early in 1937, under the special supervision of the author—*Wallenstein (1630–1634): Tragödie einer Verschwörung* (Berlin, Alfred Metzner).

not recall to us the imaginary Wallenstein of Schiller? And let us then compare it with the Wallenstein whom we find in the evidence of so many others, and in his own words and deeds, in his whole conduct. Perhaps the roughness of the times and of his profession, his lust for success, his passionate nature, have not extinguished every trace of a gentler spirit, struggling against temptation: perhaps his belief in astrological portents is proof of a more sensitive nature, perhaps too this inner conflict explains his misgivings, his uncertainty, his confused drawing back, his incapacity for decision. We must content ourselves with this "perhaps." The inadequate and incomplete character of our sources does not allow us to form a more certain judgment, to turn a sceptical gaze upon the unclear depths of his soul or to ignore those reflections of nobler feeling that are to be found in him.

"I had peace in my mind," said the Duke to Colonel Beck. "Nothing will come of peace," he had said to Trčka on 14 September. "I have no more glowing wish, than to establish a lasting peace in the Empire"—so he wrote to Arnim time and again. "The armies themselves will make a peace, and the Emperor will have nothing to say to it," he repeated to Bubna in May, 1633. Was it then a declaration for peace, a first step towards that peace for which millions yearned, a high, unselfish aim? In this epilogue we must add a few words rounding off the problem which has already been solved. We have already pointed out that of this longing for peace no trace is to be found either in the negotiations of 1631 with Gustavus Adolphus, nor in the Dresden revelations of Kinský, nor in the negotiations of 1634 with Feuquières and Oxenstjerna, that all other peace proposals were only realisable through a revolt against the Empire, and that the Duke only spoke of peace because he wanted war with the Emperor. Kinský too had written to Bubna on 3 February—"We have peace in our hand;" and there can be no doubt as to the importance of these words in the mouth of a Bohemian exile. "He always put forward the pretext of peace," Duke Franz Albrecht afterwards said of Wallenstein, when he was asked whether Wallenstein wanted to be King of Bohemia: and in this statement, it may safely be affirmed, lay the whole truth. Wallenstein put forward the idea of peace, because he needed catchwords and ideas in whose name he could fight out his personal quarrel with the Emperor and his allies. In this gigantic European struggle, in which the leading men of both parties knew how to kindle to fanaticism the interest of their supporters in real or assumed aims, and in which religion, freedom

of conscience and of the Fatherland were really at stake, Wallenstein could not come forward with a programme of naked revenge and ambition, and dared not put himself up as the signal for his armies and his allies. And so in the arena of the German Empire, in which France pretended to be a liberator against tyranny, while the Swedes made profession of their zeal for freedom of conscience, or artificially exaggerated it, Wallenstein came forward with the sympathetic catchword of a just peace. It is characteristic that he was never believed. Arnim, for whom above all the programme was planned, realised that Wallenstein's aim was "to increase his possessions and raise his stakes," and neither France nor Sweden allowed themselves to be deceived. In the summer of 1633 a great part of the Empire was filled with reports of an impending revolt of "the Friedländer" against the Emperor, but in not one of them do we find the suggestion that the Duke wanted peace, and all, in so far as they believe in it at all, explain his intentions out of revenge and ambition, "*quae nihil pro illicito ducit, religionem et iura omnia violare insuper habet . . . ultra se cupiditas porrigit et felicitatem suam non intelligit, quia non unde venerit respicit, sed quo tendat!*"

Yet even peace may serve the purpose of ambition, and anyone who could have stopped the dreadful war which for fifteen years had spread havoc among the nations, would have earned ample fame. Hence it is quite possible that what was only an excuse or means to an end, gradually became an end in itself, or in other words that in Wallenstein's soul it blended with plans of vengeance and of power to a unity of aim which in his deceitful game became an amazingly good diplomatic weapon in both directions. The court was given to understand that peace was absolutely necessary, if the Emperor was to be saved, and negotiations for peace were conducted with the enemy, in order to destroy the Emperor! And peace negotiations were at the same time the best way of masking the secret conversations whose result was really to have been a fresh recrudescence of the war, and that in its most dangerous form, namely that of a revolt of the Imperial army against the Emperor, with the help of the very enemy whom it was there to destroy!

Two paths, two possibilities of "peace" presented themselves to Wallenstein: the one may be described as the German, the other as the Bohemian. The first was recommended by the director of Saxon policy, Hans Georg von Arnim: the other was favoured by the anti-Habsburg malcontents who were plotting with

Wallenstein, by the Bohemian emigrants, and with them by Sweden and France. In the one case the Duke was to rest content with imposing a just peace, which would restore the pre-war conditions as regards religious and political affairs, in the Empire and hence presumably in Bohemia also : as a result of which Germany was if possible to be freed from the influences and armies of foreign nations—Swedes, French and Spaniards—and which was perhaps to be imposed even against the Emperor, by the allied forces of Wallenstein, Saxony and Brandenburg. The other alternative meant the destruction of the power of the House of Austria along the whole line, with the direct help of Swedes and French, the detachment of the Bohemian lands from the Habsburgs and the election of a new King of Bohemia. If Arnim urgently pressed for the first alternative, he did this above all in order to keep Wallenstein away from the other choice, in which Wallenstein was encouraged by his close advisers Trčka and Kinský and their emigrant friends. This second path corresponded more closely to Wallenstein's longing for power and revenge, and was indeed perhaps the only thing that could really satisfy it : it was to bring punishment to the Duke of Bavaria, and it promised to Wallenstein himself the Bohemian Crown as supreme reward. We have seen how these two choices alternated in Wallenstein's mind and fought with each other for mastery, how his acceptance of the generalship forced him to draw back from the plans of open revolt to his earlier project of a more cautious and veiled character (during the negotiations with Arnim in 1632) ; how then in 1633 the Duke negotiated on both lines separately, in order to blend them boldly together in August, 1633 ; and how at last, after a return to the first plan in September-October, 1633, he again tried to carry out both schemes together during the last two months of his life.

From this change of front one must draw the conclusion that he wavered in his choice of the means to his end. But it was not merely a case of the hesitations of an irresolute waverer : the situation was really far more dramatic. The success of the first and safer method was spoilt by the policy of Saxony and the coming of Arnim, who suspected, nay knew, that it would end in a conflict with the Emperor, and, however such aims might suit the religious and political programme of the German Protestants, realised that their support was impossible, alike in the interest of the German Empire and of the position of Saxony and Brandenburg inside the Empire. Moreover a bold attempt to carry out the second plan was rendered doubtful by the fear that a majority of his officers would not be

ready to join the Duke in so crass an act of felony, and that here too preparation and a gradual transition was needed, so that by union with the armies of the two Electors the main body of the army could be won over to demand peace, and that in assuring it the help of Sweden and France could be reckoned upon with greater certainty. Consequently Wallenstein never made up his mind to use his great superiority in order to punish the unresponsive attitude of the Electors by a crushing defeat : for without their help his plan could not be carried out. "To Your Grace's distinguished sense I need not explain the reason," Duke Franz Albrecht once wrote him unmistakably in this sense. The Duke's plan assumed its most promising form in August, 1633 : it was then that Arnim, in appearance at least, showed himself most forthcoming, and the way in which things were then developing might tempt us to believe that after so many preparations it must at last come to action. But just at the very moment when the hopes of the other side had reached their highest point, Wallenstein withdrew from everything—in order to revive the vanishing confidence of the Viennese Court. And in order to banish all suspicion on the part of Vienna, he finally destroyed Thurn's weak forces, in other words that section of the opposing army which alone could really have helped him in his plans of revolt : and he thus morally destroyed the old Bohemian rebel who stood nearest to his plans, and in league with whom he had for two years past prepared his own rebellion. At the same time, in the presence of the delegate of Chancellor Oxenstjerna he abused General Arnim, on whose effective aid he had not only reckoned from the first, but for whose aid he had positively begged, as that of a true saviour. And while continuing to spare the Elector of Saxony in his military operations, he overran and plundered the lands of the Markgrave of Brandenburg, who alone among the German Electors had not refused to share in hostile plans against the Emperor.

Such behaviour is not to be explained merely by irresolute wavering, such as might fit in with the dizzy boldness of the final aim ; far rather does it show that Wallenstein lacked both the necessary character and courage for the enterprise on which he was engaged. It need not be once more emphasised, that he was not a hero, who stakes everything and challenges fate by determined action. Only in big words, in bursts of anger in which he threatened to drive the Emperor to Spain, to destroy the Elector of Bavaria and other enemies, to make over the kingdoms and principalities of half Europe to new rulers—only in this was he a hero. In reality

he was merely a schemer who wanted to be sure, and could not screw himself up to action, for sheer measures of precaution or watching for a favourable chance—a cautious speculator, who no doubt wanted to destroy the power of the House of Austria in Europe, yet felt it essential to give proof of his loyalty, as soon as he saw that Vienna did not trust him; a politician who had two irons in the fire, perhaps even two souls and two different aims, who continued to plot rebellion against the Emperor, but “wanted to leave this to the last,” or was ready to resort to this in the event of the Court once more “affronting” (*disgustieren*) or “insulting” him in his omnipotence. The man who got a promise of the Bohemian Crown from the enemy and asked Vienna to augment his Duchy of Friedland, so as not to neglect the chance of gain on the other side also, the intriguer who arranged to unite his regiments with the enemy and at the same time (up to the very last moment, be it noted) sent assurances to Vienna that he was doing nothing against the Emperor or religion—only great confidence in his own power and skill, a belief that he could counter any danger and be master of the situation at any time, could prompt him to such a policy. But with all this exaggerated belief in his own powers, the canny schemer failed to notice that he was being systematically deceived in the very quarter on which he concentrated his main efforts, that he annoyed the group which was most disposed and most able to further his plans, and filled it with suspicion, while on the side of the Empire his inexplicable inactivity in the field, marked as it was by fruitless peace negotiations, his attitude of hatred towards the Bavarian Duke and his unreadiness to meet his opponents’ advance, were bound in the end to undermine his great position. In a word he acted with folly in every direction, and by his folly prepared the catastrophe.

The older literature which started from a belief in the exceptional cleverness and tactical acumen of Wallenstein refused altogether to consider the theory that the all too clever conspirator had become the victim of his own precocity. And yet the fact that the hero who since the end of December, 1633, was at last ready to act or at least pretending that this was so, was really a tool in the hands of two Generals who were working in agreement with the Court against him, shows how confidently he discussed his plans with those who had orders to seize or kill him, and how he finally had to recognise that he was no longer master of a vast army, but that on his flight from the Emperor only a handful of about 1,000 soldiers followed him—and they too led by officers who were preparing his downfall.

All this surely shows how essentially foolish his role of conspirator was. The only explanation is that he regarded himself as a master of intrigue and could not believe that he himself was the victim of treachery. Almost overnight, the giant before whom friend and foe trembled, who shared the Emperor's power and commanded a great army that held all central Europe in check, had become a fugitive, abandoned by all, at the mercy of hired murderers among his own soldiers.

What helps very materially to explain the whole tragedy is to realise that Wallenstein was not entirely normal. Even as a boy he made this impression on his schoolfellows at Koschomberg, who called him the "mad" or "schusslig" Wallenstein: and there are frequent hints of this from Gerhard von Questenberg, who of all those at Ferdinand's Court stood in friendliest relations with him. In the summer of 1633 it was realised at Dresden also, and there were rumours of his being insane. He doubtless belonged to those exceptionally gifted men, with whom the borderline between victorious strength of character and a deranged temper can never be clearly established. What role his reliance upon astrological diagnoses and prophecies played, we cannot be sure of, but we do know with tolerable certainty that they had an important and even fatal influence on his behaviour, as is shown by his confidence in Piccolomini, and perhaps Arnim. It is not impossible that his last stargazing prophet, the Italian Seni, had latterly been bought by Gallas.² Moreover his unusually irritable and susceptible character, his outbursts of rage and flow of abuse, the tyrannical severity which prompted him to immediate sentences of death, and the terror which this aroused among his soldiers and servants, all suggest abnormality. On the other side of the account we must enter as equally certain the skill and keen perception which helped him to build up his career, but also the real genius on a grand scale—combined it is true, with moral ruthlessness—which he showed as contractor, financier, Maecenas and organiser of armies and provinces, but also as the planter of lime avenues that still survive, and as a lover of nature. It seems to have been above all his increasingly bad health which in the last six months of his life contributed to break his will and intellect: his signatures, as they have survived from the beginning of 1634, betray a man who is physically broken.

I said that Wallenstein's revolutionary plans had their German and their Bohemian side, and that this component played a promi-

² This was hinted in recent lectures by Dr. Bergl, who is in charge of the Waldstein archives at Dux and the Gallas archives at Friedland.

ment, perhaps the most prominent, part. This fact has received little or no attention in the vast literature upon Wallenstein, in so far as it is the work of German historians. As a rule they only dealt with the situation in the Empire, forgetting that Wallenstein was by birth a Bohemian and a member of the Bohemian nobility, and that his main confidants and helpers in his anti-Imperial designs were Czechs, and also that within the bounds of the Bohemian Crown, the most important state power inside the frontiers of the Holy Roman Empire, a religious and political situation had developed for some centuries past, such as led quite logically and naturally to a rebellion against the Habsburgs. Twice in two decades had one king had to give place to another, and Bohemia, which had been subjected to unexampled oppression by the victor after the battle of the White Mountain, had not given up its hope of redeeming defeat by victory. Besides, so long as the European war lasted, the struggle for Bohemia's future also continued, and "the dice still lay on the table!" The question whether the very man whom the White Mountain had brought to the height of power and riches, would be ready to undo the work of that battle,³ finds its answer in what we know of his designs of rebellion against the Emperor. We need not suppose that he would have made over to its lawful claimants his little state of Jičín, for whose extension and improvement he showed inexhaustible interest, or that he would have overthrown the power of Catholicism in the country; if once the revolt had succeeded and he had the Bohemian Crown in his hand, it would have been possible to reach a satisfactory solution in both directions.

Nor can we detect inside the "Bohemian" part of his programme, which on the Protestant side was closely tied up with the "German," any ideal motive, such as Bohemian patriotism against the House of Austria; but inwardly Wallenstein could not fail to be nearer to it than to the German, but he was linked with the fall of Bohemia by tradition, birth, life, language and many friendships. And Hallwich's latest publication has brought home to us that also in his relation to the emigrants beyond the frontier Wallenstein showed a warm interest, surprising in so hard and ruthless a man. In autumn 1632 when his troops entered Meissen with the object of severely punishing that country, he told General Gallas to spare

³ Kinský who was clearly sometimes in doubt as to the seriousness of Wallenstein's patriotic intentions, appealed on 24 December on behalf of the "Vatterlandt" for the help of the veteran leader of 1618, and a few days earlier had been able to inform Thurn that Wallenstein was now ready to carry out "all we had wished" (alles was wier—i.e. the emigrants—vorhin gewünscht).

the Bohemian exiles, and a year later he declared publicly his readiness to welcome those exiles who wished to settle in his Duchies of Sagan and Glogau. We know that he was an old friend of some of them, Bubna for instance, and that he supplied some of them with money; and the part played in his plans by the most gifted and active of the emigrants, Count William Kinský, indicates the importance of his connection with the whole problem. Family influences also contributed; in almost every phase of his secret negotiations we are reminded of his close connection with the Trčka family, which had grown up in hostility to the Habsburgs, thanks to his wife Maria Magdalena, the daughter and niece of bold rebels against Rudolf II. The combination of Wallenstein, Kinský and Trčka in plans for an anti-Habsburg rising was sealed by a common fate: it reveals the Bohemian character of his plans. The profile of William Kinský, a man who smoothed the paths between Wallenstein and France (like Count Thurn in the case of Sweden) emerges clearly enough from contemporary records: unhappily the same cannot be said of Count Adam Trčka. Only Wallenstein's confidence in him, the fact that he assigned to him so great a part not only in negotiations with the enemy, but also in the army, where Trčka latterly commanded seven regiments, tempt us to assume that he was able and clear-sighted. A handsome medal, struck in his honour, shows us a man of energetic appearance, and lays special stress on his huge physical strength by depicting a giant holding a globe above his head, with the motto "What shoulders can carry!" It looks like an allusion to the mad plan of the conspirators: but history knows nothing either of his energy or of the strength that overcomes all obstacles, and our illusion is deprived of value by the fact that the medal is only about a century old. We can only see in it what importance its unknown author attached to an enterprise that was to move the world and thus demanded almost superhuman strength. Fate, it is true, has inverted the guesses of posthumous allegory. It has proved how much the Emperor's shoulders were able to bear: for the downfall of the conspirators, and all those vast riches and shameful memories were to turn to the advantage of the royal power in Bohemia and to serve, to a remote future, as a grim warning against rebellion.

Wallenstein is a son of that portion of the Bohemian society of those days, which was a symptom of decay and ruin in the body of the nation. The insatiable greed and superstition of George Lobkowitz are united in him with the vindictiveness and passion for intrigue of Wenzel Kinský, two men who played a characteristic part in the last twenty years of Bohemian history under Rudolf II.

This unrestrained struggle for power, riches and greatness, which in our country is to be regarded as a last echo of the Renaissance spirit, reached in him its highest point. Already when he was growing up before the war Wallenstein had drunk in the spirit of this enterprise, and became its most eminent representative, when after the White Mountain he revelled in the treasures of the conquered kingdom. The family tragedies of the Smiřitz and the Wastenbergs throw their shadow on his triumph, as though they sought to place him, in advance, in an order of society whose fate consists in great dramatic conflicts ending in catastrophe, and recall incidents of the Italian Renaissance, as though the world of the Borgias with all its passions had been reborn in this sober northern land.

Like Wenzel Kinský, Wallenstein reminds us strongly of these Italian condottieri, true birds of prey by nature. He also belongs to the Renaissance by his grandiose conceptions and the wide sweep of his constructive work, not only politically, but also as a builder and an organiser. But his passionate nature, with its amazing contrasts of light and shade, his confident gaze towards the warnings of the stars, place him altogether in a baroque setting. His eagerness to explain and justify his actions by heavenly guidance, fatally clouded his clear purpose and contributed more than anything to his final downfall. As son of the Czech people he sought to make himself independent, to shake off the traditional bonds of his fatherland and reach a higher position: to this he was tempted by his unique position as controller of the armies and policy of a European Great Power, and by the age itself, which its growing reverence for the superiority of Romance culture, attached less value to the consciousness of a common language. Already in 1609, when he got Kepler to make his horoscope, he had put the question whether it was true that his Bohemian fellow-countrymen would be his greatest enemies. Here too we see how unnatural were his sympathies and antipathies: Italians and Spaniards betrayed him, the Germans for the most part left him to his fate, whereas the clownish Bohemian (*tölpische böhmische Janku*) knew how to die with him!

The man whom he most trusted, and whom he had assured that he loved as his own soul, Hans Georg von Arnim, had no word of regret for him! Only for a moment was he moved by the dreadful murders at Eger, or disturbed in conscience by the thought that the men slain at Eger were his victims also: the cold reason of the politician soon triumphed over any effect upon his nerves. Arnim is a figure who cannot fail to impress us. By his superiority and sobriety of mind, his endurance and clearness of will, his skill in

intrigue, his caution, he towers above the crowd of intriguers whom fate had placed around him. There is something enigmatic in him, which both attracted and repelled his contemporaries, and moved Gustavus Adolphus to the opinion that he was an impenetrable character. It remains a secret, how he managed to arouse in Wallenstein a positively morbid reliance in his person, and to fill him with hope that he or Elector John George, whose sympathies for the Empire were known to the Duke, would support him in his plans against the Emperor. But Arnim certainly succeeded in this and played successfully to the very last the part of a political Mephisto. As regards Arnim's policy, however, we are not able to decide what measure to apply to it. If we select the idea of freedom of conscience, which the Protestant armies had inscribed on their banners and for which Arnim pleaded in eloquent memoranda, we are driven to the conclusion that Arnim injured the Protestant cause and was above all helpful to the Emperor. But if we select the idea of the state, the desire to be of political assistance to Saxony and Brandenburg, the conservatism of the German patriot of the old style, we are getting near the goal and seeing more clearly. Perhaps many personal antipathies and petty hates played their part, but in a certain sense it was after all a big policy, and from the standpoint of Lutheran North Germany a patriotic German programme, and this at a time when there was so to speak no German policy, when the Empire was a *theatrum*, "on which the foreigners play the tragædia," an arena in which the German people was being brought to ruin in the service of alien interests. Through Arnim's fateful contribution the history of Wallenstein becomes an image of the political conflict of that era between the German (or eventually Saxon) and the Bohemian design for the future, a struggle between the German and Bohemian idea as to the regrouping of Europe. Arnim, the spokesman of Saxony, here upholds the same standpoint as was put forward at the White Mountain in 1620 : after that date Saxony for a second time took the side of the Empire and worked for the collapse of the Bohemian rebellion. Clearly Arnim merits an important place in the history, not only of Wallenstein, but of Bohemia. By the close attention which this book has devoted to Arnim's policy, and also to the relation between Wallenstein and Elector Maximilian of Bavaria (for the first time treated in its entirety), it can claim to be an essential portion of German history in the narrow sense of the term. As regards Elector Maximilian, it defends him : in face of his stubborn, deliberate, well-thought-out and above all honourable policy, Wallenstein's morbid rage is all the more unsympathetic.

Of the Emperor, who trustingly places his entire forces in the hand of an ambitious and offended upstart on whom he has showered favours, and who is then neglected, deceived and injured and plays an almost entirely passive role, we do not need to say much. We would merely emphasise that the desperate struggle which he was conducting since the beginning of 1634 for his throne and for the punishment of treason, and in which he employed the deadliest weapons of deception, serves not merely as an excuse, but as an almost complete justification. Any other path might have ended in catastrophe, and the one which he chose corresponded not only to the spirit of the age, but to the natural course of events. A dagger or a pistol in this perspective seems the proper solution. It is true that the situation had taken such a turn, that the anxious fears of the Court would soon have proved exaggerated, and that it would have been possible to seize and sentence the fugitive Generalissimo and his friends. What turned the scale in favour of a forcible solution, was above all the greedy speculation of those who served as instruments of vengeance: no doubt there was also the feeling that traitors deserved no other fate. We know that there was criticism of the murder even in Court circles, who sought an escape from their doubts by arguing that the execution had the character of a judicial sentence. But we also know that the Emperor did not hesitate to take on himself the whole responsibility: in the official report he allowed it to be put about that he had given orders that Wallenstein should either be seized or killed.

Count Thurn—what a variety of contrasted characters play their part in this history!—is one of the most interesting figures in the Thirty Years' War. The way in which he stood his ground during these three years of Wallenstein's treachery, helps us to understand that the cause of the Bohemian Revolution, in so far as it was led by such men, was from the outset in danger. Physically old, though still young in spirit, indeed all too young, impatient, inconstant, shortsighted and incautious, a man of hasty judgment and hasty confidence, this old man of seventy had to reckon with opponents of the calibre of Arnim. Full of courageous hopes, tireless, energetic, fond of biblical pathos, he lived upon his old memories of the time when as Lieutenant-General of the Bohemian Estates he stood before Vienna with a Bohemian army. Many serious witnesses concur in describing him as a man of honour and unselfish chivalry and enthusiasm, and where the fate of the Bohemian kingdom and the emigrants was at stake, there are touching evidences of his glowing patriotism and desperate appeals.

We have thus reached a point which must weigh with all its

tragic burden upon a Czech historian. If Ranke wrote that Wallenstein's conspiracy would lose its right to posterity's intense interest, if it were merely due to the egoism of its author, it is not necessary to analyse his error in all its details: we know that what Ranke had in mind was the patriotic German aim of bringing peace and liberty to the Empire—above all Arnim's ideal—and that Arnim for that very reason brought Wallenstein's intentions to nothing. The deeper and less doubtful significance of Wallenstein's tragedy escaped the German historian: for it was bound up with the hopes of the Bohemian emigration. It is obvious that the views of the Trčka and Kinský families, in which beside old anti-imperial tradition there flared up a revolutionary patriotism, and again the pressure of Thurn and Bubna, had great influence on the Duke: it is obvious that in his plans the political demands of the emigrants also played their part, and that with their downfall or victory were also bound up the dreams, hopes and wishes of the defeated part of the nation. Thus the conspiracy becomes a piece of the national history, a natural phase in its development, a specially exciting epoch in that history, which arrests the attention more than any other by the greatness of its hopes and the pain of its disappointment. For whatever we may think of the causes of the Bohemian rising, we can only bow our heads in emotion before this band of emigrants who fought and suffered for faith and fatherland, amid the dust of lying party catchwords and programmes. After vain waiting and many years of disillusionment they saw in Wallenstein a man who seemed capable of bringing all their aspirations to complete victory, and who for three years filled their despairing hearts with a belief in the approaching triumph. This long drawn-out death struggle, with its outbursts of despair and resignation, and its fitful gleams of hope, is the most striking feature of this history. Behind the personal drama of Wallenstein there looms up, and assumes vast proportions, the tragedy of a people wounded to the death, whose last cry re-echoes in the castle of Eger in the frantic grief of Countess Kinský. In the lament of a woman who was the most ardent champion of emigrant ideals, and who in that night of horror mourned over the bodies of her brother and husband, in this lament we can hear a note of grief for the lost enthusiasms of the emigrants, grief that the Emperor had yet again been victorious, and that there was no hope of any future man daring to attempt what one of such giant powers as the Duke of Friedland had essayed in vain.

JOSEF PEKAŘ.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE POLISH INSURRECTION OF 1863 (II)

III

After all however, the dispatches of the *Daily News* correspondent were mostly descriptive. He travelled about the country, he was certainly not "personally conducted," and the result in descriptions strikes us as the work of an honest man who desires to mark for himself the course and tendencies of events. But were there none to give a critical estimate of the whole situation? In the days when Sir William Hardman wrote down his comments, the press, as we have seen, were mostly appreciative; but as the months went on, dissentient voices made their appearance, and an article in the *Observer* hinted that there were discords among the Poles themselves, among those whom the writer called "The Targovitskans" and the adherents of the Central National Committee.¹ How was the British public going to react to it all? Fortunately there appeared, at the beginning of September, 1863, an article from a well instructed writer in the *Spectator*, who had just returned from a visit to the seat of war in Poland.² In this article the anonymous writer does not hesitate to speak his mind freely about the guerilla operations, some of which Bullock had tried to work up into a moving drama. He deplores "a want of concert and concentration in the military operations, a division of parties in the Executive Council, and the fatal delusion of a confident belief in French intervention." At the same time he also laid stress on the astonishing success of the Secret Government, which he goes so far as to say was "unparalleled in history for completeness and efficiency." He considers, however, that it made two mistakes. In the first place it tried to forbid all railway travelling, and in the second place it ordered all railway officials to resign their places. But it succeeded in collecting its own taxes and in running its own postal services; on both of which grounds, as the writer thinks, it is deserving of the utmost admiration. "That the Russians," he added "should be unable to collect in a city like Warsaw, where at this moment they have a soldier to every inhabitant, may seem even more wonderful, but they are met everywhere with a dogged refusal. If they distrain, in the first place the Secret Government collects a

¹ See *Observer*, 6 September, 1863

² This is reproduced in full in the *Daily News*, 16 September, 1863. It is not revealed who the author was but it is hinted that if the name were revealed, it would be "a sure guarantee for the most rigid accuracy and the highest class of cultivated judgment."

crowd and may cause a disturbance; in the next place no one will buy the property thus brought into the market. Of course this state of things cannot last for ever; but even Murawiew was almost baffled by this spirit in Lithuania, and was reduced to putting up the cattle seized at nominal prices, such as three shillings for a cow, when the peasants often bought them in for the proprietors." Beside all this "it learns the Russian plans almost as soon as they are conceived and gets the earliest information of military operations on either side." But does this writer give us any opinion about the way in which it is all going to end? "In his concluding sentences," says the *Daily News* leader of 16 September, 1863, "the English traveller glances at the prospects of the insurrection. He believes it to be 'perhaps stronger than ever.' The Russian government, 'almost bankrupt,' was barely able to hold its own with 250,000 men in Poland and the old provinces. The guards have been sent down from St. Petersburg and a levy decreed of conscripts, who cannot be marched to the frontier for months to come. Under these circumstances, the writer considers that Prince Gortschakoff must yield to 'anything like a serious threat.' The Poles, he said, will never lay down their arms at discretion, but they will accept an armistice under European guarantees. The aristocratic set of the National Government would, he believes, accept any fair compromise 'for the sake of securing a solid practical independence to Poland proper.' The Poles desire better terms than these, but would be satisfied, like Italy, with something less than the full satisfaction of their hopes. At all events the first duty of Europe is to 'stop the effusion of blood instantly.' At present the threat of recalling our Ambassador will almost certainly be sufficient. Six months hence the armies and fleets of the Western powers may be insufficient to restore the dead to life, and Europe will be poorer by one people! Such is the pathetic conclusion of this letter."³

When, however, a few days later in September, the dispatches of Lord Russell, together with Prince Gortschakoff's final refusal, became available to the British public, it was seen that their Foreign Minister was unprepared for anything at all in the nature of decisive action.⁴ Everybody agreed that his dispatches were well argued from the point of view of international and constitutional law and history, and indeed the Earl in his earlier days had published a

³ *Daily News* first leading article, 16 September, 1863.

⁴ These dispatches are given as an appendix to the *Annual Register*, 1863, and are usefully collected in W. A. Day, *The Russian Government in Poland*, 1867, page 288, *et seq.*

slight treatise on the English Constitution. "Nothing can be much abler or more lucid," said the *Spectator* of 18 September, 1863, "that Earl Russell's final dispatch. One by one Prince Gortschakoff's 'points' are encountered and overthrown. To justify massacre he had asserted that 'respect for authority was necessary to order and stability'—the first foundation of government, and Earl Russell retorts that 'clemency and consideration are often more effective in establishing respect for authority than material force. The Prince talked of assistance obtained by the insurgents from abroad; and the Earl replies that 'Russia ought to take into account these sympathies and profit by the lesson they teach.' 'The world assassinated me,' screams the ruffian, and the Judge remarks that universal abhorrence is one of the penalties of guilt. The Russian Premier objected that the 'insurgents demanded neither an amnesty nor autonomy, nor representation more or less complete'; and the British Foreign Secretary, grey with party warfare, coolly rejoins that, in cases of this kind, there are more than two parties, that there is always 'a floating mass who would be quite content to see persons and property secure under a just and beneficent administration'." But though there was thus no disposition in September, 1863, to quarrel with the cogency of Lord Russell's syllogisms, there was an underlying feeling, confined to no party or section of the people, that British prestige had sustained a grievous blow; and that Lord Russell by his policy of 'talking but not acting' had countervailed all the maxims about work, which Thomas Carlyle, at the height of his influence and reputation, had succeeded in impressing on the minds of that mid-Victorian generation.

The position of the Foreign Secretary, indeed, was not an enviable one. In the earlier days of his correspondence, as we have already seen, the newspapers were arranging themselves as for or against Poland, according as they were for or against the government. But as the correspondence came nearer to its close, and it was seen that Lord Russell had no plan of campaign which would bring it to an effectual end, it was difficult to find a single organ of the press with a good word to say for him. The dispatches from Poland itself told a more and more distressing tale of cruel and continued suppression. Lelewel lay dead on the field of battle. The correspondent of the *Daily News*, who had been obliged to chronicle the tragic failure of the attack on Radziwillow, had also declined, unlike the correspondent of the *Morning Herald*, to give General Murawiew a certificate of character, on the strength of certain visits at Vilno to special prisons and prisoners carefully selected by the entourage of

the General himself. There was no doubt that, towards the end of the year 1863, public opinion in Great Britain was alternately excited and depressed on the subject of Poland; and it was just at this time that Lord Russell forced the conviction on the whole country, that he could use a pistol but that he had never possessed a bullet. Lord Palmerston's paper, the *Morning Post*, was cynical in its comments on the situation. "In the ordinary transactions of life," so it declared, "it is for the most part idle to protest against the moral practices of your neighbour, unless you are in a position to force your protest, if necessary, by employing means to compel him to reform. And in like manner as between States, it is useless for the weak to raise its voice against the injustice of the strong, even for States naturally powerful to take upon themselves the office of censors, if they ostentatiously avow that they will not turn their strength to account, in order to obtain redress for the wrongs they denounce. Diplomatic intervention, stripped of that weighty sanction which can alone justify its employment, must always be profitless in its result."⁵ These are incisive criticisms, not unimportant or even irrelevant today; but they appeared strange at that time in an organ of the press devoted specially to the interests of the statesman, who was at that time at the head of affairs. It is even stranger when we remember that, according to the British view of Polonophils, like David Urquhart in an earlier, and Edmund Beales at that very time, Palmerston was regarded as rather a secret friend of Russia.⁶ Was there dissension in the Cabinet? Sir William Hardman at any rate thinks so, for in his Diary under the date 18 November, 1863, he writes: "There seem to have been grievous quarrels in the Ministry with Lord Russell's method of conducting our foreign policy." So far as Palmerston is concerned, however, the evidence does not seem conclusive; for in one of the private letters of Lord Russell dated 27 December, 1863, he says. "Pasolini (the Italian Ambassador) has been some time here. You will be anxious to know the general result of his conversations with Palmerston and me. He spoke much of Poland and other disaffected countries in Europe. But Palmerston told him distinctly that we were not going to war for Poland, and that the best thing that Italy could do was to remain quiet."⁷

⁵ *Morning Post*, 25 September, 1863.

⁶ See *Poland, France and England*. Extracts from State papers by Edmund Beales, M.A. Published under the superintendence of the National League for the Independence of Poland.

⁷ See later *Correspondence of Lord John Russell*, edited by G. P. Gooch, Vol. II, page 287.

Why was it that Lord Russell allowed himself to be betrayed into a correspondence so undignified and humiliating? He cannot have been without the desire to do something practical for Poland. His household had lived in an atmosphere of sympathy for that country from a very early date⁸ Count Zamoyski had been regarded as one of his intimate friends. Can it be that the *Confidential Correspondence* will show us some information possessed by Lord Russell then, but withheld from the House of Commons, which will throw some light on the enigma?

That there were such dispatches is plain from a most cursory glance at the *Confidential Correspondence*. On 10 February (page 21) Sir Andrew Buchanan, the British Ambassador at Berlin, reports that "Bismarck says Prussia will never permit the establishment of an independent kingdom of Poland." On 14 February, Bismarck evidently repeated this opinion in much stronger terms (page 46), adding that, "If Russia found any difficulty in suppressing the insurrection, the Prussian government intended to offer them military assistance." And if the Russians tired of the war and were disposed to withdraw from the kingdom of Poland "the Prussian government would carry on the war on their own account." The King of Prussia, afterwards William I, Emperor of Germany, was even more insistent on the subject. He said (page 78) "It was the duty of Prussia to do everything in her power to prevent the establishment of an independent Polish kingdom"; and the interesting reason he gave in his support of the statement was this, that if an Austrian Archduke were put on the throne of such an independent kingdom, the first effort of the new State would be to recover Danzig. Lastly, Earl Cowley, the British Ambassador at Paris, in a confidential report dated 16 March, 1863, declares that he had carried on a conversation with the Prussian Ambassador, Count Goltz, which was "not altogether without importance as showing that the Prussian Government, has, if possible, greater repugnance to the restoration of Poland than the Cabinet of St. Petersburg itself." "Adverting," the Ambassador concluded, "to the well known desire of the Emperor of Russia to accomplish this event, Count Goltz said it was a question of life and death to Prussia. Anyone who knew the restless nature of the Poles, must be satisfied, should the Russian provinces of Poland establish their independence, that they would not be content until they had incorporated with them all the neighbouring provinces and opened themselves a way to the sea by getting possession of Danzig.

⁸ In June, 1884, his wife composed a poem "Poland's Hope" to the tune Czartoryski, *Polish Review*, Vol II, page 156

But this was not all. There had always existed a great sympathy between France and Poland; and in what position would Prussia find herself between two powers always ready to understand each other in a policy of aggression? Prussia must for her safety add at least another 100,000 men to her army.⁹

All these are ominous words, and if they had been the subject of dispatches by British Ambassadors to their Foreign Secretary, at any time between 1871 and 1914, they would have been regarded as a quite conclusive reason why Lord Russell should hold his hand. If Prussia was determined that Poland should not be free, and if the King of Prussia was prepared to step in even if the Czar of Russia relented, then how could Britain, with her hands full of the activities of commercial organisation, pledge herself to war? Besides, it now appears that there was another influence potent at the centre of affairs, and there is reason to believe that this influence was actively exerted against any policy which would bring Britain athwart the path of Prussia. In the volumes of private correspondence of the British Minister to which allusion has already been made, there is included a letter from the Private Secretary of Queen Victoria, dated 22 February, 1863, in which the declaration is made, that "H.M. dreads any interference by Her Government in the affairs of Poland, and hints at an extension of the insurrection to Prussia and France as one of the consequences which should be avoided at all costs."¹⁰ What exactly did Queen Victoria mean? The best commentary on her words, as showing how a statesman of 1863 would interpret them is contained in a leading article of the *Standard* dated 30 May, 1863, which is characteristic of the mentality of the time. "The truth is," says this leading article, "although France and England might declare war against Russia on behalf of Poland, Poland would soon cease to be the object of the war. The Poles would find themselves abandoned by France, as they have been before. The French will not send an army on a fool's errand to Riga, when they can employ it so much more agreeably and profitably on the Rhine. The first step in the war for Poland will be an invasion of the Rhenish provinces of Prussia or of the Palatinate, and in all probability it would be the last step. France would take these countries as a material guarantee for the good behaviour of Germany, and content herself with holding them. Let Prussia offer to cede them, and the wrongs of Poland will soon be forgotten. The extension of the French frontier to the Rhine is the one result of such a war, upon which we

⁹ *Confidential Correspondence*, pp. 21, 78, 296.

¹⁰ *Private Correspondence of Lord John Russell*, Vol. II, p. 303.

may speculate with some safety. Is it a result for which England should labour? Our interest is the peace of the world, and France on the Rhine would be a perpetual provocation to Germany and a cause of endless war. The truth is, we cannot help the Poles by going to war with Russia and should inflict incalculable injury upon ourselves." It was not then Prussia the aggressor, but Prussia the possible victim, about whom the British Queen was solicitous at that particular time. Today other thoughts may pass through our mind as we read those ominous announcements in the *Confidential Correspondence*; but in 1863 Bismarck's plans would be regarded as ambitious dreams which might only involve him in ruin, because it was the Emperor Napoleon III rather than the Minister of the King of Prussia that filled the minds, and fired the imagination of the men of that time.

Was Lord Russell justified, as he read the communications from his Ambassadors to be found in the *Confidential Correspondence*, in entertaining doubts and suspicions of France? Towards the close of his correspondence with Prince Gortschakoff the question became very practical, because somewhere in September, 1863, there was published in the French *Moniteur* a document addressed by the National Government of Warsaw to Prince Czartoryski, which seemed to call definitely for some European and more specially for some French intervention. This document did not create a good impression among all the friends of Poland; and the *Morning Advertiser*, always a strong advocate of the Polish cause, went so far as to declare that "the Poles, advised by the worst of counsellors; despair, are being led by degrees to espouse views, which are neither consonant with the idea of democratic freedom nor with the interests of European security." Mazzini, too, was furious at this special development because he had always been of the opinion, and had so expressed it when his advice was asked before the insurrection started, that the way of success was not to trust in Princes, but to extend the revolt to the Hungarian and Danubian provinces and even to his own Italy. But what did Lord Russell know about it? In reading the *Confidential Correspondence* we are forced to the conclusion that the British Ambassador at Paris rather tended to fortify than to remove any preliminary doubts of Napoleon's aims and ambitions that may have lain lurking in Lord Russell's mind. Lord Cowley admits that the independence of Poland was probably an object of Napoleon's policy, but with vague ideas of how to attain it he combined "floating visions of the frontier of the Rhine." Napoleon's Foreign Minister, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, further explained

that, "Whatever the material sympathy the Emperor might feel for the Polish cause, H.M. was determined to give no encouragement to the insurgents and to take no step which could be construed into an act of an unfriendly nature towards Russia."¹¹ On the other hand, Prince Gortschakoff is represented as saying that if France alone were to ask for concessions for Poland, he was ready to grant them; and Bismarck, who suspected this, told Sir Andrew Buchanan that public opinion in Britain would change, if people thought that what France wanted was a subservient ally in Poland. As to this growing change in public opinion Bismarck was right, although not as to the particular idea which he alleged might be its cause.

Indeed, there is no doubt that, at the close of 1863, the ruling oligarchy in Great Britain had set their minds against any direct action on behalf of Poland. The commercial classes, at any rate, who were at that time rising to the full heights of their influence, were dead against such intervention from the very first; because they believed that the best policy for Great Britain was that she should devote herself to her commercial gains and keep aloof even from a war for liberty in Europe. "It is not right as a general rule," says the *Economist*, which voices their views, "to interfere between subjects and their rulers, even on behalf of liberty. It would indeed often be pleasant to do so, and those who view government as a useful contrivance for carrying out at once any of their wishes, are always ready to recommend its interference. But the most cogent arguments forbid such perpetual and eager meddling. In the first place, every struggle for liberty in every State would, if such intervention were admitted, bring on, or tend to bring on, a general war amongst civilised nations. Secondly, and this is even more material, if the constant intervention of free powers for liberty and of absolute kings for despotism were permitted, the struggle for liberty in every State would not depend on the wishes of the population, the substantial strength of the party of freedom, the fitness and preparation of the bulk of the people for liberty, but on the general strength of liberty in the world as compared with that of despotism."¹²

Here we have the political dogma of non-intervention, which for so many years exercised an influence of the fortunes of commercial

¹¹ See *Confidential Correspondence*, p. 97, and also p. 54. It is strange that friends of Poland like Mr Edmund Beales had a convinced belief in the *bona fides* of Napoleon. A large amount of material on this subject can be gleaned from the *Second Empire and its Downfall*, by Ernest D'Hauterive.

¹² *Economist*, 25 July, 1863.

Britain, beginning to shape itself in its most unsympathetic and most uncompromising form.

IV

But there was one section of the people who, as was conspicuously demonstrated in 1863, were not afraid to see Great Britain take risks in the struggle for liberty—the forces of the British trade unions.¹³ The working classes were hardly represented in the legislature, and unless there was some great strike or demonstration of violence their doings were unreported in the *Annual Register*. Great Britain was still somewhat of a commercial oligarchy, but there were ominous signs that the workers were determined that this state of things should not last forever. The London Trades Council especially was beginning to take a distinct interest in national politics as well as in the social and industrial life of the time, and its well known paper the *Bee Hive* was enthusiastic in support of Poland. "The working men of London," it declared, "are again about to assemble and lift their voice in favour of their Polish brethren."¹⁴ In the earlier part of the year, 28 April, a meeting of Trade Unionists was held in St. James's Hall. Here a resolution was carried denouncing the conduct of Russia, expressing sympathy with the Poles and their insurrection, and calling on the Government to interfere by force, if necessary, to secure the independence of Poland. At that meeting there was present a well known French worker, Tolain, a chaser in bronze; and he and some of the leading British trade unionists adjourned afterwards to a tavern in Long Acre where they talked of the "grand fraternity of peoples," but insisted nevertheless, in the presence of their French visitors, that their most immediate task must be to render aid to Poland. It is generally considered that this was the beginning of the famous "International Society of Working Men," and there is still extant an undated printed sheet, which may well have been composed on this occasion, and which was in effect a protest against the suppression of this very insurrection of 1863.¹⁵ Nay more, it is asserted by one who appears to have had some personal connection with these early proceedings of the new Society, that the suggestion to support the Polish cause was made one of the earliest articles of the new Society on the proposal of no less a personage than Karl Marx him-

¹³ For an estimate of these at this time see Comte de Paris, *Les Associations ouvrières en Angleterre*, 1869, and a modern book *Labour and Politics in England*, 1860-1863, by F. E. Gillespie.

¹⁴ *Bee Hive*, 11 July, 1863

¹⁵ See *The Workers' International*, by R. W. Postgate, p. 19.

self.¹⁶ So it was that, when the deputation of workmen appointed by the St. James's Hall meeting met Lord Palmerston, W. R. Cremer, described as a joiner, and who afterwards as Sir Randall Cremer, was a notable worker in the cause of peace, grew quite enthusiastic in his advocacy of war—provided, that is to say, that it was waged in the cause of Poland. "We are men of action, my Lord," he said, right in the face of the Prime Minister, "and have come to the conclusion that the only way to aid the Poles is to call on Russia to desist from her present conduct, and, if she will not attend to that call, to thrash her into compliance."¹⁷

Lord Palmerston laughed at this suggestion of something practical or heroic—so alleges the contemporary report, and nothing was done. When the new year of 1864 broke in upon the combatants, such a good representative of British public opinion as *Punch* was still smarting under the feeling that a great opportunity had been missed. "Why did we break off diplomatic relations with poor Bomba?" asks this serious jester. "Not half the good old European games were performed in his name that are now performed under the authority of Alexander. Why did we cut Bomba, and don't cut Alexander? Because Bomba was weak and we are afraid that Alexander is strong."¹⁸ To a large extent *Punch* was right, but Russia was not the only country which in 1864 was looming large on the horizon. We have seen that Lord Russell possibly did not attach so much importance as would have been done subsequently to the words of Bismarck to his Ambassadors in 1863. But on 4 February, 1864, the Sleswig-Holstein question and the designs of Prussia there-against had appeared quite to overshadow the claims of Poland. According to Sir William Hardman this new subject of interest for the press had a baleful result on the Royal family of Britain. "The Prince of Wales" he writes, "warmly espouses the Danish cause, openly curses the Germans in no measured terms, and I suspect would gladly give material support to his father-in-law. The Queen takes the German view, acting upon a memorandum left by the Prince Consort, and is at issue with her Ministers and the feelings of the nation. . . . There seems to be little doubt that Russia, Austria and Prussia have again revived the Holy Alliance, and are determined to extinguish constitutional government in Europe if that be possible." At this same time, March, 1864, Sir William thought that, as he put it, "The Polish cause was looking

¹⁶ See Onslow York, *Secret History of International*, p. 54.

¹⁷ See the *Times*, 19 May, 1863.

¹⁸ See *Punch*, 9 January, 1864.

up." Of course he was wrong, because it soon became plain that the three Partitioning Powers were once again united in policy and designs, and that they would now all pull together in accomplishing the task of stamping out the insurrection in Poland.

At this stage, W. H. Bullock, the *Daily News* correspondent, who had been expelled from Cracow by the Austrian Government, was sent out to Breslau in order to ascertain the real situation so far as Prussia was concerned. The result was discouraging for the friends of Poland, for he soon sent home dispatches, etc., with the conviction of Prussia's deadly thoroughness in the art of denationalising the peoples under her sway. "As for discussing the Polish question with a German," he said, "it is not to be thought of. Unless you are prepared to admit with your adversary that, for the general good of mankind, there cannot be too many Germans or too few Poles, you will not even get over the preliminaries of the discussion."¹⁹ The correspondent admits indeed that he could not find in Prussian Poland that precise brand of hopeless and quarrelsome Pole whom Carlyle was scarifying at that time in *Frederick the Great*. But still he doubted whether, if Warsaw had been left in the hands of the Prussians, it would not by that time have been practically a German city. Views like these were eagerly canvassed at this time, and the conviction gradually grew that as Prussia was certainly becoming a world power, and was withal desperately opposed to the resuscitation of Poland, there could now be no hope for the future of a reunited Poland. There were no doubt some friends of Poland, who tried to find reasons against this melancholy conclusion, although these reasons were such as would hardly have occurred to those of us who study the question today. "The attitude of the two German powers," says Lord Palmerston's organ, the *Morning Post*, "in the Sleswig-Holstein question should, one would think, open the eyes of Germany to its clear interests. Prussia and Austria are allied only to put down the German people; and the only safety of that people lies in the resurrection of Poland—the only effectual obstacle against a Holy Alliance opposed to the liberty of nations. If Poland falls, the fall must react upon Germany, whose greatest danger lies not in foreign aggression but in the power of enemies at home."²⁰ The pity was that this opinion failed to move either Britain or Germany. Thomas Carlyle had made Frederick of Prussia and his battles a preoccupation of the leading spirits of this and the succeeding decade, and in 1874 the Prussian historian Sybel wrote

¹⁹ See *Daily News*, 30 March, 1864.

²⁰ See *Morning Post*, 7 March, 1864.

for Lord Morley an article in the *Fortnightly Review* in which, on the strength of researches in the archives of Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Berlin, he claimed to reinforce Carlyle's opinion of the respectability of Frederick, and of his innocence of wicked designs in the pursuit of the Polish Partitions.

But Russia—even Russia—began to appear more respectable, or was it not rather more formidable, as the months of 1864 ran their course. The first stage of this development was when Grant Duff, who afterwards became Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, the great authority on foreign politics among the Liberals at that time, besought his fellow Liberals “to look upon the Empire of the Czars as it really is.”²¹

Grant Duff has already been mentioned in the course of this narrative, because it was he who went to Vilno and wrote afterwards a letter to the *Times*, in which he tried to claim a certain mystic significance for the alleged frightfulness of General Muraviev.²² Only at this time, in 1864, he was still somewhat doubtful about the capacity of Russia to pacify and assimilate Poland. Poland, he thought, would be the Ireland of Russia; and he went even the length of predicting that “1888 may find Russia face to face with an insurrection more formidable than that of 1863, as it was, teste Muraviev, more formidable than that of 1831.” In 1866, however, in a postscript added just before his book went to press, he was much more hopeful, and advanced the opinion that the Emperor of Russia, by his emancipation of the serfs, had opened up the possibility that he would eventually succeed in the reorganisation of an autonomous Poland under the Empire of Russia. The Conservative and Liberal leaders of the time were clearly disposed to join in this attempt “to look upon the Empire of the Czars as it really is.” Lord Salisbury, in the *Quarterly Review* of March, 1863, had already written an article on Poland in which he whitewashed Catherine as Sybel had whitewashed Frederick. This article was published in the full flush of enthusiasm for Poland in 1863, and did not produce many disciples at the time; but undoubtedly it was the cause in 1864 and afterwards of an increasing Conservative hopelessness as regards the future of Poland.²³ On 15 March, 1874, Mr. Gladstone,

²¹ See Grant Duff, *Studies on European Politics*, 1866. The main part of his article on Russia in this volume was probably, however, written in 1864.

²² In 1864 a White Paper was published, *Papers Relative to the Arrest of the Rev. F. Anderson*, which ended with a smart letter from the Foreign Secretary designed on the whole to give a more favourable impression of Russian frightfulness.

²³ Lord Salisbury's article was afterwards republished in *Essays by Robert, Marquis of Salisbury*, 1861-64, pp. 3-60.

the future "Grand Old Man" of Liberalism, wrote as follows in his diary: "Emperor of Russia's Reception at 3.15. He thanked me for my conduct to Russia while I was Minister. I assured His Majesty I had watched with profound interest the transactions of his reign, and the great benefits he had conferred upon his people. He hoped the relations of the two countries would always be good."²⁴ The state of mind induced among the politicians by testimonies such as these may be summed up in the words of Sir Charles Dilke, another great authority on European politics in the later Victorian age. Dilke wrote the following in 1887, only a year before the time at which, according to the view of Grant Duff in 1864, a new revolution "more formidable than that of 1863, might be expected to break out": "There are some fossil politicians in England who still think that Russia is weakened by the existence of a Poland. Poland died in 1863 and died forever. The men who, either in their own persons or in the persons of their ancestors, have illustrated literature by their genius and countless battlefields by their splendid courage, may refuse to recognise the extinction of their country; but the Poles, considered as an anti-Russian force, were an aristocracy in the best as well in the common sense of the word. The Polish peasantry, though often led by them against Russia, were never anti-Russian to an unpurchasable degree; and a large part of the Polish peasantry have become attached through agrarian legislation to the Russian Empire as the German peasantry of Alsace were to France by the agrarian legislation of the revolution. At the time of the Crimean War, Poland did not rise; but looking to what afterwards happened in 1863, it is impossible to say that it might not have been roused. Poland could now no longer be roused against the Russians; and in spite of the fairly successful attempts which have been made by Austria to conciliate the Galician Poles, there are Slavonic subjects of Austria who could far more easily be raised against the dual monarchy than any Polish or other Slavonic subjects of Russia could be raised against the Czar."²⁵

"Poland died in 1863 and died for ever." So wrote Sir Charles Dilke in 1887 and his views were characteristic of those contemporary Radicals who, at an earlier date, would have been the firm friends of Poland. All eyes that were directed to the Near East in these later Victorian days were directed to Russia. It was Russia

²⁴ Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, Vol. II, p. 499.

²⁵ See Dilke, *The Present Position in European Politics*, 1887, p. 123. In the *Studies of Russia* of Augustus I C Hare, 1885, Poland is frankly regarded as a part of Russia and Hare reports the Poles as "wonderfully lively and cheerful compared with the Russians."

that was creeping on towards Afghanistan and was thereby menacing India. It was Russia that was the principal power to be checkmated when Sir Charles Dilke was working out his alliances and counter-alliances in those articles on foreign politics which he contributed to the *Fortnightly Review*. Madame Novikov was a great influence in England as an unofficial ambassadress of the Tsar and Mr. W. T. Stead almost apotheosised the Russian autocrat as the only and unfailing hope of the world's peace. What was Poland in the days of the Triple Entente? How completely Poland had faded out of the recollection of British politicians in the earlier days of the Great War! The fact needs but little wonder or comment. Had not Sir Charles Dilke expressed everybody's conclusion when he deemed a revivication of its prostrate body as well nigh impossible?

So wrote Sir Charles Dilke in 1887, and his views were characteristic of those who at an earlier date would have been the firm friends of Poland. It is no part of this paper to show from subsequent history that they were wrong, but it is interesting to read today in the Memoirs of Marshal Piłsudski how profoundly—even though it were in a negative sense, the aftermath of the insurrection of 1863 has confounded these British pessimists and contributed rather to the eventual revival of an independent Poland. In a lecture on this subject, delivered in January, 1924, Piłsudski said of that insurrection these words, "Its effects reached so far that it can be said with assurance that even today in Poland every child born is burdened with the year 1863,"²⁶ But though in this opinion he seems to look rather aloof on the earlier movement, it is plain from his subsequent pages that the hope and inspiration of his own life and work was that very proletarian movement which, unnoticed in the contemporary *Annual Register*, was yet the main and unwavering advocate of the Polish cause in the Britain of that time. The International which was born in England, amid enthusiasm generated by the hope of Poland's resurrection, afterwards subordinated national to industrial and social questions, and the movement of the *Proleteriat* in Poland was limited in the same fashion. Piłsudski shows how this proletarian movement was subsequently led to throw its energies into the national cause, and it is because the connection of it all with London was so deeply significant that the attitude of Britain to the Polish insurrection of 1863 has become an important subject of historical inquiry.

J. H. HARLEY.

²⁶ Joseph Piłsudski, *Memoirs of a Polish Revolutionary and Soldier*, pp. 8-16.

REYMONT

REYMONT is the only literary name of his generation in Poland which became known abroad and acquired a certain popularity. His principal works have been translated into many languages and sympathetically reviewed. In 1924 he received the Nobel prize for literature. Curiously enough, in Poland, he is less appreciated, although he is, of course, read and liked, and was honoured officially. There are not many Poles who would consider him as the greatest of modern Polish writers. And, certainly, there is in him neither the richness of Żeromski nor the imposing unity of Wyspiański, the continued spiritual growth of Kasprówicz nor the artistic perfection of Leopold Staff¹. Perhaps, in a sense, he is more typically Polish than any of these.

The first thing to observe about him is certainly his plainness and easiness. "Reymont's work"—writes the distinguished critic A. G. Siedlecki—"classically clear, translucent in every description, in every chapter, on each page, and in each sentence, speaks for itself . . . There is in it nothing which should require an exegesis. All is said, without anything being left; the very depth of the author's intention is everywhere reached. There are no two ways of understanding any of the ideas expressed. From the flow of scenes and the march of contents the sense of the work emerges imperiously." There is, indeed, nothing nervous, nothing fragmentary and nothing complicated in his books. And these words may define all his merits, as well as all his shortcomings.

His was the talent of a realist and of an impressionist. As another contemporary critic, Zygmunt Wasilewski, points out, "he played from sight in his art; when he took up his pen he had no other desire than to describe things as they appear." And he was at his best when he followed freely this genuine inclination of his talent. His nature was elemental, and it enabled him to express what was general and typical for certain forms of life. "With his naked eye"—says Wasilewski again—"he was not able to make discoveries about more complicated kinds of culture, but he seized, as nobody else from their biological side, every type and every social sphere where primitive instincts are at play." He was greatly favoured by the spirit which prevailed at the time of his initiation into literature. It was in the hey-day of naturalism. And naturalism proved beneficent to Reymont by the acknowledgment which it gave his

¹ See the present writer's "Żeromski", *Slavonic Review*, vol. XIV, p. 403; "Wyspiański," *ibid.*, vol. XI, p. 617; "Kasprówicz", *ibid.*, vol. X., p. 28; "Leopold Staff," *ibid.*, vol. XI, p. 145.

kind of talent. It was an exceedingly happy convergence of a gift with the ruling artistic currents.

And the literary activity of Reymont was well prepared by his experience in life. It was an adventurous life and as varied as one could desire for a future novelist.

Ladislas Stanislaus Reymont was born in 1867 as a son of a village organist. The family was numerous (there were nine children) and the house was poor. A stern rule was maintained by the father. Reymont preserved reminiscences of his lessons in music at which every false note was punished by a stroke from a stick. The impressionable boy used to escape from home to the enormous forests near by, where his uncle worked as a surveyor. He grew familiar with nature and acquired an exact knowledge of the life of woods and fields. He was also early attracted by reading. One of the strongest memories of his childhood was Słowacki's tragedy *Lilla Veneda*, a copy of which was brought home by his brother and which he read secretly in the night by the light of the moon. This episode developed in Reymont a passion for books. It was his first school in literature. But his normal education fared less well. He prepared for the examination to a secondary school in the town of Łódź, and at this examination he failed. A series of new attempts followed, without any better success. He was apprenticed as a tailor, and after four years' work was registered at the Guild, but then he saw that he "could not stand" the trade and returned to his parents. He was regarded as a disgrace to his family and bewailed as a broken character. He was already eighteen. He wrote a great number of poems, but felt himself that they were of no worth. He "ran after everything and then loathed it," as he confessed himself. He joined a theatrical touring company. He attached himself to his new profession more than to the previous one, but he was manifestly lacking in talent as an actor. Nevertheless, he led the life of a strolling comedian for more than a year, and with his company visited many parts of the country. But he realised that his future on the stage was hopeless. He did not like compromises and middle positions. So we see him soon as a novice in the monastery of Częstochowa. He spent some months there, and once more returned home. By the help of his father's friends, he obtained a minor position on the railways. He had a bad reputation, of course; so the job he was given was of the lowest kind, and at the lowest salary. He supervised workmen on a railway extension. He lived for two years in a

peasant's hut. He felt himself to be at the very depth of misfortune. He did not know that during this time he was unconsciously collecting material for the work which was to give him celebrity as well as a great artistic joy. He was writing all the time; he did it for himself, without any further ambition. Different influences were moving in his mind. He read omnivorously. We know from his record that Sienkiewicz's historical trilogy meant for him seven days and seven nights exclusively given to reading. And he must have read others of Sienkiewicz's novels, as well as those of his outstanding contemporaries, Prus, Elisa Orzeszko and Dygasiński. He was acquainted in translations with Zola and many English novelists. He read everything. One day a report was asked of him about a local railway accident. He wrote it, but in such a literary style that the paper was sent back to him with the remark "You were asked for a report, not a short story." One day he collected some of his manuscripts and sent them to Warsaw to the well-known critic Matuszewski, who was at that time chief editor of the most influential Polish weekly of the period, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*. The answer of Matuszewski was favourable. He took one story for the *Tygodnik* and singled out some others as worthy of publication. Reymont's first work was printed. He began to contribute letters from the country to one of the Warsaw papers. But this finally brought his railway employment to an end. He had to leave and, with 3 roubles and 50 kopeks, or about 7s., in his pocket, he went to Warsaw to begin a new life as a writer. After all he was only twenty-five. This was in 1893.

His first days in the new career were difficult. But this time he was persevering. He visited one day the well-known writer, Świętochowski who divined in him talent as a realist, and gave him excellent advice: to go with a band of pilgrims to Częstochowa. The monastery of Częstochowa has been a goal for pilgrimage for some centuries, but up to that time nobody had described the crowd on its way. And this neglect was striking in the age of naturalism when human documents began to be so eagerly collected. Reymont was attracted by the idea and executed it. The result was to be his first printed book (*A Pilgrimage to the Bright Mountain*, 1895), a splendid piece of *reportage*.

A year afterwards he published a novel dealing chiefly with theatre life, *The Comédienne* (1896). It was followed by *Fermentation* (1897), a novel in which he made profit of his railway experience. A series of short stories, mostly from village life, followed these books of a larger scope.

Somewhere about that time Reymont came to England. He was driven here by the desire to gain a deeper knowledge of occult movements. He met the celebrated Mrs. Blawatsky, but she chilled in him his theosophic ardour.

In 1899 *The Promised Land* appeared, a two-volume novel dealing with the great Polish industrial centre of Łódź. For this work Reymont had spent a certain time in the place itself. He even took a job as a factory worker in order to study his *milieu* carefully and accurately. The book denounced factory proprietors, their capitalist greediness and their abuse of the working people. The novel was first published as a newspaper serial. When Reymont was preparing the book edition, some of the factory managers made efforts to frustrate him. They exerted pressure on the censorship, and the novel was cut by about 4,000 lines.

Reymont's existence was at that period already more assured, though on a rather small scale. Literature did not bring in great incomes in those days in Poland, and Reymont, interested in the life around him though he was, was not capable of purely journalistic work.

His fortunes or misfortunes proved to be bound up with railways. He was a victim of a railway accident. He had dangerous concussion and received an indemnity from the administration of the railway. Modest though it was, this sum was of great assistance to him. His health was shaken, but he was free to go for a longer time abroad and give himself entirely to his literary work.

For a year and a half, it is true, he was unable to do anything. His state was grave; but after that time he recovered and instantly began to think about a saga of peasant life. He had written its first version in Rome (1900), but was not satisfied with it, and destroyed it. He went then to France, and began there the second version which gave to the book its final shape, enlarging four times its first dimensions. It took Reymont as much as seven years finally to execute his plan (1902-1909).

The Peasants—such was the simple title of his work—was Reymont's great success. And his recognition coincided with the culmination of his art. In later years he still wrote very much and in very different manners, but none of those works equalled the earlier ones. He wrote a book of impressions *From the District of Chełm* (1910), from the unhappy land whose population suffered at that time religious persecution from the Russian government. He wrote a series of short stories on Japanese *motifs* (it was just after the Russo-Japanese war); a set of tales about revolutionaries

and revolutionary movements (this was after 1905); then a series of fantastic stories reminiscent of Edgar Allan Poe and Rudyard Kipling. An occult novel, *A Vampire* (1911), followed, the scene of which is partly placed in London; then, another novel about railway station life, *The Dreamer* (1910), and a series of travel impressions. Some years later Reymont conceived the idea of a large historical novel, partly after the manner of Sienkiewicz and partly in the manner of Żeromski's *Ashes*. Its subject was to be 1794, the year of the last infamous Diet of the old Poland and of the first glorious Polish rising against the invaders. This novel in three parts, of which the first was published in 1913 and the two others during the war (1916-1918), had a typical *succès d'estime*, but not of spontaneous recognition. Reymont wrote also a volume of mediocre short stories about the war (*Behind the Lines*, 1919).

After the peace treaties, he undertook a journey to America and depicted in a novel (1923) some of the peculiarities of the Polish emigrants in the United States. He took the risk of writing, finally, a long symbolical story, *The Revolt* (1924), a sort of contemporary *Roman du Renart*, in which he attempted to picture the tangle of present social ideas.

He died in December 1925.

Reymont's gift was that of an exceedingly keen observer. His friend, A. G. Siedlecki, quotes a very characteristic anecdote. One day Reymont met another writer on a Warsaw square. They stopped and talked for some time. And suddenly Reymont said: "Shut your eyes, please, and tell me what you have just noticed in the square." The other submitted to the examination, but proved not to have much to say. He resolved to take his revenge, and a short time afterwards retorted with the same demand. Reymont then turned his back to the street, closed his eyes, and began to enumerate an incredibly long list of details: the gestures of people, the colours of their clothes, the shapes of articles they carried, the peculiarities of carriages, of horses, and so on. The instinctive genius of observation is the fundamental element and the principle charm of Reymont's art.

Another important element was defined by himself in his interview with Frédéric Lefèvre (included by the French critic in his series *Une heure avec . . .*) "Le thème proprement romanesque d'un roman m'a toujours assez peu importé: j'aspire surtout à animer les masses." This was already distinctly marked in his first book: in the narration of the pilgrimage to Częstochowa.

He had begun this pilgrimage as a stranger to the crowd; gradually he became more and more united with the multitude, to feel at the end as if completely melted in it, and to find in this state a greater energy and a higher happiness. Lefèvre was perfectly right in observing that Reymont had thoroughly achieved "*unanimesme*" in practice, before Jules Romains began to devise its theory.

It was from his own observations, chiefly concerning the masses and the surroundings which he had best known, that he had to draw his inspiration. The theatre, railways, factories, peasant farms: these were to be his great subjects.

The Comedienne has still many characteristics of a juvenile work. It is a story of a young girl who runs away from a cruel father and joins a theatrical company. She gradually loses all her illusions in life to the point of attempting suicide. The picture of the theatre world is the only merit of the book.

Fermentation is already a work artistically mature. It is a continuation of the former novel. Its heroine is saved from the action of poison, but not spared anxiety of soul. She tries to revolt against the impositions of life and to be her own mistress, but all in vain; she ends by marrying a "hearty" young land-owner. But the principal thing in the novel is the picture of the heroine's surroundings. Individuals are many and clearly delineated, but it is chiefly the whole which the writer seems to have constantly before his eye. We feel indeed vividly the atmosphere of a small provincial railway station. It is pure naturalism of a good kind. One of the personages in *The Comedienne* says: "Art . . . it is the wild liveliness of an impression upon the brain and upon the feelings, an impression which absorbs all and pours itself out upon everything, and tends, above all, to lose its own self." And such is the art of Reymont's novel. It is fresh, natural, energetic, and yet clear. "Nothing guarantees a harmony"—says Kołaczkowski in his enthusiastic study of that novel—"and nevertheless a harmony is there. No profound prospects of thought open, no individual hero steps into the front place. For the real heroes are here phenomena of life."

The Promised Land was more carefully constructed, the result of a deeper meditation. But this was not so much within Reymont's talent; that is the reason why on the whole it is a less convincing work than *Fermentation*. The main plot, of an ambitious upstart who, after a series of caddish actions, reaches his aim—becomes a rich man, and then realises that this attainment is

worthless to him, is rather cheap and theatrical. But the chief value of the novel lies in descriptions of the factories, the town, and their life.²

Reymont's qualities appeared at their fullest in his most celebrated work, the four volume saga of *The Peasants*.

As in other works, he is above all imposing as an observer. He criticised rather sharply the once famous experimental documentation of Zola. As he himself confessed, Zola's *La Terre* created the germ of his idea of writing *The Peasants*. He had visited the country of *La Terre*, and having re-read the work was so deeply irritated by it that he decided to write something on the same subject but true as *La Terre* was for him false. He said he had thought of making it a novel on French peasants. Afterwards the idea evolved, and it is a large picture of the everyday life of Polish villagers that he gave us. It differs indeed very much from Zola. M. Frank-L. Schoell in his interesting pamphlet *Les Paysans de Ladislas Reymont* confronts two characteristic passages from the two authors. They both concern the same subject: describing the monotonous recurrence of village events. But Reymont's picture is incomparably more detailed. If it is an amplification, M. Schoell rightly notices that it is an "amplification in depth." And his further remarks are equally exact: "Reymont takes his subject from a much nearer distance than his French predecessor; his vision is more penetrating, his analysis more complete. Observe with what an accomplished art he strives to drown what is personal in what is impersonal! It seems that the very accumulation of *facts divers* which fills up his chronicle is for him a sort of means to bind them more strongly with the collective life of the Village, this unique and almighty personality, a greedy devourer of individuals, absorbing and swallowing everything."

He elaborated a special technique for creating a general impression by a rich accumulation of details. It can be studied, for instance, in the following description of the broodings of the poor dying Kuba over the noises which come to him from the neighbouring house where a wedding is being celebrated, and from the road³:

From the house there came a torrent of angry words, a sound of running, and the dragging of furniture from one room to another.

"Ah, they are making ready for the bride's coming!"

² One of these descriptions has been translated by Paul Selver and included in his *Anthology of Modern Slavonic Literature*. The whole novel has been rendered into English by M. H. Dziewicki (Knopf, New York, 1927).

³ *The Peasants*, translated by M. H. Dziewicki (A. Knopf, New York, 1924-26). 4 Vols. Autumn, Winter, Spring, Summer.

Someone, though rarely, passed along the road this time it was a lumbering, creaking cart, and Kuba, listening, tried to guess whose it was

"That's Klemba's wagon One horse—ladder framework, going to the woods for litter, I dare say Yes, the axle rubs against the nave, so it creaks"

Along the road there was a continual sound of footsteps, talk, and noises scarcely to be heard at all, but he caught them, and made them out on the spot

"That's old Pietras, going to the tavern—Here comes Valentova, scolding someone's geese have gone on to her field, belike—Oh, she's a vixen, not a woman!"

This, I think, is Kozlova, shouting as she runs—yes, it is! Here is Peter, Raphael's son when he talks, his mouth always seems full—This is the priest's mare, going for water Now she stops.

And so he goes on.

This method suits admirably the general plan of the work, the greatness of which lies in its simplicity. The life of a peasant is dependent on the change of seasons. Every season has its peculiarities which recur periodically every year. A year forms a closed whole in this respect. And Reymont undertook the description of such a unit with all the completeness of a calendar. The work is divided into four volumes every one of them bearing the name of one season of the year: *Autumn, Winter, Spring, Summer*. In this plan the order of life itself imposed the lines of construction. Without any particular intellectual effort, it grew naturally and strongly. It is logical as well as it is elemental. This is also its basic originality. In other works on peasants, as for instance in *La Terre* by Zola, the portrayal of everyday existence formed only a background. In Reymont's novel it constitutes the very plasm.

The notion of periodicity is ever present here, and in his descriptions Reymont shows an astonishingly rich and faultless knowledge of village life. The reader becomes acquainted with the peasant house and with the agricultural work, with village amusements and great solemnities, with the forms of religious piety and with superstitions, with common gossip and with tales narrated only on rare occasions. We learn all about the villagers' native customs and about their relations to the external world of nobles, clergymen, Jews, Gypsies, and so on. We see the colours of peasants' costumes and those of the changing landscape. The village, Lipce, which is the scene of the novel is fictitious, but many other localities mentioned in the work are real. They direct the reader's imagination towards the centre of Poland—to be more exact—towards the southern part of the so-called dukedom of Łowicz, a district in which more old traditions are preserved in clothes and in everyday practice than in many other parts of the country. Reymont described them in their abundance.

Mr. Schoell gave his pamphlet on Reymont a sub-title *Les Paysans*

Polonais vus par un des leurs. This is misleading. Reymont was not himself a peasant. His family was descended from townsfolk. In his childhood he was forbidden to play with village boys. When we bear these circumstances in mind, Reymont's encyclopædic knowledge of the peasants appears to us even more curious. It was all gathered by a man who can hardly be said to have taken any active part in village life, but looked at it in a rather melancholic way from the windows of his miserable hut. For it was chiefly in the time of his later youth, when he was a railway extension surveyor, that he became so familiar with the country.

The only thing he did not seize exactly was the idiom. The language of the book (of dialogues as well as of the narration) does not strictly correspond to that of the Łowicz peasants nor to any other particular dialect of Poland. It is a mixture of different elements, bold and dynamic, but not altogether adequate to the realistic tendency of the contents. In this respect Reymont remained far from the perfection attained by Casimir Tetmajer in his dialect stories *From the Rocky Highland*.

But it would be difficult for Reymont to express all his passion in the close set of a definite dialect. For, realist though he is in concrete details, he makes us at the same time feel his personal lyrical share in most of the scenes he describes. One of the most celebrated examples is his description of wedding dances. We know from Reymont's confession that, when he had come to that part of the book, he was caught up by such a fury of imagination that he wrote for three days and three nights with scarcely any interruption. He fell ill afterwards. And when the doctor had asked him what was the cause of his strange exhaustion, he answered: "What do you expect? I had danced for three days and three nights without stopping."

But the element of personal passion appears in *The Peasants* not only in passages like that. There is everywhere in Reymont's work a tendency to draw at more than life-size. And it is a peculiarity which has its good as well as its bad sides. Owing to it, the work gains in spontaneousness, in plasticity, in energy. Yet sometimes it leads Reymont to rather operatic effects. Such is, for instance, the passage describing the death of the old peasant Boryna. He rises in fever from his bed and goes in the night to the field to sow; performing the eternal gestures of a sower he dies. The scene was meant to symbolise the fundamental character and the primeval tradition of labour on the earth.

There is also something theatrical in the erotic plot of the novel,

and especially in the character of the chief heroine, Yagna : victim of an elemental love force which overpowers her and inflames many men around her. The crucial moment in her career as an unconscious Astarte comes when she kindles love in the heart of a young seminarist, and is expelled by the indignant peasants of the village.

But, in spite of some such moments reminiscent of melodrama, the novel abounds in truthful and convincingly presented human documents. Reymont's peasants are not idyllic. There are many vices in them. They are greedy, especially for earth, they are mistrustful, they are ignorant, they are full of violent and dangerous impulses. But Reymont, unlike Zola, does not deny good elements in them. And some of their traits are shown with plain truth as well as with a subtle delicacy. Such, for instance, is the simple and touching story of the old beggar-woman Agata, who centred all her dreams around her feather-mattress, entrusted to rich relations until the moment when it will be needed for her death-bed.

For many a year she (Agata) had set her heart upon one thing · to die (when Our Lord should call her) in her own village, lying in a cottage, on a feather-bed, and beneath a row of holy images upon the wall · as all goodwives die · And for many a year she had been saving against that last, that sacred hour !

Now at the Klembas', up in the loft, she had a chest, and within that chest a great feather-bed, with sheets and pillows, and new pillow-covers · all clean, and none of them ever used, in order to be always in readiness · There was no other place to put that bedding, for she never had a room or a bedstead to herself, but was used to sleep in some corner, on a litter of straw, or in the cow-house, according to circumstances, and as the people of the house allowed her · For she would never assert herself, nor make any complaints, being well aware that things take place in this world according to God's will, and are not to be changed by sinful man.

And yet—in secret, silently, and asking to be forgiven for her pride—she had dreamed of this one thing · to be buried like a village goodwife · For this she had long prayed in fear and trembling.

Naturally, therefore, on arriving in the village, and aware that her last hour was not far off, she set about considering whether there was anything that she had forgotten.

No · She had got all that was required · With her she carried a Candlemas taper that she had begged after a nightwatch over a dead body, a bottle of holy water ; a new sprinkling brush, a consecrated picture of Our Lady of Ciestochowa, which she should hold when dying, and a few score zloty for her burial, which might possibly also suffice for a Mass to be said, before the body, with candles and the rite of sprinkling performed at the church-door · For she never dreamed that the priest would accompany the body to the grave.

In such passages Reymont reaches much greater depth than in scenes of elaborate symbolism. For, as was cleverly remarked by the distinguished writer Boy-Żeleński, he really “thought with his pen : he had in himself something of a painter whose spiritual life is concentrated in his brush.”

WACŁAW BOROWY.

N AND R ALTERNATION IN THE TOSK DIALECTS OF ALBANIAN

THIS is a phenomenon which appears to be unique in the Indo-European family of languages. The *n*—*r* rule, based on the evidence produced below, would seem to be as follows. *N*, which is universally preserved in the Geg dialects, becomes *r* in the Tosk dialects, but only under certain circumstances. Thus Geg *grun*, wheat, is in Tosk *grur*, Geg *venë*, wine, is Tosk *verë*. But Tosk also has many words containing *n*, thus *nate*, night, *lënde*, wood, material, *vënti*, place, *anë*, side, *qen*, dog. Tosk therefore shows a propensity to preserve *n* (1) initially (*nate*), (2) before consonants (*vënti*), and (3) when the primitive form ended in an *unaccented i* (*qen* fr. L. *canis*). It is the last-mentioned phenomenon which is of peculiar interest, as it extends to words of Indo-European, "Mediterranean," Greek and Latin origin. The systematic conversion of *n* to *r* continued at least till the beginning of the Middle Ages, for we have in Geg *florî*, gen. s. *florîni*, florin, gold beside Tosk *florî*, gen. s. *florîri* (The *i* of the genitive singular is not original.) Florins were first struck at Florence in 1252 (O.E.D.). On the other hand, I have no single record of any Turkish borrowing in Tosk in which *r* occurs for *n*. As Turkish borrowings are many in Albanian, and some are of very early date (there are no fewer than nine Turkish words in Buzuk's Litany of 1554¹) the absence of this phenomenon is of great significance. Thus Tk. *konák* is preserved in both Geg and Tosk. If borrowed at the "florî" period, this word would have become **korák* in Tosk. Thus we can say with tolerable certainty that the conversion of *n* to *r* in Tosk ceased after the introduction of florins into Albania and before the Turkish invasion, say between 1250 and 1450.

Before proceeding further it should be noted that 1 (j) after *n* produces *ñ* in Tosk (*grur*, wheat, *i grynjtë*, wheaten), and that original *t*, *d* and *dh* disappear after *n* if they stand in an originally unaccented syllable. Thus Tosk *anë*, f. side < *ántis*. A form **antis* would have produced Tosk **end*, Geg **ënd* whereas **antá* and **ontá* would both have produced Tosk *ëndë*, Geg **ënd(ë)*; **ánta* would give **anë*, **ónta* would give **vonë* in both dialects. From this example we may draw the following tentative conclusions which will be supported by the evidence to follow. One is that, contrary to the general rule in Albanian, unaccented *i*, at least as an ending, is incapable of umlauting the preceding vowel of a noun once it has formed a fusion with the consonant preceding. (Cf. *dal*, *del*, *del* 1.2.3. pres. ind. go out fr.

*dhalīō, dhalīs, dhalīt†; but sos, sos, sos, finish, fr. *sātīāiō, sātīais, sātīāit, but kullōs, kullōt, kullōt, I tend, fr. kolātiō, -ātīs, -ātīt, and others.) The second rule follows from the first, viz. that as final unaccented *i* was incapable of umlauting a preceding vowel it must have disappeared at a very early period, not however without first influencing the preceding *n* in such a way as to preserve it in the Tosk dialects. The simplest solution seems to be

ánti> sanťъ (palatalisation of both *n* and *t*)> aně> ané
kanis (L. canis) kanь qen (i e. k'en)

The process by which *n* becomes *r* when followed by original *a*, *e*, *o*, *u* and accented *i* (all long or short) would seem to be via a cerebral *n* of the Indian type. Dare one risk a comparison with Hittite *watar*—*wetens* (<?watnis)? See further Walde and Meillet on *jecur*, *penna*, Boisacq on δάκνω, δάκρυ, Miklosich on *ikrá*. If we compare the effect of unaccented *i* on *n* with its effect on *l* we obtain the following interesting formula for the Tosk dialects (ll = l, l = l') :—

ll · l : : r : n

or, using actual examples,

djall (<διάβολος) : djalé (son <dhēlis or dhēlios) · : grur (wheat <g'rnóm) : qen (L. canis)

Latin Borrowings

Geg	Tosk	
agjinóǵ, I fast	agjerónǵ	dējunā + njō < dējejunā-
anmík, enemy	ar(e)mík	ēnemík- (inimicus)
femen, female	femer	fēmīna
florí, florini, g.s. florin, gold	florí, floriri, g s.	florīno-
frashen, ash-tree	frashër	fráxino-
frê, frêni, g.s., halter	fre, freri (in some dialects fre, freri, due to in- fluence of pe, peri and others)	frēnum
gjinf, relationship	gjirí	genía < Gk.
kufi, kufini, g.s. boundary	kufi, kufiri	confine-
kumbonè, bell	kumboré	campāna
kunore, crown	kurorë	*konóra < corōna
kurpen, clematis	kulper	From an unknown source but prob. a cognate of coluber or culobra B only becomes p in early Slav. borrowings, cf. grope, çupe, but cf. "Medit." kânëp, hemp Perh. this is a "Medit." word.

† Not dalnō as Boisacq, see sub θαλλω and cf. ἄλλος < aljos.

kushrî, kushrîni, g.s. cousin	kusherî, kusherîni	consobrîno-
mullî, mullîni, mill	mullî, mullîni	molino-
nalte, high	larte	inálto-
pugâne, filthy	pegere	pagânó-
râne, sand	rêre	arena
rrepine, precipice	rrepîre	rapína
rreshîne, resin	rreshîre	resína < rêsína
shellinë, brine	shellre	salína
shpnese, hope	shpresë	*spondentia (cf. Livy spondëbant animis, they were confident)
shpnetke, spleen	shpretke	splênëtico- < Gk.
shtrëmben, crooked	shtrembër	strambō < strabō, noun used as adj.
urdhën, order	urdher	ordine-
virgjen, virgin	vergjer	virgine-
vner, gall	vrer	*venëlo- for venëno-

Greek Words

kershtën, Christian	keshtere	χριστιανός
mení, anger	mëri	μανία
vorfen, poor	varfer	ὀρφανός
	kore (and korre) icon	εἰκων, -όνος
pjepen, melon	pjepër	pepō, -ens, cf. πέπων

"Mediterranean" Words

kânep, hemp	kerp	kanapí- or kanaphí, -bí
lí, líni, flax	li, also lir, g. liri	Tosk li is from líno-, lir fr. linó, cf. L. līnum, Gk. λίνον
lakën, cabbage	laker	lákhanā (?), cf. λαχανικόν
laknuer, pie, vegetable dish	lakeruar	lakhanār- (?)
sprinkled with flour		
moken, millstone	moker	mākhanā, cf. Dor. μαχανά
ullí, ullîni, olive	ullí, ullîni	oléiyo- or oléiuno-
vene, wine	vere	uoino-

Albanian Words

So much for that part of our evidence which rests on a fairly safe basis of known fact. In dealing with the Albanian elements we are on less sure ground, as there are no documents of value dating back earlier than Buzuk's Liturgy (1554-5); there is no sister language to Albanian within the "Illyrian" group, and the only source of reference is to parallels in Rumanian, which are not very numerous, and to the evidence provided by the other Indo-European languages. The following is a list of Albanian (I.-E.) words of the *n-r* type with a tentative restoration of each word to its primitive form where this is possible (^ is the nasal sign).

Geg anze, wasp arben, Albanian	<i>Albanian Words</i> Tosk arez arber	ánadja álbano- (l is converted to r by the presence of ŋ (<n), cf. vner, poison) otōinōm (quotōinōm)
atýne (ketýne), of them, of these breshen, hail brí, gs. brîni, horn	atýre (ketýre) bresher brí, brîni	bhrégsina bhrúndo-. Cf Messap. brunda, head of stag (Sofer, p 37) and see Horace's note on Brun- disium (Satire I. 5).
bunón, wells up 3s dane, tongs dimen, winter	burón dare dimer	bhunánit dakna deimō, -en-. Cf A-S. weak m. tīma (dei, doi, di, divide) An earlier and similar word *dhūmen (ġheimō, -en-) winter (Sl. zimá) was perhaps displaced by this word, hence change of meaning from "time" to "winter."
drê, drêni, stag drû, drûni, wood, tree	dre, dréri (and ndrê, drerez) dru, drúri	dŕno-. Cf. dru, druje< dŕuis, or dŕuia, tree. anōmn->ōmn by trunca- tion. Cf tete, eight< ftæta<oktōto.
êmen, name gershâne, gershâncz, scissors grênze, grêth, hornet, wasp	emér and ember gershere grérez and grérazè	ghrîsjō- (?) See Boisacq : καρκίνος Prob. this word belongs to the prolific I.-E. gu(h)rem, gu(h)rom, gu(h)ŕm type May be g(ŭh)rín(dh) or g(ŭh)rūn(dh). g'ŕnóm. Accent following preserves n-r in nom. sg.
grî, grîni, whetstone grûn, grûni, wheat	grî, grîri grur, gruri	If the prim. form is ésŕti- this must have become ésŕ- at a very early date, otherwise Tosk g.s. would be gjeni, not gjeri.
gjà, gjâni, thing (m. and f.)	gje, gjeri	

gjâne, broad, wide	gjere	senós, old (?) Accent following preserves n, r, see grun. Gk., Lith., Celt and Lat. have stress on first syll (sénos)
gjarpen, serpent	gjarper	serpent- from earlier sér-pent- A difficulty arises with gj- standing in an accented syllable. Generally init. s in an accented syllable gives Alb s when not followed by a consonant Sin an unaccented initial syllable gives gj.
gjî, gjîni, bosom	gji, gjuri	sînó-. A type sînó- would produce Tosk gje, gjeri
Gjinokaster, Argyrocastro gjû, gjûni, Buz glu, gluni, knee	Gjirokastër gju, gjuri	gluno-, or gleuno- (for gneulo- (?) cf. kneel). Ir glun, Wel. gln.
gjylpâne, needle	gjylpere	sâulp [~] tnó- "thread-eye"
hî, hîni, ash	hi, hiri	skin(d)ó-. Cf cinis
hû, hûni, stake	hu, huri	skún(d). Cf. κύνδαλος?
kercû, kercûni, stump of tree	kercû, kercûni	Cf. Mod. Gk. κούτσουρο <*κουρτσουρον?
kersî, kersîni, shin	kercî, kerciri	kortiô- (?) An I.-E. type krûsi- (L. crûs, crûris) would give kri or krish in Alb. according to whether the accent was on the first or second syllable.
krahanuer, krahnuer, breast	krah(a)ruer	From krahè, arm, shoulder, wing. Medial k under certain conditions may become h in Alb. Cf vjeherr (<sjekrós) father-in-law. Hence possibly fr. kráko- or krokó-. Cf. Č. krok.
krehen, comb	kreher	(s)kró(s)kino- or (s)krá(s)-kino-
krêna, heads, pl. of krye	krere	króunoι (krye is fr krouis, kreje, g.s., is from krouio-).
kudhen, anvil	kudhër	kuden- I.-E. keu, kou, ku, strike. Cf. Lith.

		kauti, Sl. kovati, Eng. hew
lên ! let !	ler !	lědnō, fr. earlier lědnō.
llâne, forearm	llere	ólna
njâni, njêni, the one (as opposed to tjetri, the other)	njeri	sŕmoio-(?) or sŕmienó-(?) See εἶς (Boisacq).
pê, pênî, thread	pe, perî	petimó->pesmó-, pesnó-. Cf. fathom
peqí, peqínî, seam, lapel	peqí. peqínî	See G M Etym Wb.
plehen, sweepings, manure	pleher	I -E. pleu, plou, plu (?) Alb. type plókna- or plousna
pluhun, dust	pluhur	Alb type plusmo- (?) Cf L pluma, Eng fleec
prehen, bosom	preher	The Slavonic type prъsh may be I -E pirs or prs (also prk, prk (?)). It related, prehen is e-grade from persm-. Cf A -S. feorm, nurture
prûna, I carried	prura	per-unáu (?)
shpûna, I brought	shpura	eks-per-unáu (?)
vûna, I put	vura	au-unáu (?) Pres tense ve, I put, is <uědnō or uěmō, a root which I cannot trace outside Albanian.
zûna, I took	zura	di-unáu (?)
qê, qênî and qêhên, baker's peel, breadboard	qe, qeri and qeher (qe by contamination with pe)	Apparently a type kakuino-. It is tempting to refer to Latin cáput, for *kákupit- cf. Goth. háubip for *háhubip.
sy, syni, eye	sy, syri	sāuilno- or sāuilō, -en- Cf. vale, wave, from ulni- (?).
tâne, all, the lot	tere	G. Meyer (Etym. Wb) supposes a primitive Latin form totānus for this word If so, then tótano- (stress on first syllable) or totanó-.
tershâne oats	tershere	It is tempting to see in this word a base meaning "granular, fragmentary." *troskiná would perh. be an orig neut. pl. Cf. Eng. thresh and Cz. trosky, fragments.

trâ, trâni, beam	tra, trani	trâmo-
sharqî, sharqîni, water-melon	sharqî, -u, pl.	-qunj (Laberi dial shalqî) Tk ? ? (şarkî G M Etym Wb.).
trû, trûni, brain, marrow	tru, trûn	The usual I-E type for brain, marrow is moz-gu(h)o- Perhaps tru is for thru, in which case the prototype would be kîno-, "horn." For the possible relationship of Alb. trashe, "thick" w. crassus, see G. Meyer, Etym Wb Would not kî become fru ?
theken, barley	theker	Type kâkinâ Cf. Lith šake, fork, šaka, hedge, and Eng hedge. Lit meaning "barbed"
thnî, nit	therî	knidâ
u, unî, hunger	urî	Apparently ugnîs, "fire"
uth, heartburn	urth	ugnâkîs, "little fire"
une, firebrand	ure	ugnâ
unuer, tinder	uruar	ugnârjo-
vargâ, vargâni, uncas-trated ram	vargêr, vargêri	ôrgano-. The Greek ὄρχις testis has its counterpart in Alb (h)erdhe, fr ġh.
ven ! put !	ver !	(ô)uentô (?)
vneshtë, vineyard	vreshte	uoinôstis
vrânet, clouded (of sky)	vrerët	Apparently uor(s)enâto- "ürinâtus."
zâ, zâni, voice, sound	ze, zêri	ôdino-<ôidno- (?). Cf. Lith aidas, echo.

There is still a good deal of evidence awaiting explanation with regard to the alternation of *-m* in Geg with *-r* in Tosk in the infinitive and passive participles of the following words :

bâj, I do, make	inf. pp G. bâmé	Tosk bere
çaj, I split	çame	çaré
daj, I divide	dame	daré
laj, I wash	lame	laré
qaj, Buz. klanj, I weep	qamé (klamé)	qarë (Bil dial. klare)
bie, I fall (fr. 2.3.s. *bier)	rame	rêrë
shaj, I abuse	shame	share
pi, I drink	pime	piré
bie, I bring (fr. 2.3.s. bierë)	prume	prure
but ve, I put	vume	vênë, vênur

S. E. MANN.

UNPRINTED DOCUMENTS

LORD BROUGHAM'S OPINION OF
PRINCE GORCHAKOV, 1855

BROUGHAM (1778-1868) had in 1855 held no office for twenty years. His arrogance and self-assertion, his eccentricities, sometimes almost amounting to insanity, made him a dangerous colleague. But the aged statesman's opinion was still valued by many of his former associates. In February, 1855, negotiations were about to begin at Vienna for the ending of the Crimean War; and Lord John Russell was appointed first British Plenipotentiary. Among his future colleagues at the Conferences were Buol, the Austrian Foreign Minister, and Gorchakov, the Russian Ambassador in Vienna. Brougham had known Gorchakov in earlier years; and Palmerston, who had just become Prime Minister, obtained Brougham's opinion of the Russian diplomat. Brougham's letter was copied and sent to Russell, to aid him in forming an opinion of his future colleague; and the copy is preserved in the Russell Papers (Public Record Office, Gifts and Deposits, 22, Box 12). Brougham's letter is a strange mixture of shrewdness and malice, good judgment and fantastic rumour. But Palmerston at least thought it worth sending to Russell, and that in itself gives Brougham's views some importance.

GAVIN B. HENDERSON.

(Endorsement) : " Copy of Letter sent to Lord Palmerston by Lord Brougham and returned to Lord Brougham, 19/2/55."

"GORTSCHAKOFF has considerable influence with the Emperor which he has acquired gradually of late years. He came here to England as Secretary some years ago, and nothing much was known of him till he married Madame Pouschskin the sister of Princess Radzivill. It was said Gortschakoff held back from the marriage but did it at the Emperor's command (under the instigation of Princess Radzivill). As a reward for obeying he was given the post of Minister at Stutgardt, then a place of no importance whatever to Russia, and Gortschakoff lived there in a state of concentrated disgust for years. His insolence to this little Court exceeds belief, and he was so generally hated that it became a question of asking for his recall. His parsimony was such that he was said to starve his family and at the (*lacuna*¹) of his meanness it is not necessary to dwell upon further than to show that the ruling passion of his mind was avarice.

"All at once the marriage with Princess Olga changed the position of Gortschakoff.

"No one for a moment supposed that he would keep his post—instead

¹ Brougham's handwriting is only just barely legible, and a word or phrase at this point defied the copyist.

of which he not only did that, but in a few months completely effaced from memory as it seemed the recollection of his former insolence and became the pet of the whole Court ! To Princess Olga he made himself so pleasing that she wrote home that he was a sort of father to her, and that his *goodness* made his society inexpressibly dear to her.

"Under the shadow of this protection Gortschakoff went to Petersburg oftener than he had done before, and then began to be seen the Emperor's partiality towards him. He was made the Frankfurt Envoy and his salary was much increased, but it was remarkable that even this addition of income and living under the eyes of his own princess still did not overcome his stinginess. He was also made Commissioner of Arts for the Emperor, and under pretence of buying pictures for the Emperor he got some *gratis* for himself. The King of Wurtemberg, a man of known ability, and too personally proud not to writhe under Gortschakoff's former insolence, was nevertheless subdued like the others, and saw with the eyes of this man only.

"Gortschakoff is imperturbably good-tempered—the greatest insolence or the greatest civility is spoken by him with a smile equally. Unless much changed, he will be found invulnerable to irritation. He will accept any affront and return to the charge as if nothing had occurred. His particular line of pleasing is openness. A cordial frankness that will amount to telling the truth if it can help him to deceive—and there is a bland sincerity about him when he chooses that would allay the doubts of the most suspicious man. He has (or thinks he has) a great knowledge of England and has carefully cherished that assumption, and he speaks English well.

"*He is a very vain man* and there is his weak point, and one which may be taken great advantage of.

"He is far too clever not to see the disadvantages of the war, but being perfectly destitute of a scintilla of patriotism, in reality Gortschakoff is a man to prolong the negotiation for the purpose of maintaining his own important position at Vienna. *The passion of his life besides avarice is to be Ambassador in London.* Let him foresee or think that he foresees that such a result may be brought about if peace comes, and Gortschakoff will be rendered favourable to our cause.

"His avarice is such (and the stories are such of his meanness in consequence of it) that if he could be certain of escaping detection Gortschakoff, I am convinced, is open to bribery.

"He has great influence over the Emperor Nicolas—much more than is generally conceived and this man such as he is may have the utmost means of procuring a favourable peace. *If he thinks he dares he will bully without mercy ; it is eminently his nature to do so ,* but he will give way when he thinks he cannot ; and he is open to flattery, to self-interest, and to bribery, if the latter could in any way be effected with security.

"Count Buhl [sc. Buol] must know him very well for exactly that he is, but such is Gortschakoff he may deceive even Buhl."

SOVIET LEGISLATION (XX)

(Selection of Decrees and Documents)

Act on the Order and Procedure of the Elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR.

I

THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM.

Art. 1. On the basis of Art. 134 of the Constitution of the USSR, the elections of deputies to the Supreme Council of the USSR are carried out by the electors on the principle of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot

Art. 2. On the basis of Art. 135 of the Constitution of the USSR, the elections of deputies are universal : all citizens of the USSR from 18 years of age, irrespectively of race or nationality, religion, educational standard, settlement, social origin, property and activities, are entitled to participate in the elections of deputies and to be elected to the Supreme Council of the USSR, with the exception of insane persons or those condemned by a law court with loss of franchise.

Art. 3. On the basis of Art. 136 of the Constitution of the USSR, the elections of deputies are equal. each citizen possesses one vote; all citizens participate in the elections on equal terms.

Art. 4. On the basis of Art. 137 of the Constitution of the USSR, women enjoy the right of vote and of being elected on equal terms with men.

Art. 5. On the basis of Art. 138 of the Constitution of the USSR, citizens in the ranks of the Red Army enjoy the right of vote and of being elected on equal terms with all citizens.

Art. 6 On the basis of Art. 141 of the Constitution of the USSR, the candidates for election are nominated in electoral constituencies.

II.

LISTS OF ELECTORS.

Art. 7. The lists of electors are compiled in the towns by the municipal council of workers' deputies, and in towns with district divisions—by the district council; in rural districts—by the village ("stanitsa," village, hamlet, "kishlak," "aul") council of workers' deputies.

Art. 8. In the lists are included all citizens possessing the right of vote and domiciled (permanently or temporarily) within the territory of the Council, at the time of drawing up the lists, and having attained 18 years of age.

Art. 9. Persons, deprived of the franchise by verdict of court are

deprived of the franchise for the entire term fixed by the verdict, and also persons legally certified as insane

Art. 10. The lists of electors are compiled in each constituency in alphabetical order, with indication of surname, name, patronymic, age and place of domicile of the elector, and are signed by the chairman and secretary of the Council of workers' deputies.

Art. 11 No one of the electors may be inscribed in more than one electoral list.

Art. 12 The Lists of electors serving in military units and military groups are compiled by the commanding staff and signed by the commanding officer and the military commissary. All other army employees are included in the lists of electors according to their domicile by the corresponding Councils of workers' deputies.

Art. 13. 30 days prior to the elections, the Council of workers' deputies puts up the lists of electors for general inspection, or arranges facilities for electors to become acquainted with these lists on the Council's premises.

Art. 14. The original lists of electors are kept in the premises of the Council of workers' deputies, or in those of the army unit or army group respectively.

Art. 15. In the event of an elector changing domicile within the period between the publication of the list of electors and the day of election, the corresponding Council of workers' deputies provides him with "a certificate of the right to vote" according to a form established by the Central electoral commission, and makes a note of "left" on the list of electors, in the new place of domicile—whether permanent or temporary—the elector is included in the list of electors on producing a certificate of identity, and also "the certificate of the right to vote."

Art. 16. Notification of mistakes in the list of electors (omission of registration, exclusion from the lists, misspelling of surname, name or patronymic, incorrect inclusion in the lists of persons deprived of the franchise) is presented to the Council which has published the lists.

Art. 17. The executive committee of the Council of workers' deputies is bound to examine within three days each notification of mistakes in the list of electors.

Art. 18. On examining the notifications of mistakes in the list of electors, the executive committee of the Council of workers' deputies is bound either to make the necessary corrections in the list of electors, or to hand the notifier a statement in writing explaining the motives for declining the notification; if disagreeing with the decision of the Council, the notifier may appeal to the people's court.

Art. 19. The people's court is bound within three days to summon the notifier and a representative of the Council and examine in open court the complaint regarding the mistake in the list, and immediately to inform both the notifier and the Council of its resolution. The decision of the people's court is final.

III.

THE CONSTITUENCIES FOR ELECTIONS TO THE COUNCIL OF THE UNION
AND THE COUNCIL OF NATIONALITIES.

Art. 20. On the basis of Art. 34 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Council of the Union is elected by the citizens of the USSR in constituencies.

Art. 21. A constituency for elections to the Council of the Union is formed on the principle of a population of 300,000 to the constituency. Each constituency for elections to the Council of the Union sends one member.

Art. 22. On the basis of Art. 35 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Council of Nationalities is elected by the citizens of the USSR in constituencies. A constituency for elections to the Council of Nationalities is formed on the principle: 25 constituencies in each Republic of the Union, 11 constituencies in each Autonomous Republic, 5 constituencies in each Autonomous Region and 1 constituency in each National District. Each constituency for elections to the Council of Nationalities sends one member.

Art. 23. The constituencies for elections to the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities are determined by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR.

Art. 24. The list of constituencies for elections to the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities is published by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR simultaneously with the date of the polling day.

IV.

ELECTORAL WARDS.

Art. 25. For the receipt of the voting papers and the counting of votes, the area of towns and districts forming a constituency is divided into electoral wards, which are common for elections both to the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities.

Art. 26. The electoral wards in the towns are determined by the municipal Councils of workers' deputies; in towns with regional divisions—by regional Councils of workers' deputies; in rural districts—by district Councils of workers' deputies.

Art. 27. The electoral wards are established not later than 45 days before polling day.

Art. 28. The area of a village council with a population not exceeding 2,000 constitutes, as a general rule, a single electoral ward; in each stanitsa, village, kishlak, aul with a population of from 500 but not exceeding 2,000, a separate electoral ward is set up.

Art. 29. In distant northern and eastern districts where small settlements predominate, the organisation of electoral wards with a population not below 100 is permitted.

Art. 30. Towns, industrial centres, and likewise villages and rural council areas, with a population not exceeding 2,000, are divided into electoral wards on the principle of one electoral ward to every 1,500–2,000 population.

Art. 31. Army units and groups form separate electoral wards with not less than 50 and not more than 1,500 voters, which are included in the constituency on whose area the unit or group are quartered.

Art. 32. Ships with a number of voters not less than 50, out at sea during elections, may form separate electoral wards, which are included in the constituency in which the ship's home port is situated

Art. 33. In hospitals, maternity homes, sanatoria, homes for the disabled numbering not less than 50 voters separate electoral wards may be formed.

V.

ELECTORAL COMMISSIONS.

Art. 34. The central electoral commission for elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR is composed of representatives of public organisations and workers' associations, and is confirmed by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR simultaneously with the publication of the date of the polling-day.

Art. 35. The central electoral commission consists of a chairman, deputy chairman, secretary and 12 members.

Art. 36. The Central electoral commission :—

(a) supervises the correct execution throughout the territory of the USSR during the process of elections of the "Act on the Order and Procedure of Elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR,"

(b) examines complaints against unlawful proceedings of the electoral commissions and pronounces final decisions on such complaints,

(c) determines the shape of the ballot boxes, the form of the "certificate of the right to vote", the shape and colour of the voting papers and their envelopes, the form of the lists of electors, the form of the protocols for the counting of votes, the form of the certificates of election;

(d) registers the deputies elected to the Supreme Council;

(e) hands over to the mandatory commissions of the Council of the Union and of the Council of Nationalities the record of the elections.

Art. 37. Union, Autonomous Republican, Autonomous Regional and National District electoral commissions are set up in every Union and Autonomous Republic, Autonomous Region and National District

Art. 38. The Electoral commissions for elections to the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities are composed of representatives of public organisations and workers' associations and confirmed by the Presidiums of the Supreme Councils of the Union and Autonomous Republics, the Councils of workers' deputies of the Autonomous Regions and National Districts, not later than 50 days before polling-day.

Art. 39. The electoral commissions of the Union and Autonomous Republics, the Autonomous Regions and National Districts, for elections to the Council of Nationalities, are composed of a chairman, deputy-chairman, secretary and 6-10 members.

Art. 40. The electoral commission of a Union, Autonomous Republic, Autonomous Region, or National District for elections to the Council of Nationalities :

(a) supervises within the territory of the Republic, Autonomous Region, National District the correct execution, during the process of elections to the Council of Nationalities of the Act on the Order and Procedure of Elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR,

(b) examines complaints against unlawful proceedings in elections to the Council of Nationalities.

Art. 41. A Divisional electoral commission for elections to the Council of the Union is formed in each constituency for elections to the Council of the Union.

Art. 42. In republics divided into regional or district territories, the divisional electoral commissions for elections to the Council of the Union are composed of representatives of public organisations and workers' associations and are approved by the Councils of workers' deputies of the district territories and regions; in republics not divided into regions or district territories—by the Presidium of the Supreme Councils of these republics—not later than 55 days before polling-day.

Art. 43. The divisional electoral commission for elections to the Council of the Union is composed of a chairman, deputy-chairman, secretary and 8 members.

Art. 44. The divisional electoral commission for elections to the Council of the Union :

(a) supervises the timely formation of electoral districts by the corresponding executive committees of the Councils of workers' deputies;

(b) supervises the timely compiling and publication of the lists of voters;

(c) registers the candidates for election to the Council of the Union, nominated in conformity with the Constitution and the Act on the Order and Procedure of Elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR.

(d) supplies the District electoral commissions with voters' papers for election to the Council of the Union and envelopes of the established form;

(e) counts the votes and determines the result of the elections for the division;

(f) reports to the Central electoral commission the record of the electoral proceedings;

(g) issues to the elected deputy the certificate of election.

Art. 45. A Divisional electoral commission is set up in every division for elections to the Council of Nationalities.

Art. 46. The Divisional electoral commissions for election to the Council of Nationalities are composed of representatives of public organisations and workers' associations and are approved by the Presidiums of the Supreme Councils of the Union and Autonomous Republics, and the Councils of workers' deputies of the Autonomous Regions—not later than 50 days before polling-day.

Art. 47. The Divisional electoral commission for elections to the National Council is composed of a chairman, deputy-chairman, secretary and 8 members.

Art. 48. The Divisional commission for elections to the Council of Nationalities :

(a) registers the candidates for election to the National Council nominated in conformity to the constitution of the USSR and the Act on the Order and Procedure of Elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR ;

(b) provides the district electoral commissions with voters' papers as established for elections to the Council of Nationalities ;

(c) counts the votes and determines the results of the elections for the division ;

(d) reports the record of the electoral proceedings to the Central electoral commission or to the electoral commission for elections to the Council of Nationalities of the Republic, or to the electoral commission of the Autonomous Region for election to the Council of Nationalities.

(e) issues to the elected deputy the certificate of election.

Art. 49. District electoral commissions are composed of representatives of public organisations and workers' associations and are confirmed in the towns by the municipal Councils of workers' deputies and in towns with ward sub-divisions—by the ward Councils of workers' deputies ; in rural areas—by the district Councils of workers' deputies—not later than 40 days before polling-day.

Art. 50. The District electoral commission is composed of a chairman, deputy-chairman, secretary and 4 to 8 members.

Art. 51. The District electoral commission :

(a) receives the voting papers in the district ;

(b) counts the votes received by each candidate to the Council of the Union and Council of Nationalities ;

(c) reports the record of the electoral proceedings to the regional commission for elections to the Council of the Union and the regional commission for elections to the Council of Nationalities.

Art. 52. The meetings of the Central electoral commission, the Republican commission for elections to the Council of Nationalities, the electoral commissions of the Autonomous Regions and National districts for election to the Council of Nationalities, the Regional electoral commission for elections to the Council of the Union, and the Regional electoral commission for elections to the Council of Nationalities, as well as those

of the District electoral commissions are considered as valid with an attendance of more than half the number of members

Art. 53. All questions in the electoral commissions are decided by a simple majority, in an equal division the casting vote belongs to the chairman.

Art. 54. All expenses entailed by the elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR are discharged by the State.

Art. 55. The Central electoral commission, the Electoral commissions of the Republics for elections to the Council of Nationalities, the electoral commissions of the Autonomous Regions, and those of the National Districts for elections to the Council of Nationalities, the Regional electoral commission for elections to the Council of the Union, the Regional electoral commission for elections to the Council of Nationalities, and the District electoral Commissions have each their own seal according to a design established by the Central electoral commission

VI

THE PROCEDURE OF NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE USSR.

Art. 56. The right to nominate candidates to the Supreme Council to the USSR belongs to public organisations and workers' associations on the basis of Art. 141 of the Constitution of the USSR; Communist Party organisations, Trade Unions, Co-operatives, Youth organisations, cultural societies and other legally registered organisations.

Art. 57. The right to nominate candidates is exercised both by the central organs of public organisations and workers' associations and by their republican, territorial, regional and district organs, also by general meetings of workers and employees in concerns, by Red Army men—Army units—and by general meetings of peasants in collective farms, and workers and employees on State farms.

Art. 58. Candidates cannot be members of Divisional electoral commissions for election to the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities, nor of District electoral commissions in the Division in which they are nominated as candidates.

Art. 59. Not later than 30 days before polling-day, all public organisations or workers' associations which nominate candidates for election to the Supreme Council of the USSR, must register the candidates either in the Divisional electoral commission for elections to the Council of the Union, or in the Divisional electoral commission for elections to the Council of Nationalities respectively.

Art. 60. The Divisional electoral commissions for elections to the Council of the Union or the Council of Nationalities respectively must register all candidates for election to the Supreme Council of the USSR nominated by public organisations and workers' associations in con-

formity with the Constitution of the USSR and the Act on the Order and Procedure of Elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR.

Art. 61. Public organisations and workers' associations nominating a candidate for election to the Supreme Council of the USSR must present the following documents to the Divisional electoral commission :—

(a) the protocol of the meeting, at which the candidate was nominated, signed by the members of the Presidium, stating their age, domicile, the name of the organisation which nominated the candidate, stating the place, time and number of those present at the meeting at which the candidate was nominated; giving also the surname, name and patronymic of the candidate for election, his age, domicile, Party status and occupation.

(b) a statement by the candidate for election of his consent to stand for the given electoral division as candidate of the organisation which nominated him.

Art. 62. A candidate for election to the Supreme Council of the USSR may be balloted only in one Division.

Art. 63. A refusal by the Divisional electoral commission for elections to the Council of the Union to register a candidate for election may be appealed against within a two days' time limit to the Central electoral commission, whose decision is final.

Art. 64. A refusal by the Divisional electoral commission for elections to the Council of Nationalities to register a candidate may be appealed against within a two-days' time limit to the Electoral commission of the Union of Autonomous Republic, or of the Autonomous Region, and against the decision of the latter—to the Central electoral commission, whose decision is final.

Art. 65. The surname, name, patronymic, age, occupation, Party status of each registered candidate for election to the Supreme Council of the USSR and the name of the organisation by which he was nominated, are published respectively either by the Divisional electoral commission for election to the Council of the Union or by the Divisional electoral commission for elections to the Council of Nationalities, not later than 25 days before polling-day.

Art. 66. The names of registered candidates for election to the Supreme Council of the USSR must be included in the voting paper.

Art. 67. The Divisional electoral commission for elections to the Council of the Union and the Divisional commission for elections to the Council of Nationalities not later than 15 days before the elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR must print and distribute the voting papers to all the district electoral commissions.

Art. 68. The voting papers are printed in the language of the population of the electoral division.

Art. 69. The voting papers are printed according to a form fixed by the Central electoral commission and in numbers guaranteeing the provision of every voter with a voting paper.

Art. 70 Every organisation which nominated a candidate registered in the Divisional electoral commission, as well as every citizen of the USSR is guaranteed the right of free canvassing for that candidate at meetings, in the press or by other means, in conformity with Article 125 of the Constitution of the USSR.

VII.

PROCEDURE OF VOTING.

Art. 71. Elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR take place on a single day—the same for the entire USSR.

Art. 72. Polling-day for the Supreme Council of the USSR is fixed by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR in conformity with Art. 54 of the Constitution of the USSR, not later than 2 months before the date of elections. Polling takes place on a holiday.

Art. 73. Daily during the last 20 days before the elections, the District electoral commission publishes or otherwise widely advertises to the electors the date and place of the elections.

Art. 74. Voting takes place on polling-day between 6 A.M. and 12 midnight.

Art. 75. From 6 A.M. on polling-day the chairman of the District electoral commission, in the presence of the other members, examines the ballot-boxes and verifies the legally drawn-up registers of electors, after which he closes and stamps the ballot-boxes with the seal of the commission and invites the electors to proceed with the voting.

Art. 76. Each elector votes personally, arriving for the purpose at the polling station, the voting being performed by dropping the voting papers in a sealed envelope into the ballot-box.

Art. 77. At the polling station a special room is allotted for filling in the voting papers, in which no person, including members of the District electoral committee, is allowed to be present during the voting, except the voters, should several voters be admitted simultaneously for filling in the voting papers, the room must be provided with partitions or screens, according to the number of persons admitted.

Art. 78. A voter presenting himself at the polling-station must present to the secretary of the District electoral commission either passport, collective farm book, trade union certificate or any other certificate of identity; and after verification on the list of electors and checking off on the list of electors, the voter receives the voting paper and envelope of the approved form.

Art. 79. Voters presenting themselves at the polling-station with a "certificate of the right to vote," according to Art. 15 of the present Act on the Order and Procedure of Elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR, are registered by the District electoral commission on a special list, which is added to the list of electors.

Art. 80. In the room reserved for filling in the voting papers, the voter leaves on each voting paper the name of the candidate he wishes

to elect, striking out the rest; having sealed the voting paper in an envelope, the voter proceeds to the room where is sitting the District electoral commission and places the envelope with the voting paper in the ballot-box.

Art. 81. Voters incapable, owing to illiteracy or any physical disablement, of themselves filling-in the voting papers, have the right to invite another voter into the voting-room to fill-in their voting paper.

Art. 82. Election canvassing at the polling-station during the polling is prohibited.

Art. 83. The Chairman of the commission is responsible for the maintenance of order at the polling station, and his orders are compulsory for all present.

Art. 84. At 12 midnight the chairman of the District electoral commission declares polling to be ended, and the commission proceeds to the opening of the ballot-boxes.

VIII.

DETERMINATION OF THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION.

Art. 85. The right to be present on the premises where the District electoral commission counts the votes, is granted to specially appointed representatives of public organisations and workers' associations, and also to press representatives.

Art. 86. After opening the ballot-boxes, the District electoral commission compares the number of envelopes handed in with the number of persons who have taken part in the voting, and notes the results of this checking in the protocol.

Art. 87. The chairman of the District electoral commission opens the envelopes and, in the presence of all the members of the District electoral commission, declares the vote of each voting paper.

Art. 88. The registration of the results of voting for the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities is made separately.

Art. 89. The secretary of the commission and the specially appointed members of the District electoral commission keep a record in two copies of the votes cast for each candidate.

Art. 90. Voting papers are treated as invalid:—

(a) if not of the established form and colour;

(b) if handed in without an envelope or in an envelope not of the established shape;

(c) if containing a number of candidates exceeding that of the deputies to be elected.

Art. 91. In the case of doubts arising regarding the validity of a voting paper, the question is settled by vote by the District electoral commission, and a note made in the protocol.

Art. 92. The District electoral commission draws up a protocol in three copies of the ballot, according to an established form, which is

signed by all members of the District electoral commission, the signatures of the chairman and secretary being compulsory.

Art. 93. The protocol of the ballot drawn up by the District electoral commission must contain —

- (a) the time of the beginning and end of the polling,
- (b) the number of voters who registered their votes, as by the list of voters,
- (c) the number of voters who registered their votes by certificate of the right to vote;
- (d) the number of envelopes handed in;
- (e) a brief summary of the appeals and complaints lodged with the District electoral commission, together with the resolutions passed thereon by the District electoral commission,
- (f) the result of the counting of votes received by each candidate.

Art. 94. After the completion of the counting of votes and drawing up of the protocol, the chairman of the commission declares the results of the ballot in the presence of all members of the commission.

Art. 95. One copy of the ballot protocol, drawn up by the District electoral commission, together with both copies of the record of votes cast for each candidate to the Council of the Union are sent within 24 hours by special messenger to the Divisional electoral commission for elections to the Council of the Union, the second copy of the ballot protocol, drawn up by the District electoral commission, together with both copies of the record of votes cast for each candidate to the Council of Nationalities are sent within 24 hours by special messenger to the Divisional electoral commission for elections to the Council of Nationalities.

Art. 96. All the voting papers (the valid separated from those recognised as invalid), separately for the Council of the Union and for the Council of Nationalities, must be sealed by the seal of the District electoral commission and, together with the third copy of the ballot protocol and seal, must be handed over by the chairman of the District electoral commission to the custody: in towns—of the municipal Council of workers' deputies, and in towns with district division—the district Councils of workers' deputies, in rural areas—to the district Councils of workers' deputies.

Art. 97. The Councils of workers' deputies are entrusted with the custody of the voting papers pending confirmation by the Supreme Council of the USSR of the mandates of the deputies from the division concerned.

Art. 98. The Divisional electoral commission counts the votes on the basis of the protocols presented by the District electoral commissions.

Art. 99. The right to be present on the premises where the Divisional electoral commission counts the votes is granted to specially appointed representatives of public organisations and workers' associations, and also to press representatives.

Art. 100. The Divisional electoral commission keeps a record in two copies of the votes cast for each candidate.

Art. 101. The Divisional electoral commission draws up a protocol of the ballot in two copies, signed by all members of the Divisional electoral commission, the signatures of the chairman and secretary being compulsory.

Art. 102. The protocol of the Divisional electoral commission must contain :

- (a) the total number of voters in the division ;
- (b) the total number of voters who took part in the ballot ,
- (c) the number of votes obtained by each candidate ,
- (d) a brief summary of the appeals and complaints lodged with the Divisional electoral commission, together with the resolutions passed thereon by the Divisional electoral commission.

Art. 103. Not later than within 24 hours after the completion of the counting of votes, the chairman of the Divisional electoral commission for elections to the Council of the Union, as also the chairman of the Divisional electoral commission for elections to the Council of Nationalities must hand over the first copy of the protocol together with the record of votes in a sealed packet to the Central electoral commission, and the second copy of the protocol—to the Electoral commission for elections to the Council of Nationalities of the Union Republic, the Autonomous Republic or the Autonomous Region.

Art. 104. A candidate to the Supreme Council of the USSR who has obtained an absolute majority of votes, i.e. more than half of the total number of votes registered in the division, is accepted as being elected.

Art. 105. After signing the protocol, the chairman of the Divisional electoral commission for elections to the Council of the Union declares the result of the elections and hands to the elected candidate the certificate of election.

Art. 106. After signing the protocol, the chairman of the Divisional commission for elections to the Council of Nationalities declares the result of the elections and hands to the elected candidate to the Council of Nationalities the certificate of election.

Art. 107. Should none of the candidates obtain an absolute majority, the Divisional electoral commission concerned makes a special note of this in the protocol and informs: the Central electoral commission and the Central electoral commission of the corresponding Republic, Autonomous Region or National District for elections to the Council of Nationalities and simultaneously announces the re-balloting of the two candidates who have obtained the highest number of votes, and also fixes the date of the re-balloting not later than within a fortnight of the first ballot.

Art. 108. Should the number of votes registered in the division be less than half the number of voters registered in the division, the Divisional electoral commission for elections to the Council of the Union or for

elections to the Council of Nationalities makes a special note of this in the protocol and informs: the Central electoral commission and the corresponding Central electoral commission of the corresponding Republic, Autonomous Region or National District for elections to the Council of Nationalities, in which case the Central electoral commission appoints new elections not later than within a fortnight of the first.

Art. 109. A re-balloting of candidates or a new election instead of those declared to be invalid, is conducted according to the lists of electors compiled for the primary elections and in complete conformity with the present Act on the Order and Procedure of Elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR.

Art. 110. In the event of a member leaving the Supreme Council of the USSR the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, not later than within a fortnight, appoints a bye-election in the Division concerned, at a date not later than within two months after that on which the member in question left the Supreme Council of the USSR.

Art. 111. Anyone, who by violence, fraud, menace or bribe endeavours to prevent a citizen of the USSR from fulfilling his (or her) right to vote or stand for election to the Supreme Council of the USSR—incur the penalty of arrest for a term of up to two years.

Art. 112. A Soviet official or member of the electoral commission, who tampers with election documents or consciously falsifies the number of votes—incur the penalty of arrest for a term of up to three years.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

M. KALININ.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

A. GORKIN.

Moscow, Kremlin.

9 July, 1937.

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CHRONICLE

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

Foreign Affairs.

Several diplomatic visits to Moscow took place during the summer. Mr. Munters, Latvian Minister of Foreign Affairs reached Moscow on 15 June, Mr. Sandler, Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, also arrived on 8 July, Tewfik Rushtiu Arras, Foreign Minister and Shiukriu Kaia, Minister of the Interior of Turkey, on 11 July; Mr. Rucard, French Minister of Health, reached Kiev on 14 August; the French Minister of National Education, Mr. Jean Zay, reached Moscow on 2 September.

A Basque ship on 23 June brought 1,505 Basque refugee children to Leningrad.

On 17 July a party of Soviet journalists left Moscow for a visit to the Baltic countries.

A Non-Agression Pact between the USSR and China was concluded on 21 August, 1937. In accordance with Article 1, "Both high contracting parties solemnly affirm that they condemn warfare as an instrument for the settlement of international conflicts, and that they hereby renounce war as an instrument of national policy in their mutual relations, and undertake in consequence to refrain from any attack upon each other either separately or in alliance with any other power or powers."

The USSR was represented at the Nyon Conference against piracy in the Mediterranean by Mr. Litvinov, and at the Special London Conference on withdrawal of volunteers from Spain by Mr. Maisky, Soviet Ambassador in London. The Soviet's attitude at both conferences was marked by their insistence on refusing belligerent rights to Franco and by more or less open charges against Italy. The latter point was emphasised by the Soviet note to Italy on 6 September charging Italy with responsibility for the sinking of Soviet merchant vessels. The USSR was represented by Mr. Litvinov at the Brussels Conference on Pacific Affairs, although he left before the close of the Conference.

On 8 October a new Trade agreement between the USSR and Turkey was signed at Ankara, supplementing and defining as well as continuing the operation of the second trade agreement, whose term expired on 1 January, 1937.

Elections to the Supreme Council.

The new Soviet constitution provides for a Supreme Soviet consisting of two houses, the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, the members of which are to be elected for a four year term by vote of citizens of the Union on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage with secret ballot. Instructions covering the first elections for the Supreme Soviet were published on 10 June. The whole country is divided into administrative districts of approximately 300,000 citizens in each district, this being the number to be represented by each member in the Soviet of the Union. Similarly the various republics or autonomous districts are so divided as to provide 25 members of the Soviet of Nationalities from each republic, 11 for each autonomous republic, five for each autonomous district, and one for each national district.

Electoral commissions are set up by delegation from the soviet organisations: a central electoral commission of 15 members, together with republican and district electoral commissions. Candidates for the Supreme Soviet may be nominated by communist party organisations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth organisations, cultural societies, and

other organisations registered in legal manner. Each nominee, however, must pass an electoral commission before becoming a candidate.

On 11 October a decree announced that the elections would be held on 12 December, 1937, the electoral campaign to begin on 12 October. On the 21st names of candidates began to appear in the press, with brief accounts of nominating meetings. The leading personalities of the Union would seem to claim first honours. Party secretaries and Stakhanovites are prominent among candidates.

Although the elections are by secret ballot, candidates are nominated in open meetings, where, judging from Soviet press accounts, the Party machine is holding things in line. Great efforts are made to discredit nominees suggested by churchmen or other "backward elements."

Culture.

The Order of Lenin was conferred, on 2 June, on the Academic Great Theatre, and the Order of the Soviet Union, with certificates of honour, given to 134 artists and collaborators.

The sister of Lenin, Maria Ulyanov, died on 2 June. She had been a loyal revolutionarist, although she never played a prominent part in the leading ranks of the Party.

The XVII International Geological Congress was held in Moscow, from 21 to 29 July.

The Moscow Art Academic Theatre left Moscow on 25 July for a week's performances in Paris, in connection with the International Exhibition. They were well received, and proved the continuing high standard of Russian theatrical art.

On the 26 August the ensemble of the Red Army musicians and dancers also left for Paris. Their appearances at the Salle Pleyel proved so popular that two extra concerts had to be given.

In order to secure the most suitable textbook of History of the USSR for the 3rd and 4th classes, a competition was offered by a Government commission. None was considered worthy of the First Prize, but 46 books or manuscripts were submitted, and one by A. V. Shestakov entitled "A Brief Course of History of the USSR" was awarded the second prize on 22 August, 1937. This book was immediately published in 4,000,000 copies, and subsequently was recommended for higher classes, the 5th, 6th and 7th.

The Soviet Schools opened on 1 September.

Religion.

Not since the first Five Year Plan has there been such a barrage of anti-religious propaganda as is seen in the Soviet press in 1937. The Union of Militant Godless seems to have fallen to pieces and the Party and Government organs are therefore pressing forward. Articles this year stress the fact that the "fight is against religion, not against believers," and that "the religious feelings of believers should not be

offended." Apart from articles in the press, the Government in various districts and cities has passed resolutions and provides means for the strengthening of anti-religious propaganda, especially by teaching and extra-curriculum activities in the schools. The editor of the *Vichuga Worker* was dismissed by the Council of People's Commissaries for advocating the closing of all churches in the district, which would be such an "administrative measure" as is decreed by present government policy. New churches have been opened, for instance 14 in Leningrad Province. At the same time two trials involving bishops and priests, one in Orel and another in Leningrad, have been often referred to in the press.

Aviation

A great triumph for Soviet aviation was marked by the non-stop flight of the ANT-25-1—Moscow, North Pole, the United States. The crew consisted of Chkalov, Bardukov and Belyakov. Leaving Moscow on the 18 June, the plane landed on the 20th at Barracks, near Portland, Oregon.

This was followed shortly by a still greater achievement, the flight of Gromov, Yumashev and Danilin from Moscow via the North Pole to San Jacinto, California, making the world record of distance in a straight line, Klm. 10,800. On 2 September Gromov, Yumashev and Danilin were honoured with the title "Heroes of the Soviet Union" and awarded Rs. 30,000 each.

A third flight ended in disaster, when the four-motor plane AM 34 R.N.B., piloted by the renowned aviator Levanevsky, after leaving Moscow on 12 August on the route—Moscow, North Pole, North America, was reputed lost as on the 15 August. Numerous parties have searched unavailingly for the plane and crew.

Changes in higher official posts.

Recent months have been marked by an extraordinary amount of shifting of officials in higher Government posts. Some have been "released," others "dismissed," others "dismissed for inefficiency." The following are the major appointments, with a few notes of removals from office.

A. I. Mikoyan was appointed Vice-President of the Union Soviet of People's Commissaries on 23 July.

N. A. Bulganin was appointed President of the Soviet of People's Commissaries of the RSFSR. on 23 July.

T. A. Yurkin was appointed People's Commissary for Grain and Stock Soviet Farms of the Union on 23 July.

V. Y. Chubar was on 17 August appointed People's Commissary of Finances, while remaining Vice-President of the Soviet of People's Commissaries.

M. D. Berman was on the same date appointed People's Commissary of Communications.

The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian SSR. on 1 September appointed M. J. Bondarenko President of the Soviet of People's Commissaries of the Ukrainian SSR.

M. F. Boldyrev was appointed People's Commissary of Health of the USSR. on 3 August.

M. M. Kaganovich was on 16 October appointed People's Commissary for Defence Industries.

M. L. Ruuhimovich was "released" on 16 October from his duties as Commissary of Defence Industries.

A. S. Bubnov on 13 October was "dismissed" from the post of Commissary of Education for unsatisfactory work. D. A. Tyurkin was appointed Commissary of Education.

Espionage and wrecking.

A great number of citizens of high and low rank have been convicted and executed on charges of espionage and wrecking. Details appear less in the Moscow than in the provincial press, though the former publishes enough to give the impression of widespread suspicion. In this connection a decree was passed on 2 October authorising the sentencing of persons convicted of espionage, etc., not only to a "maximum of ten years" or "death" but to a sentence of a "maximum of 25 years."

Agriculture.

An official resolution of 4 June prohibits the renting of land suitable for agricultural use, within the confines of a city, or adjacent to city limits.

Construction.

The Construction of the Moscow-Volga Canal was officially completed on 5 July, 1937. In recognition of this achievement, the Central Executive Committee on 15 July released from prison sentences 55,000 persons who had been engaged in this task, and decorated 404 of the constructors with the Order of the Soviet Union.

Economics.

A resolution of 23 August divided the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry into two Commissariats—Machine Construction and Heavy Industry. V. I. Mezhlauk heads the former, and L. M. Kaganovich the latter, after being released from his post of Commissary of Ways of Communications.

A new defence loan was authorised on 2 June. .

A highly significant step in the direction of further socialisation of the USSR was taken on 17 October, 1937, by the resolution of the Central Executive Committee on the Preservation and Improvement of Housing

in Cities. By this resolution, co-operatively-built apartment houses become state property, and local soviets are made responsible for the residence "fund" within their respective administrative areas.

The 1937 Census.

The census taken on 6 January, 1937 (see *Slavonic Review*, July, 1937, page 225), was annulled by decision published on 26 September. A new census is to take place in January, 1939. The reason given by that decision for the annulment is that "the Central Office of Economic Records of the Plan Commission carried the Census out with the grossest violation both of the elementary basis of statistical science and also of the instructions given by the Government."

Careful preparations, however, were made for the 1937 census. As early as 28 April, 1936, the *questionnaire* to be used and the instructions to workers were officially approved by the Soviet of People's Commissaries. The necessary staff was selected and trained, totalling over a million persons. For some time before the census, the Soviet press conducted a vigorous educational campaign to prepare the whole population for the event. And immediately after 6 January there were frequent press comments indicating that there had been the best possible co-operation between populace and census-takers, as well as numerous expressions of satisfaction at the success of the operation. It is interesting to note that the census of 1926, although carried out under far less favourable circumstances in the way of preparation, was accepted and its results were officially published.

Railway transport.

In contrast to the past two years, the Soviet press for 1937 has struck a less optimistic note as regards the railway situation. Construction of new material lags. In 1934, 1,248 locomotives were built, in 1935, 1,807. The plan in 1936 called for 1,900 and this figure was retained for 1937. Data for the first seven months of 1937 indicate that locomotive construction has been only 70·5 per cent. of the plan schedule. Locomotive repair during the same period is 72·9 per cent. of what the plan requires, and car-construction 70 per cent. The magazine "Plan" states that only 36 per cent. of railroad construction for the two Five-Year plans has been accomplished.

A less favourable situation exists in the repair and maintenance of tracks. The official organ of the Commissariat of Ways and Communications, *Gudok*, reports that during the past two years track-repair has been about 60 per cent. of what it should be, and that fragmentary repairs have been so poorly done that further work was required within a short time. For the first seven months of 1937 capital repair is only 11·9 per cent. of that required by the plan and less extensive repairs 26 per cent. The chief reasons for this deficiency are reported as lack of materials and of skilled labour.

Food Prices.

As usual each autumn, the Soviet press this year carries news of a decline in food prices. Beef now costs 4-5 rbls per kilo, milk 0.90 rbls. the litre, butter 10-12 rbls. per kilo, eggs 0.30 rbls a piece, wheat flour 0.70-1.20 a kilo, and potatoes 0.20-0.30. Available quantities of all foods, and especially meat and dairy products, have steadily increased since peasants received the right of private ownership of live stock. (17 February, 1935.)

In this connection an interesting situation has arisen: prices in privately managed "bazaars" are often lower than those in the state-operated food-shops. The bazaars are more sensitive to the law of supply and demand than is the Government. Thus, when meat in the bazaar is 4-5 rbls. a kilo, it costs 5-9.50 in the state food-shops. Butter in the bazaar costs 10-12 rbls, while the Government price is still 15-19.50. Potatoes in the bazaar are 0.20-0.30 rbls. while the state food-shops' price is 0.25-0.40, and flour in private sale varies in different sections of the country between 0.70 and 1.20 rbls. while state prices are 1-3 rbls. Thus prices in private trade are exercising pressure on state-owned shops.

The 1937 Harvest.

The first official estimate of 7 billion puds as the total grain harvest this year was later reduced to 6.8 billions. *Pravda*, August 21st, gives the latter figure, remarking that the 1937 harvest will be $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the yield in 1936 which was 4.6 billion. *Sotzialisticheskoye Zemledelie* for December 2nd, 1937, confirms this figure 6.8 billions and compares it with the figure 5.5 billion for 1933.

XXth Anniversary of the October Revolution.

On 7 November was celebrated the 20th anniversary of the October Revolution under the slogan: "power and invincibility of the land of Soviets and love and loyalty to the Party and to the leader of peoples, Stalin." Military parades took place in all cities of the Union. In Moscow, where the parade was naturally the greatest of all, the entire garrison of the town took part, including 300 aeroplanes. The only speech pronounced on the Red Square at the time of the parade was that of Marshal Voroshilov.

It is noteworthy that this year there was no amnesty of political prisoners; such amnesties had taken place on previous anniversaries of the October Revolution.

REVIEWS

Britain in Europe, 1789-1914. A Survey of Foreign Policy. By R. W. Seton-Watson. Cambridge University Press. 1937. Pp. 716.

In writing this book the author had to overcome three difficulties. The book does not aim at being a complete history of British foreign policy, which it discusses only in relation to the Continent. During the last century the problems of the Empire became more and more important. America, the Far East, the Dominions and the colonies proved to be new centres of international interest, occupying British attention in an unexpected degree. To this first problem the author has found quite a good solution: he occasionally summarises the world situation, thus giving the background for British activity in Europe. The second difficulty was the remarkable connection between British policy at home and abroad. As is well known, a new turn in foreign policy was often brought about by a sudden change in the Cabinet. British policy on the whole is just a refutation of L. von Ranke's thesis that foreign policy should take precedence over home policy. It would be interesting to analyse the mutual influence of home and foreign policy in the history of Great Britain. Anyhow, the author was quite right to give a short account of these internal troubles, in order to give a better understanding of the new developments. The third difficulty concerns the sources. This first survey of foreign policy is an experiment, as the author himself knows and explains. His extraordinary knowledge of printed material in many languages is the chief basis of his book. Only a few entirely new sources could be used in any case, but there are some quotations and facts from hitherto unpublished material which are of great interest. Among them is a letter, kept in the Austrian State Archives, in which, writing to Francis Joseph soon after the assassination of Alexander II, the new Tsar says: "My Father fell on the breach, but it is Christian society which was struck in him. It is lost, unless all the social forces unite and save it."—a curious emphasis of Christian universalism in the Europe of 1881.

The author has found a special stimulus in Hansard's reports of the debates in both Houses of Parliament. This source is really a wonderful echo of vocal public opinion; it reproduces the full vitality of contemporary political feelings. Since Parliamentary speeches were not the statements of historians, it would be quite easy to prove by the utterances of His Majesty's Opposition that British foreign policy during the last two hundred years has definitely been very weak. Actually it was most successful, simply because it was so much discussed. The author has reconstructed the marvellous play of the dialectic process which was performed by the cooperation of British foreign policy and British public opinion. He has shown that the attacks were always very sharp, that opinions differed a good deal, and that in spite of all these struggles, British foreign policy, thanks to good, sound instinct, followed the right

road. In his epilogue the author says that when we consider the broad lines of British policy since the days of Napoleon, we find that there has been surprisingly little change. The chief points in that policy were naval supremacy, balance of power on the Continent, and a free hand overseas. Britain was and will continue to be linked to the European continent : the kernel of this basic opinion is best expressed in the following passage from the author's epilogue :

“ Nothing is more inexact than to suppose that her interventions on the Continent cramped her colonial style. . . . Selfish isolation was always the surest way of endangering British overseas interests and alliances might serve not merely to achieve a specific purpose, but to frustrate a hostile combination.”

How is the extensive material of such a book arranged? Apart from prologue and epilogue, there are fifteen chapters, the titles of which contain the names of such statesmen as Castlereagh, Canning, Wellington, Aberdeen, Palmerston and Disraeli, or are concerned with such important topics as the Holy Alliance, the *rapprochement* of the Western Powers, the Eastern question and the crisis of the *Entente Cordiale*, the origin of the Crimean war, Roumania and Italy, interference as a policy, non-intervention and isolation, the Berlin settlement of the Eastern question, and the return to isolation. The list of contents alone will give the reader some idea of the vast field covered by the book. It is remarkable how skillfully sign-posts of general orientation are erected everywhere. It is not surprising that Balkan questions are treated with special care and learning. For instance we are informed that Castlereagh declined no less than six times to receive the Serbian delegates “ who knocked so patiently at his door ” during the Congress of Vienna. Before the outbreak of the Crimean war in 1853, Cobden in the House of Commons spoke as a champion of the wishes of the Christian population of the Balkans. The author emphasises that this was the first occasion on which a British statesman publicly took account of the rights and interests of the subject races of Turkey as opposed to their rulers. Chapter XIII is a condensed version of the author's well-known book : “ Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question ” (1935). In speaking of Disraeli's remarks on Serbia in 1876, the author sums up his verdict in the brilliant sentence : “ He thus revealed his inability to distinguish between such different forces as Russian nihilism, Russian Slavophiles, Serb nationalists and Bulgarian or Bosnian insurgents.” A special feature of the author's presentation is his fairness of judgment. Personalities of very different denomination and character are treated with a perfect objectivity. What he says with reference to the books of Professors Webster and von Srbik on the relations between Castlereagh and Metternich, seems to be the truth. The portraits of the different leaders of British foreign policy are masterpieces. There is Castlereagh again, there is Canning, and especially there is Palmerston. Palmerston's work covers a good deal of the century ; and this accounts for

repeated varied and sound discussions of his astonishing activities. Palmerston, as is well-known, met with the same fate in history as in life. He excited passionate love and admiration as well as cordial and bitter hatred. It is most useful to read what Dr. Seton-Watson has to say of him (pages 153, 222, 252), especially the general estimate of Palmerston's policy (page 458). There is a frank acknowledgment of Palmerston's uprightness of character and high sense of patriotism. The conclusive verdict runs as follows: "Palmerston's vindication of British interests has endeared him to many and certainly entitles him to rank as one of Britain's greatest foreign ministers. . . . But of his methods and tactics no real defence can be offered, and today they deserve the close study of all statesmen and diplomatists as a very model of what should be avoided."

Clarendon and Russell have received equally valuable study and research. Russell perhaps is the only person who seems, as far as I can see, a little ill-treated in spite of the author's best intentions. Salisbury's position could not be made better understood than by a shrewd comparison with his two greater contemporaries, Disraeli and Gladstone. Salisbury stood, as Dr. Seton-Watson puts it very handsomely, almost exactly half-way between the two extremes of Disraeli and Gladstone. One detail may be mentioned relating to Salisbury. His conversation with the German Emperor on the future of Turkey in 1895 has been exploited by many continental historians as a sort of turning-point. According to the author this incident was much less sensational and also less clear-cut than has often been alleged. Dr. Seton-Watson's appreciation of the Prince Consort's position should be acknowledged with special gratitude. He refutes the queer supposition that Prince Albert, if he had lived as long as the Queen, might have aspired to give England the "blessing of absolute government." No student of Albert's development and trend of mind could imagine that the Queen and he would ever have risked dropping the great traditions of parliamentary government which they recognised as the real watch-word of their period.

I have discovered only two mistakes in this thick volume, and I feel that that is a great compliment to the author's thoroughness. The name of the poet who wrote "*Die Wacht am Rhein*" was Max Schneckenburger (p. 208); and the two Malets, father and son, Sir Alexander and Sir Edward are confused in the index. For a second edition, which I hope will be necessary soon, I should like to make some suggestions. Leopold I, King of the Belgians, has shown so far a laudable strength of character as he remained a practising protestant to his last breath. (p. 227). As to the secret Anglo-Russian agreement of 1844 I would like to know the author's opinion on V. J. Puryear's interpretation. The quarrels between Germany and Denmark during the period of the revolution of 1848 are resumed later on, in 1864; it would be clearer to insert at least one paragraph in the chapter on "Palmerston in the year of Revolution," because

Palmerston's attitude would thus become more understandable. The Alvensleben-agreement in 1863 was followed by such remarkable consequences that a more detailed account seems to be useful especially for the English reader. Since the publication of the Prussian diplomatic documents the case has been perfectly clear. The Alvensleben-agreement was definitely a diplomatic defeat of Bismarck, but caused, curiously enough, his first great international triumph, the disagreement of the Western powers in the Polish question and their inability to take any efficient action.

Concerning the prehistory of the German war in 1866 Clarendon's task of mediation is worth mentioning. The Luxemburg incident in 1867 was after all a diplomatic defeat of Bismarck, resented rather sharply by old King William. The German Foreign Office I feel, must have been well aware of the difference between several and collective guarantees. Dr. Winifred Taffs has discovered a report of the British Military Attaché of May 24th 1883 of a conversation with Emperor William I, and this report throws some light on the consequences of the Ems telegram. We know from Meding's memoirs that the old king refused to give the order of mobilisation and did not yield before receiving information of Ollivier's bellicose speech. This speech was of course the answer to the Ems telegram. Finally, I rather doubt whether the author is right in comparing the Anglo-French military communications of the pre-war period with the relations between the German general staff and the Austro-Hungarian and Italian authorities. The Triple Alliance was a concrete political combination, well-known in the political world, if not in all the details at least in all decisive points. The Western *Entente*, on the other hand, was a vague and loose political relation between two Great Powers, the last decisions of which remained uncertain, in spite of the unofficial talks between their war-offices and admiralities. One could even say that the military conversations of the Triple Alliance were quite natural and therefore without any supplementary political significance. The unofficial talks of the authorities of the *Entente* became a political factor just because the *Entente* itself remained in such a degree without commitment.

Dr. Seton-Watson's literary style is spicy and juicy, it is full of irony and tension, it is the style of a great connoisseur who is a patriot as well as a historian. He shows a considerable capacity for acknowledging the activities of other authors, he is very generous in quotations, his polemics show superiority by mildness. Seldom is the reader fascinated by comparisons with actual political events. Dr. Seton-Watson generally remains within the limitations of diplomatic history. Allusions on economic, social and cultural problems are rare. When they occur, they are most effective, as for instance the few remarks on the cultural links between England and Italy which are a brilliant introduction to the account of the part played by England in the making of Italian unity (page 410).

The best way of taking leave of this outstanding book is, I believe, a

reference to two sayings of the great *dioscuri*, Gladstone and Disraeli, on whose political work Dr. Seton-Watson has made the masterpiece of his own reflections as a historiographer of diplomacy. Gladstone's famous "six heads" to-day read as a very actual programme of British and European political thought. To show once again the author's method I may quote what he has to say in that respect:

"So far from conflicting with Disraeli's Guildhall views or with Canning's demand that intervention should be as rare as possible, but then with our whole force, Gladstone's definition of policy may be said to supplement them both, and to form quite logically the half-way house between Castlereagh's first efforts at international co-operation and that fuller and more august doctrine of a League of Nations which is today on trial at Geneva."

Such a general consideration shows the great trend of events and the adequate capacity of our interpreter. For those who do not remember Disraeli's Guildhall views, his famous swansong, I put here one immortal sentence of his to finish our humble reflections, a sentence which could be the motto as well as the conclusion of every consideration on Britain in Europe:

"So long as the power and advice of England are felt in the councils of Europe, peace, I believe, will be maintained, and for a long period."

VEIT VALENTIN.

Deutsche und Tschechen. Zur Geistesgeschichte des böhmischen Raumes.

(I, Von den Anfängen zur hussitischen Kirchenerneuerung.) By Konrad Bittner. Brünn, 1936.

THE German University in Prague is for obvious reasons specially well qualified to promote the cause of Czech studies. The work of M. Trautmann, F. Spina and H. Rippl in Czech philology and old literature, the work of W. Wostry and E. Winter in Czech history command general esteem. A new book by Konrad Bittner, the *Privatdozent* in Comparative Slavonic Literature, deserves, therefore, detailed notice, especially as Dr. Bittner has good work on Herder to his credit. *Deutsche und Tschechen* is the first volume of an ambitious attempt to write a full history of the literary relations of the two nations set into a broad discussion of the political and social background. The volume already published traces the whole course of Czech history and literature up to the Hussite movement with special stress on German influences. It gives a full conspectus of these questions and shows a considerable knowledge of recent Czech and German research. Sometimes Czech standard handbooks are followed almost too closely (especially Jakubec's *History of Czech Literature*), but even such a mere digest could be useful, as little information on these questions is available to readers unacquainted

with Czech. But the book promises and attempts much more. a sort of "philosophy of Bohemian history" and even a forecast of the main line of future development. Bittner wants "to map out (abstecken) the political realities (Gegebenheiten) and possibilities" (XI) of the present day. He promises that this philosophy of history would "start from the facts and would be ultimately founded only and exclusively on facts" and he tells us that "lack of prejudice and strict objectivity" is an "unquestioned command" (XI) to him. These professions are, however, completely contradicted by the actual text of his book. Rarely could political prejudice have led to such obvious and glaring distortions of common facts and to such misinterpretations of the general course of Czech history. Bittner starts from the preconceived dogma of an irreconcilable antagonism between the two nations. He construes even a sort of historical "law" which asserts that whenever the Germans flourished in Bohemia, the Czechs declined inevitably, and the other way round. He compares this supposed "fact" with a scale: one nation falling from its height lifts the other up with mechanical regularity. Bittner draws up a nice little graph depicting in beautiful simplicity, how the "Germanic-German line of development" curves up and down always in exact contradiction to the "Czech (and Slovak) line of development" (p. 9). The German peaks are put at the first century A.D., at about 1300 and at about 1780, at which dates the Czech curve reaches always its lowest point, while the Czech line culminates in the 10th century, in 1420 and apparently at some unspecified time after 1850, when the Czech curve is shown rising and ending abruptly and the German declining just as steeply. It is a pity that Bittner has not drawn the curve up to the present time and has denied us a glimpse into the future. The obvious inference (and the book, after all, professes to forecast the future) would be a new rise of the Germans with a new inevitable decline of the Czechs. It is surprising that Bittner considers this fatal interconnection of the two nations as sketched by his own hand as an argument against Palacký's conception of Czech history as an incessant struggle between Slavism and Germanism (p. 415). If Bittner's "law of the scale" were true, no more cogent argument in favour of ruthlessly pressing the other nation's scale could be found either by Czechs or Germans. Happily an examination of the facts shows that this pretentious "philosophy of history" flies in the face of all commonly acknowledged facts. It could have been drawn up only in utter disregard of one very important distinction: political power is by no means contemporaneous with a flourishing of literature, even in Bohemia. If we look at the graph closely, we see that the first peak of the "Germans" in the first century A.D. means only that the Marcomans were then residing in the country. One has not heard of their cultural achievements. The "decline" of the Germans in the 10th century means simply that they were practically non-existent in Bohemia, then, though in the text of the book, Bittner tries to defend the fantastic theory of Bretholz holding that

considerable numbers of Germanic people remained in the country and that the Czechs had "to share their possession with them" (p. 8). The next German peak of "about 1300" contrasts with a low trough of Czech decline, an utter distortion of the actual situation. Politically the medieval Czech state was then at the height of its power. It is true that the influx of German colonists was considerable then, and the beginning of a German literature in Bohemia can be traced to this time. But, in these very same years Czech literature was also beginning its full development and this literature is by no means a replica of the German literature of the time. Bittner makes elaborate efforts to prove this dependence: but obviously Czech poetical diction and prosody were remarkably free from German influences and not even the subject-matter of Czech literature can be traced to German sources. Most known sources of 14th century Czech literature are in Latin written by non-German authors. Bittner by an easy equivocation considers everything western and even Christian as German and constantly ignores the fact that medieval civilisation was remarkably uniform and that Germans acted largely as mediators of Italian and French developments. The whole extensive Czech literature of the 14th century is inexplicable if one presupposes an imaginary decline of the Czechs about 1300. The two nations in Bohemia were developing almost simultaneously. The later fourteenth century which in Bittner's graph shows a steep German decline was actually a time of German expansion and literary activity and just the finest medieval German prose work, "Der Ackermann aus Böhmen," was written in about 1411-15 when the graph shows the German line approaching its lowest trough. Bittner's graph at this point is obviously indicative purely of the political situation created by the Hussite wars, but for later times he construes a continuous decline of the Czechs which meets the German rise in about 1500 and sinks to its lowest depths about 1780. Bittner simply ignores the considerable humanist literature of the Czechs during the 16th century and the importance of a figure like Comenius. For the sake of his graph he presupposes a continuous German advance up to 1780, though actually after the Thirty Years' War the two nations drifted into the backwater of the Austrian Baroque which cannot be considered as a time favourable to German civilisation. The revival of the two nations in the 18th century was almost simultaneous, the Czechs lagging behind the Germans by a few decades. The complete unreality of Bittner's "philosophy of history" is best demonstrated by his graph of the two national lines of development after 1850, showing a sharp German decline alongside a steep Czech rise. Actually throughout the 19th century the Germans in Bohemia made enormous strides in all fields of human endeavour, and, not least, in literature. In politics they held their privileged position right up to the end of the War, though they were compelled to make some concessions in the later 19th century. A glance at the statistics shows that the Germans in Bohemia were even slightly increasing their

share of the population (in spite of their lower birth-rate) through Germanisation right up to 1900. The 1910 census shows a slight decline of their proportion for the first time. (The percentage of Germans in Bohemia was 37.17 per cent. in 1880, 37.27 per cent. in 1900, 36.76 per cent. in 1910, 32.38 per cent. in 1930.) The idea of a German decline after 1850 is contradicted by every figure and fact in literature, economics, population, etc. The two nations were again just as in the 14th century developing simultaneously in spite of political friction. The Germans played an important part especially in the initial stages of the National Revival. But not every German influence, especially in older times, was something nationally German. Besides, one should not underrate the fact that the Czechs had many direct relations with other nations than the Germans, even in the Middle Ages: with Italy, with France, with England (Wyclif), and, of course, with the other Slavs. There is, besides, the original creativeness of the nation which gave a new turn to many imported ideas and, after all, even exported some of its original ideas, mainly in the field of religion. It would be beyond the scope of this review to point out the many instances in which Bittner obviously overstresses German influence and ignores anything contradicting his main thesis.¹ The whole basic conception is in conflict with the facts and belies the promises of impartiality completely. One cannot help feeling that nationalistic sentiment has distorted a work of research and that, under the cloak of scholarship, nothing but elaborate propaganda is conducted to prove that the Czechs were, are and will be, always subservient to German culture and that their new decline is inevitable, now that a new and powerful Germany has arisen.

RENÉ WELLEK.

The First Russian Revolution, 1825. The Decembrist Movement, Its Origins, Development, and Significance. By Anatole G. Mazour. University of California Press, Berkeley, Cal. 1937, XVIII, 324 pp.

RUSSIAN historical literature on the Decembrist Rising of 1825, its leaders and camp-followers, its ideals and dreams, merits and failures, has already been for some time of considerable proportions. A special Bibliography on the subject, published in Moscow eight years ago, a bulky volume of about 800 pages, has a list of literally not fewer than 4,282 titles, both investigations and sources, exclusive of works in foreign languages. And since then a large number of supplementary materials has been added.

Nevertheless up to now no comprehensive modern study of the whole question has appeared in any western-european language. The recently published book of the young American scholar Mazour, from whose

¹ Cf. a fully documented review by Roman Jakobson in *Slovo a Slovesnost* Vol. II (1936), pp. 207-21 (in Czech.).

pen we already have a brief survey of Russian historiography from Tatishchev to Pokrovsky (*The Journal of Modern History*, vol. IX, No. 2, June, 1937), therefore supplies a very essential need. The author was in the fortunate position of being able in his researches to benefit by the rich harvest of the Jubilee literature on the rising which appeared in 1925 and the years following. The highly informative testimonies of the Decembrists to the Investigation Commission, published in seven volumes by the Tsentrarkhiv have formed, for instance, one of the chief sources of his book. Apart from these, however, the work is liberally documented, and it is to the author's credit that in research extending over several years, he has drawn upon widely scattered material which outside Russia is not easily accessible.

The author's judgment of the movement and his analysis of its development are sound, well-balanced and sympathetic. He has also been able to compress into a clear, lucid form the mass of material at his disposal. In his handling of events he hardly departs from the conventional point of view. All the same, this very conscientiously pursued inquiry, which includes many extremely interesting details, can be recommended even to the reader already acquainted with the subject as a good and convenient survey of the manifold problems of the Decembrist movement. And for the layman the book will prove a reliable guide.

Less convincing are, however, the general remarks and ideas of the author. He has, it must be affirmed, in spite of the arguments brought forward in the introduction and at the close of the book, not been able to justify the title "The First Russian Revolution." This title involves—in view of the outcome of the rising which proved to be merely a cul de sac—mistaking summer lightning for the tempest. One will also find it difficult from the historical point of view to understand the statement of the publishers: "the volume is the first in a projected series, the object of which is to set forth from its beginnings to the present, in proper order and relation, the entire story of revolution in Russia. The first volume covers the period 1800–1825; the second will cover the period 1825–1856." Obviously a distinction must be made between a history of the Revolutionary Movement and a history of the Revolution—two very different historical phenomena. The attempt of the author himself to connect closely the Decembrist rising with the Russian Revolution of 1917 also gives rise to certain inaccuracies. Chernyshevsky and Pisarev, for instance, cannot be regarded as "typical representatives of the generation that raised the banner of the Decembrists still higher and carried it to larger masses of the people during the dark reign of Nicholas." The actual literary activity of Chernyshevsky took place only in the reign of Alexander II, and at the time of the death of Nicholas I, Pisarev was only 14 years old.

A selected Bibliography and an Appendix of historical sources (including Extracts from Pestel's Testimony, Letter of Kakhovsky,

etc.) are added to this meritorious and informative study. The admirable form of the book—print, paper, plates, maps, etc.—must, in a work dealing with a special problem of Russian history, be particularly extolled.

SERGE YAKOBSON.

Sixty Years of Social and Political Life. By Bogdan Hutten-Czapski. (Polish and German editions). Two Vols. Warsaw, 1936. With illustrations.

IN the two stout volumes before us, we have the second document of note in the space of three years, which throws light on the backgrounds of many important events in pre-war Europe, and from a special angle. The first was the three volume edition of the Letters of Princess Radziwill, *née* Castellane, wife of the distinguished adjutant of Emperor William I, published in 1933-34 simultaneously in Bologna and Paris. Though not a German, and never sympathising with many things that went on in the new Reich, the Princess moved for half a lifetime inside the circle of the German aristocracy.

Now we have the Memoirs of Count Hutten-Czapski, born a Pole and a Roman Catholic, of noble estate and of unusual connections; who made the best use of exceptional opportunities, and triumphed over seemingly insuperable obstacles. As an officer in the Prussian cavalry he knew the army. As the friend and confidant of eminent statesmen he was used for delicate missions of different sorts, which let him into vital secrets of state. As a bachelor, he was free to move among people and to serve them, in ways that might not have been possible for the Head of a family. As a Member of the Upper House in Berlin he could lift his voice in legislation. As a Pole, but a Prussian civil servant, he could make important, though mostly futile attempts to find ways of solving Prussia's "greatest problem."

Hutten-Czapski was a student of twenty, and happened to be in Rome when Garibaldi's troops entered the city in 1870. He was a grey-haired veteran, though still in active service, when forty-five years later the Germans entered Warsaw in August, 1915. The account of what happened between those dates, of which the author can truly claim *magna pars fui*, is what these volumes bring. We have as well the story of his services during the ensuing years of the German occupation 1915-18, and some concluding remarks. A good half-century of service of the Prussian state and the Hohenzollern dynasty—certainly something worth telling!

The more so as the man attempted to do what few have ever succeeded in doing: to remain a Pole and at the same time be a loyal subject and servant of the German empire. His Catholic faith made this possible, and his social position made it easier. What is more, his effort to solve this problem of a double loyalty is of first-rate importance to us today in view of the fact that the national minorities in Europe number tens of

millions. But he paid the price, which was that, save for individual friends, neither nation trusted him. His fellow Poles in Poznań looked on at his doings with dismay, or even anger—many of them called him a renegade. Among Germans the belief was accepted that he was a Jesuit Father in disguise, released from the ordinary vows for very special service. He bore all this mostly with an equal mind, and as a man of means could remain independent where others could not. It was his rare good fortune to live long enough to document both his loyalties, to add to protests in pre-war years against the Prussian policy of repression, if not of extermination, sterling deeds of a constructive kind during the war years, for which the Polish nation as a whole will not be ungrateful. Nevertheless, had he died at 65, nothing could have saved him from the reproach of being a turncoat, or at the best a quietist. He did live “to wipe out the infamy,” and it is only fair to say that the opportunity of doing this would not have been given him, had it not been for his skill in serving William II, and keeping his confidence in the face of many calumnies.

To go through these volumes is to pass in review some of the most momentous happenings of modern times. Hutten-Czapski, young as he was, enjoyed the personal confidence of Pio Nono; and, we may add, of all his predecessors during fifty years. This fact made him a valuable mediator on more than one occasion between Berlin and the Vatican—to the story of whose relations this work is a notable contribution. He was called into counsel more than once by the Iron Chancellor himself. As adjutant to Manteuffel, the first Governor of Alsace, he had a chance of observing on the spot conditions curiously parallel in many ways to those of his own Poznań. He was on intimate terms for long years with Bismarck's real successor (the Caprivi régime was only an interim), Hohenlohe; and was only less intimate with Prince Bülow. His regard for the former stands out in striking contrast to his suspicion of the latter. Himself a land-owner, on the borders of the world ruled by the Junkers, he watched with concern the developments in the Eastern Marches—the *Kulturkampf* and its sequel. When, the Colonisation Scheme was rehabilitated in sterner form by Bülow, he opposed it as best he could (we realise in these pages how many Germans were against it!); and he saw how all these official and unofficial dealings of the Prussians with their Polish minority were to hang like a mill-stone round the neck of the German occupants of “Russian” Poland during the war. Hoping for too much from Bethmann-Holweg, he saw the other party prevail; and the prospects of a “square deal” for the Polish nation fade out before German plans for expansion eastward.

One wonders whether Hutten-Czapski could go on blinding himself to the fact that these plans ran directly counter to the declared goal of a re-united Polish people, which every true patriot had before him right through the 19th century. How could the man eat his cake, and yet hope to have it too? All he did during forty years looked like an

acceptance of the *status quo*; which meant the consolidation of Prussian aims on the lower Vistula, with the ultimate collapse of the Polish defence. On more than one occasion he raised his voice in protest against the brutality of Prussian methods: yet he gave the money to put a stained-glass window in the chapel of the Castle in Poznan, built and opened by the Kaiser as the symbol of Prussian, and German, domination in that part of Europe. Further, while his fellow-Poles boycotted the official visits of the Kaiser and his family to the city, he, as *Burggraf* of the place, helped to give them their official welcome. That he was sincere in all this, there can be no doubt; but the question arises as to whether his mind and spirit were not divided into compartments, and that he lived now in one and now in another. While we admire, we wonder too—how was it possible? In our more downright day and generation, such a thing would be out of the question.

Space does not permit of any comment on a most valuable part of the book: the years of the Occupation, when Hutten-Czapski was at the right hand of Governor-General von Beseler, by the express wish of the All Highest. Here too he was the right man in the right place, and his account is of great worth. He did what he could to realise cherished ideals of German-Polish collaboration, but the cards were stacked against him. From the moment when the offer of "independence" was coupled with a deliberate plan to recruit a Polish army to fight for the Central Powers, he knew the game was up. His comments on the character of Jozef Pilsudski are only one of the useful contributions these chapters make to our knowledge.

The whole book is replete with source materials—chiefly letters: one might say there were too many of them. But they add immensely to the value of the work for the student of history; and the toil taken to prepare them for the press will not have been lost. The aged author passed away last year. One of his last acts was to present his Memoirs to the Library of the School which publishes this Review.

W. J. ROSE.

A magyar irodalom története a XX. században (History of Hungarian Literature in the 20th Century). By Aladár Schöpfung. Budapest, 1937. 312 pp.

THIS book which is to be followed by a 20th century anthology, is a critical survey of recent Hungarian literature. The author belongs to the best-known figures of the "Nyugat" movement and has been an active collaborator of that periodical ever since its start in 1908 both as critic and belletrist. The "Nyugat" (meaning "West"), a manifestation of those westernizing tendencies which appear periodically in Hungarian literature, met with a hostile reception from nationalist-conservative circles. Mr. Schöpfung was a champion of the new movement in the ensuing literary squabbles and some traces of the old pugnaciousness inevitably

remain beneath the calm surface of his scholarly work. A considerable portion of the book is a vindication of the *Nyugat* movement for which Mr. Schöpfung justly claims that it had introduced a number of fresh forces into Hungarian literature after the stagnation of the turn of the century. This stagnation is attributed by the author to the rise of a class-conscious middle-class anxious to impress its peculiar forms of life and thought on the whole of society, and the development of a "classical" Hungarian *Weltanschauung*, artificially preserved by the spokesman of "official" literature long after the spirit which had animated it in the great period of the middle of the 19th century was gone. In order to present a dialectical march of history from the simple towards the complex, reflected in a corresponding change from the homogeneous outlook of the classical age to the intellectual confusion of the disintegration period, Mr. Schöpfung somewhat overstates the mental unity of the former. Nor does he seem to do full justice to Arany, whom he regards as the typical representative of the bourgeois outlook, unhampered by doubts, accepting the fact of life as its ultimate purpose and meaning. Arany's complexity of mind, his Hamlet-like note of doubt and disillusion which had been searchingly analysed by Michael Babits; the penetrating criticism of history and depressing conclusions of Imre Madách and Sigismund Kemény, hardly fit into the framework of serene self-complacency with which Mr. Schöpfung credits this age. There is always a danger of unwarranted simplification if one tries to regard individuals merely as expressions and representatives of their particular times. The interdependence of historical age and personality seems to be much more complex than to allow of any strict equation.

These remarks apply, however, only to the opening chapters of the book, dealing with preliminaries. On the whole, Mr. Schöpfung, owing to his critical restraint and penetration, has been able to give a convincing synthesis of the most debated period of Hungarian literature—a task all the more difficult to perform as this book is a pioneer venture with no predecessors to rely on. The plan of the work is to discuss first the great tendencies and movements leading to the gradual transformation of Hungarian society and outlook. The most attractive portions of the book are, however, the pen-portraits of individual writers drawn with psychological acumen and consummate artistry of style. We get an effective picture of the decadent art of the late 19th century, with its slight themes and forms and pleasant style, in its encounter with the stormwind of the new movement fraught with symbolic speech, ecstasy and social feeling. The centre of the picture is the "heretic genius" of Andrew Ady, whose poetry is described as a huge modern epic, the sum total of the reactions of an intense personality to his environment, to the problems of race, religion, death, the insoluble mysteries of existence. His artistic counterpart is Michael Babits, in whom a wealth of universal learning is transformed into pure lyricism. The greatest narrative talent of modern Hungarian literature is Sigismund Móricz, who broke with the idyllic

treatment of the peasant practised by his predecessors and described his heroes as crushed by, or rebellious against, the heavy, stifling atmosphere of the countryside. A leader of social criticism, Móricz also created the most remarkable modern Hungarian historical novel in his "Erdély," an entirely successful artistic recreation of 17th century Transylvania.

These are, of course, heights about which there can hardly be any difference of critical opinion. Mr. Schöppflin considers, however, the minor stars of the galaxy as well, and here some of the *Nyugat* poets, as Szép, Füst or Simon Kemény, seem to be placed on a higher level than their intrinsic poetic value would justify. On the other hand, many readers will disagree with the description of the novelist Desider Szabó as the figure of loudest voice and most pretentious attitude.

On discussing the literature of the Great War, Mr. Schöppflin marks with satisfaction the absence of the note of hatred and emphasises the fearless pacifism of Babits and Karinthy.

In post-war years, the most promising talents developed again in the orbit of the *Nyugat*. Mr. Schöppflin has sincere words of appreciation for the new generation of poets, such as L. Szabó, G. Illyés and J. Erdélyi, who discarded the excessive individualism of the preceding generation and express primeval feelings in simple language. Lyric poetry represents, however, only one aspect, though perhaps the most original, of post-war Hungarian literature. The intellectual breadth of this recent period is revealed in the rich material authoritatively discussed by Mr. Schöppflin under the headings of regional literature, sociographical movements, and the historical and biographical novel.

The final conclusion of the book is reassuring. The polyphonic literature of the last thirty years, though it did not reach the heights of the middle of the 19th century, is found to be vastly superior in level, artistic intensity, culture, sincerity and social comprehensiveness to the literary output of the closing decades of the last century.

N. J. SZENCZI.

The Death of King Buda. A Hungarian Epic Poem by János Arany. Rendered into English Verse by Watson Kirkconnell. Cleveland, (Ohio), 1936. 159 pp.

THE aim of the Benjamin Franklin Bibliophile Society, under whose auspices the present volume was published as an initial venture, is "the promotion of international understanding through the publication of masterpieces of world literature, especially those of the less familiar literatures of Central and Eastern Europe."

The choice of the first classic to be represented in the Society's Hungarian Library is a singularly happy one. The poetry of Arany, perhaps the most characteristic literary genius of his country, is practically unknown to the English-speaking public. Hitherto it has been generally assumed that the distinctively Hungarian local colour of his setting,

together with Arany's intensely individual and frequently archaic style, would render the difficulties of a translator almost insurmountable. The present translation is an eloquent testimony to the contrary. Professor Watson Kirkconnell, who had previously published a number of congenial translations of Hungarian lyrics in his "Magyar Muse" and elsewhere, has grappled successfully with Arany's epic style. He has the curiosity of phrasing, the gift for unusual combinations which are indispensable for recreating the archaic strangeness of Arany's diction. The felicity of this translation may be best measured if one compares it with the conventional rendering of Canto Six by E. D. Butler (*The Legend of the Wondrous Hunt*, London, 1881), a predecessor who is not referred to in the otherwise useful bibliography appended to the volume.

The translation is preceded by an excellent, concise introduction which gives a brief survey of Arany's career and discusses his art as an epic poet.

N. J. SZENCZI.

Pologne romantique. By Marcel Bouteron. Collection "Ames et Visages." Paris (Librarie Armand Colin), 1937. Pp. 224.

It is fitting that Marcel Bouteron, distinguished editor and historian of Honoré de Balzac, should turn an affectionate glance to the homeland of Balzac's *Étrangère*, who was the daughter of a Rzewuski, the granddaughter of a Radziwiłł, and the great-granddaughter of a hetman of the Polish crown. His noteworthy apology for the wife of the famous French novelist has already been recorded (*La véritable image de Madame Hańska*. Paris, [1929]). In the present volume M. Bouteron offers a picturesque series of Polish episodes and portraits drawn from the heroic and unhappy 1830's. Against a sombre drama of defeated aims and arms he presents his actors: the energetic Maurycy Mochnacki, torn from his circle of young Romantics—Bronikowski, Zaleski, Goszczyński—to play the role of insurrectionist and exile after the memorable night of 29 November, the frail and youthful Lithuanian Amazon, Emilia Plater, whose mission, like that of Joan of Arc, was *auguste et sainte*, striving to fix the Polish eagles over the old fortress of Dunaburg; the tragi-comique adventures of the Polish refugees at Bergerac, shouting "Mort aux Rois" into the injured ears of an Orleanist sub-prefect.

These vignettes offer sharp contrasts. There is the fantastic story of the wealthy and erudite Wacław Rzewuski, student of Oriental languages and pupil of Hammer-Purgstall, forsaking the Viennese salons for a more free life among the Bedouins, who adopted him and gave him the title of *Tadz-el-faher*. "How I admire the Bedouin who cherishes his inhospitable land with a deep and pure love . . . Filled with sadness, of an evening, I watched the rays of a sinking sun; I confided to them my heart's anguish and bade them greet my homeland which has descended into the tomb. . . . *For I am a Pole. . . .*" And we follow this "escapist"

to the old convent near Sidon, where he pays his fervent court to Lady Hester Stanhope, an already fading *Malek* (angel) of the desert.

There is, finally, the moving account of France's reception of Mickiewicz and his passionate *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego*, the Bible of the Exile, which Lamennais had called the "book of all of humanity"; and the reception of the Pilgrims themselves in Paris: Bem, Grzymala, the two Walewskis, Chlapowski, Chopin, and Mickiewicz. Behind such pages as these, like a ground-tone, one hears the eloquent voice of Lamennais:

Peuple de héros, peuple de notre amour, repose en paix dans la tombe que le crime des uns et la lâcheté des autres t'ont creusée. Mais ne l'oublie point, cette tombe n'est pas vide d'espérance. Sur elle il y a une croix, une croix prophétique, qui dit: "Tu revivras."

As an affirmation of Franco-Polish sympathy and understanding, Marcel Bouteron's romantic sketches are timely, and they are strikingly beautiful.

Princeton University.

WALTER SCOTT HASTINGS.

Pushkin in English. A List of Works by and about Pushkin compiled by the Slavonic Division. Edited, with an introduction, by Avrahm Yarmolinsky. New York, The New York Public Library. 1937. Pp. 32. (Reprinted from the Bulletin of the New York Public Library of July 1937.)

THIS publication represents the first attempt at a complete bibliography of English Pushkiniana. Compiled by Mrs. Anna Heifetz and Miss Esther Pinson, under the competent editorship of Mr. Avrahm Yarmolinsky and with the latter's short introduction tracing the development of the interest in Pushkin in English-speaking countries, it will be welcome to many a student of Pushkin in this country and in Russia. Its contents are divided under four principal heads: 1. Bibliography; 2. Works by Pushkin (subdivided into—Collected Works; Verse; Prose; and Musical Adaptations); 3. Works about Pushkin; and 4. Indexes (there are two of these—an index of Pushkin's original titles represented in translations, and an index of translators of Pushkin into English).

In any work of this kind, especially considering its more or less pioneer nature, omissions are inevitable. Mr. Yarmolinsky's bibliography is not free from them, but it would be unfair to begrudge its compilers those omissions, if we take into account the amount of new material which is for the first time brought to light by them, especially as regards early contemporary translations and notices of Pushkin in English literature. The present reviewer would like, however, to take this opportunity of making a few *addenda* to the list of those early English notices of Pushkin, these addenda being a fruit of some cursory research made last year in connection with the Pushkin centenary.

In the same volume of the *Foreign Review* (1828, vol. 2), from which

Mr. Yarmolinsky's bibliography gives (entry No. 396) a review of Grech's *History of Russian Literature* dealing at length with Pushkin's early narrative poems, there is also a short preliminary notice of *Boris Godunov* (p. 548). In the same review (1829, vol. 4, No. VII, p. 256) we find also a mention of Pushkin's *Gipsies and Robbers*; a long article on Bulgarin's *Dmitry Samozvanets* (1831, vol. 8, No. XV, pp. 117-139) where Pushkin is mentioned, while in the Chronicle there is a notice of *Boris Godunov* which, it is said, "for the beauty of its language and the rich vein of poetry that pervades [it], is generally allowed to be superior to any of his former productions." In the same volume (No. XVI, pp. 518-19) there is a short notice of *Evgeny Onegin*. In 1832 (vol. 10, No. XIX, pp. 273-274) *Belkin's Tales* are noticed, together with Gogol's *Evenings on the Farm near Dikanka*. Pushkin's work is said to be "not only distinguished by an unaffected ease and simplicity of style, but by the interest of the narrative, and the skill with which the feelings or the curiosity of the reader are kept excited." In 1833 the same review, which seems to have been following closely, if not always intelligently, Pushkin's literary activities, notices the appearance of *The Little House in Kolomna* and the novelty of its form in Russian literature (vol. 12, No. XXIV, pp. 526-527). Finally, in 1838 (after having recorded Pushkin's death in the preceding number in a footnote to an article dealing with another Russian subject) it reviews, among other publications, *Sovremennik* for 1837, noticing "various till now unpublished pieces by the late Alexander Pushkin for the benefit of whose family the work is brought out." (Vol. 21, No. XLI, pp. 56-78). *Peter the Great's Negro* and the well-known article on Milton and Chateaubriand are specially noted here.

As far as the present writer has been able to ascertain, most of the articles dealing with Russian literature, which appeared in *The Foreign Review* in the years 1831-1838 (including the long article on *Poltava* registered by Yarmolinsky under No. 407, as well as those mentioned above) were written by a certain W. H. Leeds, whose speciality seems to have been architecture. It is apparently the same Leeds who published, in 1838, a book entitled *Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London*.

On the other hand, the earlier article on Russian literature in *The Foreign Quarterly Review* for 1827 (Yarmolinsky's entry No. 258) with translations from Pushkin's narrative poems came from the pen of John George Cochrane, the well-known bibliographer and editor of that Review, and V. Smirnov.

Another early item of English Pushkiniana missing in Yarmolinsky's bibliography is what seems to be the first English review of *Evgeny Onegin*. It appears in the magazine of which the full title was as follows: "*The Foreign Literary Gazette, and Weekly Epitome of Continental Literature, Sciences, Arts, etc., for January, 1830*. London: printed for the proprietors by J. Moyes, Took's Court, and published at the Office, No. 7, Wellington Street, Strand: sold also by all booksellers, newsmen, etc. MDCCCXXX. No. 5. Wednesday, February 3, 1830. Price

10d." The article (pp. 68-69) does not bespeak any really good knowledge of Pushkin. In fact, it is full of inaccuracies, Pushkin being described as "Count" and his career, said to have begun in 1772; while the title of his *Vospominania v Tsarskom Sele* is translated as *Revolt of Zarskoje-Selo*. The translations of a few fragments from *Eugeny Onegin* are both poor and inaccurate, but can at least claim the distinction of being the first English rendering of parts of Pushkin's immortal novel in verse.

Finally, in the *Foreign Monthly Review and Continental Literary Journal* for 1839 (see pp 511-524) there is a passing mention of Pushkin (on p. 515) in a curious critical review of two German books on Russian literature: Friedrich Otto's *Lehrbuch der Russischen Literatur* (Leipzig and Riga 1837; translated in 1839 into English) and König's well-known *Literarische Bilder aus Russland* (of which the virtual author was Melgunov) published also in 1837, in Stuttgart. There is a copy of this review in the British Museum.

In conclusion, one cannot but subscribe to Mr. Yarmolinsky's opinion when he says in his Introduction that, despite all recent efforts (last year's centenary commemoration of Pushkin's death is responsible for about one-fifth of all the entries in English Pushkiniana), "Pushkin . . . remains abroad the least known of all the major Russian writers" and that "there is, therefore, need of further competent translations, particularly of the verse."

GLEB STRUVE.

THE second annual volume of *Südostdeutsche Forschungen* (edited by Fritz Valjavec, for the "Institut zur Erforschung des deutschen Volkstums im Süden und Südosten," Munich, 1937) is as learned and valuable as its predecessor, to which we drew attention a year ago. Of special interest are the essays of Bernhard Zimmermann, on Baron Ungnad, that interesting Styrian nobleman whose zeal for promoting the Protestant cause among the Slovenes made of him, as it were by accident, the first Maecenas and pioneer of modern Slovene and Croat literature; of G. Z. Petrescu on the activities of German medical men in the Roumanian Principalities in the 18th and early 19th centuries (this is full of valuable cultural sidelights), and of Andreas Babics on the first German settlers in Pécs (Fünfkirchen) after the expulsion of the Turks from Hungary. There are valuable ethnological and linguistic studies—e.g. on the little German racial islet of Deutsch-Proben, near Nitra in Slovakia (by Alfred Malaschofsky), on the village of Daberg, settled with Bavarian peasants on the Bohemian frontier in the early years of the 19th century (by Karl Dinklage), on the Folksongs of Lower Austria (by Leopold Schmidt), upon German dialects in East Hungary (by Johann Weidlein) and perhaps most interesting of all, a detailed essay on "Deutsches Burschenleben in Ofner Bergland" by Eugen von Bonomi. We wish this scholarly publication a long life and hope to deal in greater detail with some of the Institute's other publications.

R. W. S. W.

IN a recent number we referred to Dr. Gerhard Gesemann's admirable study of Montenegrin popular psychology. In one word we would also recommend his later volume, *Die Flucht: aus einem serbischen Tagebuch 1915 und 1916* (Munich, Langen, 1935), which describes with great literary skill and much sympathy and understanding the writer's thrilling experiences during the great Serbian retreat across the Albanian Mountains.

IN view of the dastardly, and at the same time stupid, campaign which is being waged in certain quarters for the abandonment of Czechoslovakia and Austria to the tender mercies of Nazi Germany, it is fortunately possible to commend most cordially to our readers two publications which, in succinct and moderate form, explain the main issues at stake. These are *Watch Czechoslovakia*, by Richard Freund (Nelson & Sons, 2s. 6d. net), and *German and Czech: a Threat to European Peace*, by Sheila Grant Duff (Gollancz, Ltd., 1s. net). The latter, which has a preface by Dr. Hugh Dalton, is the latest in a series of "research pamphlets" published by the New Fabian Research Bureau. Both give the very kind of information which the uninformed public requires on a key question of international policy.

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THE SLAVONIC AND EAST EUROPEAN REVIEW

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CRIMEAN SONNETS

By ADAM MICKIEWICZ.

Wer den Dichter will verstehen
Muss in Dichters Lande gehen.

Goethe.

Dedicated by the author to his comrades on a trip through the Crimea.

[The *Crimean Sonnets* of Mickiewicz, suggested to him by a trip with friends through the Crimea in 1825, are the first reflection in Polish literature of the taste for oriental scenes made popular in Europe by Byron and Moore. The following translations are by DOROTHEA PRALL RADIN, with the exception of the sixth sonnet, by BENJAMIN COLLINS WOODBURY and G. R. NOYES, and of the seventh sonnet, by DORIS DURST and G. R. NOYES. The notes, except as indicated, are by Mickiewicz.]

I

THE AKKERMAN STEPPES

I sail a sea where waters never ran,
My wagon like a boat with plunge and dip
Cuts waves of green and floods of flowers, to slip
Past rosy isles of wild cornelian.
Night falls. No road or hill—My eyes must scan
The stars by which the sailor guides his ship.
That distant cloud, the Dneister's gleaming strip;
That star, the morning lamp of Akkerman.

We halt. How still ! I hear the cranes that pass,
So high the falcon cannot see. I hear
The butterfly that rocks upon the grass,
The slippery-breasted serpent where it crawls.
So still it is, a voice might reach my ear
From Lithuania— Onward ! No one calls.

II

THE CALM OF THE SEA

From the Heights of Tarkankut

The flag on the pavilion barely stirs ;
The water quivers gently in the sun,
Like some young promised maiden dreaming on,
Half waking of the joy that shall be hers.
The sails upon the masts' bare cylinders
Are furled like banners where the war is done ;
The ship rocks, chained on waters halcyon,
With idle sailors, laughing passengers.

O sea, among thy happy creatures, deep
Below, a polyp slumbers through the storm,
Its long arms ever lifted, poised to dart.
O thought, the hydra, memory, asleep
Through evil days, in peace will lift its form
And plunge its talons in thy quiet heart.

III

THE VOYAGE

The sea grows thick with monsters and the noise
Increases ; now a sailor swiftly springs
Aloft ; a spider in his web, he clings,
Hoping the snare will tremble. Ready, boys !
The wind ! Impatient while a curb destroys
Its onward flight, the ship breaks loose ; it swings
It dips, it grasps the wind beneath its wings,
Its neck cuts through the clouds with soaring poise.

My soul roams chaos with the flying mast,
My fancy swells as swell the curling sails,

I join the crowd's instinctive, joyous cry;
 I fall upon the deck and hold it fast,
 It is my bosom drives us, not the gales.
 So fresh ! I know what birds feel when they fly !

IV

THE STORM

The rudder breaks, the sails are ripped, the roar
 Of water mingles with the ominous sound
 Of pumps and panic voices ; all around
 Torn ropes. The sun sets red, we hope no more—
 The tempest howls in triumph ; from the shore
 Where wet cliffs rising tier on tier surround
 The ocean chaos, death advances, bound
 To carry ramparts broken long before.

One man has swooned, one wrings his hands, one sinks
 Upon his friends, embracing them. Some say
 A prayer to death that it may pass them by.
 One traveller sits apart and sadly thinks :
 " Happy the man who faints or who can pray
 Or has a friend to whom to say goodbye."

V

VIEW OF THE MOUNTAINS FROM THE STEPPES
OF KOZLOV

Pilgrim and Mirza

Pilgrim

Did Allah raise a wall of frozen foam ?
 Or for his angel hosts a cloud throne rear ?
 Or did the Divs¹ lift half a hemisphere
 To keep the caravan of stars at home ?
 The summit flames.² Stamboul a fiery dome !

¹ In the ancient Persian mythology the Divs are malignant genii who once ruled on earth, but were later driven out by the angels. They now dwell at the end of the world, beyond Mount Kaf.

² After sunset the peaks of Chatyr Dag, owing to the rays reflected from them, for some time seem to be on fire.

When night spread out his cloak, did Allah here
 Hang up a lantern in the sky to steer
 The worlds that through the sea of nature roam?

Mirza

I know that region—There the winter sits,
 And streams and rivers drink from its cold bed.
 Where storm-steeds pause and curb their mania
 I've breathed the air which ev'n the eagle quits,
 And there with only stars above my head,
 Where thunders sleep, without their wild holla,
 There is Chatyr Dagħ !³

Pilgrim

Ah !

VI

BAKHCHISARAY⁴

Those halls of the Giréys, still vast and great,
 Are galleries where desolation falls;
 Those varicoloured domes, those crumbling halls
 Where proud pashas upon rich divans sate :
 Retreats of love and palaces of state—
 Here now the locust leaps the serpent crawls,
 And bindweed RUIN writes, as on the walls
 The hand of doom once traced Belshazzar's fate.⁵

Within, the marble fountain made to hold
 The harem waters, still unbroken stands,
 Which, shedding pearly tears, neath shattered panes,
 Cries : " Where are ye, O Glory, Love, and Gold ?
 Ye should endure, while streams waste into sands.
 Oh shame, ye pass—the ageless spring remains ! "

³ The highest mountain of the range on the south coast of the Crimea. It can be seen for almost 150 miles in the form of a gigantic bluish cloud

⁴ In a valley surrounded on all sides by mountains lies the city of Bakhchisaray, formerly the capital of the Giréys, the khans of Crimea.

⁵ " In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaster of the wall of the king's palace. and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote."—Daniel v. 5, 25-28.

VII

BAKHCHISARAY BY NIGHT

Now all have scattered from the mosque. The cry
 To prayers into the evening fades away⁶
 And ruby tinges the pale cheeks of day.
 The king of night is hastening home to lie
 Beside his love. The harem of the sky
 Glows soft with stars, eternal lamps that play
 Upon a cloud that swanlike on the bay
 Of heaven sleeps, bright-stained with sunset dye
 Here shadows fall from minarets, and dark
 A cypress stands; the granite circling walls
 Like demons in the hall of Eblis⁷ hide
 Beneath the canopy of night. . . . And hark !
 The lightning wakes ! Like mounted knights it falls
 And through the silent wastes the flashes ride.

VIII

THE GRAVE OF THE COUNTESS POTOCKA⁸

In spring's own country, where the gardens blow,
 You faded, tender rose ! For hours now past,

⁶ From the corners of the mosques rise slender towers termed minarets. These are encircled half-way up by galleries from which the muezzins call the folk to prayer. This call is heard five times a day at stated hours, and the clear penetrating voice of the muezzins resounds pleasantly over the Mussulman cities, in which, owing to the lack of wheeled vehicles, a peculiar silence prevails.

⁷ Eblis is the Lucifer of the Mohammedans.

⁸ Not far from the palace of the khans rises a tomb, built in the oriental style, with a round dome. The common folk of the Crimea relate that this monument was erected by Kerim-Girey to a slave girl whom he loved beyond measure. The girl is said to have been a Pole of the Potocki family. In his learned and beautifully written *Travels in the Crimea* Muravyev-Apostol maintains that this story is pure fiction and that the monument covers the remains of a Georgian woman. I do not know on what he bases his opinion, for the objection that the Tartars in the middle of the 18th century could not easily bring home as slave girls members of the Potocki family, is not convincing. During the latest Cossack disorders in the Ukraine no small number of people were carried away from that country and sold to the neighbouring Tartars. In Poland there are numerous families of gentry named Potocki, so that the captive of whom the story tells need not have belonged to the famous line of the proprietors of Humani, which was less exposed to Tartar raids and Cossack revolts. From the popular tradition concerning the tomb at Bakhchisaray the Russian poet, Alexander Pushkin, with a talent all his own, derived his tale in verse, *The Fountain of Bakhchisaray*.

Like butterflies departing, on you cast
 The worms of memories to work you woe.
 Northward toward Poland stars in thousands glow;
 Why in that region are such myriads massed?
 Did your bright glance, before it died at last,
 Light sparks along the path it loved to go?

O Polish maid! I die an exile too;
 Let some kind hand throw on me friendly mould!
 Here travellers gathering often talk of you
 And I shall hear the speech I knew of old,
 And he who sings your praise will also view
 My grave near by, and I shall be consoled.

IX

THE GRAVES OF THE HAREM⁹*Mirza to the Pilgrim*

From out love's vineyard where the clusters hung
 Unripe, they plucked the grapes for Allah's feast,
 Within the casket, time's dark shell, the East
 Has caught these pearls from seas of joy too young.
 They lie forgotten. Like a standard flung
 O'er shadow hosts, the turban¹⁰ guards these least,
 Last stones, where, when the Giaour had ceased
 His plundering, the carven names still clung.

Roses of Eden, who at crystal springs,
 Leaf-sheltered, spent your little day of bloom
 Safe hid from unbelievers' trespassings,
 A stranger's glance now desecrates your tomb!
 But, O great prophet, pardon! for he brings
 A heart that still can mourn for beauty's doom.

⁹ In a luxuriant garden, amid mulberry trees and slender poplars, stand the white marble tombstones of the khans and sultans, their wives and kinsfolk. In two buildings near by coffins are heaped up in disorderly fashion: they were once lined with rich fabrics; today bare boards protrude from the rags that remain on them.

¹⁰ The Mussulmans place stone turbans over the graves of men and women, of differing forms for the two sexes.

X

BAYDARY¹¹

I loose my reins, I strike my horse a blow,
 And valleys, woods and cliffs beneath me gleam
 And vanish like the ripples of a stream,
 Till I grow drunken with the whirling show.
 And when my foaming steed at last must slow,
 When darkness shrouds each varicoloured beam,
 Still my parched eyes like broken mirrors seem
 To watch woods, cliffs and valleys reel and flow.

Earth sleeps—not I. I leap into the sea :
 Dark swollen waves rush loudly to the shore ;
 I bend my brow, stretch out my arms before
 The chaos, and the waves break over me ;
 Then like a boat caught where the rapids roar
 I sink into oblivion helplessly.

XI

ALUSHTA BY DAY¹²

The mountain shakes away its misty shawl,
 The gold-eared meadow breathes in early prayer ;
 The forest bows and sprinkles from its hair
 Rubies and garnets, like the jewelled fall
 Of caliphs' prayer-beads.¹³ Flowers cover all
 The plain, and butterflies, like flowers in air,
 Make diamond sickles bright as rainbow's hair :
 Far off the locusts spread their wingèd pall.

The barren headland gazes on the sea
 Where waters seethe and, driven back, return.
 Their uproar, heralding calamity,
 Has sparks like tigers' eyes that glow and burn,
 And far out where the waves rock quietly
 Bathe fleets and flocks of swans in unconcern.

¹¹ A beautiful valley, through which runs the usual route to the southern shore of Crimea.

¹² One of the most luxuriant spots in the Crimea. Thither the northern winds never penetrate, and in November the traveller often seeks coolness beneath the shade of huge walnut trees, which are still green.

¹³ When praying the Mussulmans use a rosary, which in the case of noted personages is made of precious stones. Pomegranate and mulberry trees, covered with gorgeous red fruit, are common along the whole south shore of the Crimea. [*Granatowe drzewa*, pomegranates ; *granaty*, garnets. *Tr.*]

XII

ALUSHTA BY NIGHT

The wind grows fresher, parching day is done ;
 Just o'er Chatyr Dagh's mighty shoulder gleams
 The lamp of worlds ; it breaks in scarlet streams,
 And fades. The listening traveller looks upon
 The hills now darkling, valleys night has won.
 Where springs on beds of cornflower sing their dreams ;
 The heart and not the ear is tuned, it seems,
 To song and scent of flowers in unison.

Darkness and silence rock my drowsiness,
 A dazzling meteor wakes me with its light,
 A wave of gold that floods each far recess.
 Thou 'rt like an odalisque, O eastern night,
 Lulling with kisses ; then, eyes flashing bright,
 Awaking me once more to a caress.

XIII

CHATYR DAGH

Mirza

The Mussulman salutes your foot with awe,
 Chatyr Dagh, the Crimea's mast, high-set !
 O padishah¹⁴ of mountains, minaret
 Of all the world ! From lowlands you withdraw
 To watch heaven's portals, fair without a flaw,
 Like Gabriel guarding Eden.¹⁵ Dark as jet
 Your forest robe ; in your cloud coronet
 Sit lightning-bolts, dread myrmidons of law.

And whether sun shall scorch or shadow chill,
 The locust waste our land or giaour make raid,
 Chatyr Dagh, you, the motionless, the still—
 Beneath your feet, earth, men, and thunders laid—
 In mid-creation listen to God's will,
 Interpreting to worlds what He has said.

¹⁴ A title of the Sultan of Turkey.

¹⁵ I use the name Gabriel, since it is familiar to every reader ; but the real guardian of the heavens according to the eastern mythology is Rame (in the constellation Arcturus), one of the two large stars called *es-semekeïn*.

XIV

THE PILGRIM

A rich and lovely country wide unrolled,
 A fair face by me, skies where white clouds sail :
 Why does my heart forever still bewail
 Far distant lands, more distant days of old ?
 Litwa ! Your roaring forests sang more bold
 Than Salhir¹⁶ maid, Baydary nightingale ;
 I'd rather walk your marshes than this vale
 Of mulberries, and pineapples of gold.

Here are new pleasures, and I am so far !
 Why must I always sigh distractedly
 For her I loved when first my morning star
 Arose ? In that dear house I may not see,
 Where yet the tokens of her lover are,
 Does she still walk my ways and think of me ?

XV

THE ROAD ALONG THE PRECIPICE AT CHUFUT
KALE¹⁷

Mirza and Pilgrim

Mirza

Drop bridle, turn your face aside and pray !
 For in your horse's feet your brains must lie.
 Wise creature ! Watch him measure with his eye
 The chasm, and, kneeling, cling where best he may
 And hang there !¹⁸ Do not look ! As soon essay
 To search the well of Cairo and descry
 Its bottom. You have not been winged to fly,
 So do not point ! Keep even your thoughts away !

¹⁶ The river Salhir in Crimea rises at the base of Chatyr Dag.

¹⁷ A hamlet on a lofty crag. the houses that stand on the edge are like swallows' nests; the path leading up to the summit is steep and hangs over the precipice. In the hamlet the walls of the houses almost blend with the edges of the crag; when one looks out of a window, his gaze is lost in the measureless depths.

¹⁸ The Crimean horse, in making difficult and dangerous crossings, seems to possess a peculiar instinct of caution and security. Before it takes a step, holding its foot in the air, it searches for a stone and tests whether it can safely tread on it without falling.

For thoughts, like small crafts' anchors that are cast
 In plumbless depths, will fall but never reach
 The ocean's floor, and drag their ships to death.

Pilgrim

I have beheld it, Mirza—seen the vast
 Abyss, and what I saw my dying breath
 Shall tell. For it there is no living speech.

XVI

MOUNT KIKINEIS

Mirza

Look towards the precipice ! The sky below
 Is sea. The mountain-bird¹⁹ of fabled size,
 Shot through with thunder, on that ocean lies,
 Its mastlike plumage spread to form a bow
 More huge than rainbow's arc. An isle of snow
 On the blue fields of water,²⁰ then it flies,
 A storm-cloud, dropping night from darkened skies.
 You see the ribbons on its forehead glow ?

Those are the lightnings. Halt ! For here a gap
 Yawns wide below, your horse's leap must span
 The precipice. I'll jump ; stand firm to clap
 Your spurs on. Now look yonder. If you can,
 Make out a plume that gleams ; it is my cap.
 If not, there is no pathway there for man.

¹⁹ The mountain-bird, familiar from *The Thousand and One Nights*, is the simurg bird, famous in Persian mythology and repeatedly sung by eastern poets. "It is huge as a mountain and powerful as a fortress," Firdusi relates in the *Shah Namah*, "it can carry away an elephant in its talons." Later he writes : "Seeing the knights, it [the simurg] broke away from the crag on which it dwelt and rushed through the air like a hurricane, casting a shadow on the armies of horsemen." See Hamer : *Geschichte der Redekünste Persiens* (Vienna, 1818), p. 65

²⁰ If one looks from the summit of a mountain that rises above the region of mists, at the clouds floating over the sea, they seem to lie on the water like great white islands. I have witnessed this peculiar phenomenon from Chatyr Dag.

CRIMEAN SONNETS.

XVII

THE RUINS OF THE CASTLE AT BALAKLAVA²¹

These castles heaped in shattered piles once graced
And guarded you, Crimea, thankless land !
Today like giant skulls set high they stand
And shelter reptiles, or men more debased.
Upon that tower a coat of arms is traced,
And letters. Here perhaps some firebrand,
The scourge of armies, sleeps forgotten, and
The grapevine holds him, like a worm, embraced.

Here Greeks have chiselled Attic ornament,
Italians cast the Mongols into chains,
And pilgrims chanted slowly, Mecca bent :
Today the black-winged vulture only reigns,
As in a city, dead and pestilent,
Where mourning banners flutter to the plains.

XVIII

AIDAH

I love to lean against Ajudah's face
And watch the frothing waves as on they pour,
Dark ranks close pressed, then burst like snow and soar,
A million silver rainbows arched in space.
They strike the sands, they break and interlace ;
Like whales in battle that beset the shore,
They seize the land and then retreat once more,
Shells, pearls and corals scattered in their race.

So with thy heart, young poet. Passion wages
Its furious battle often in thee now,
But after, when thou strik'st thine harp, its rages
Sink and are lost in cold oblivion's slough,
And leave behind them songs from which the ages
Will wreathe a deathless garland for thy brow.

²¹ Over the bay of this name rise the ruins of a castle built long ago by Greeks who came from Miletus. On the same place the Genoese erected the fortress of Cembalo.

A MAGYAR MISCELLANY (III)¹

Translated, in the original metres, by WATSON KIRKCONNELL

JÓZSEF EÖTVÖS (1813-1871)

FAREWELL

Good-bye, my country, homeland of the brave !
Good-bye, ye valleys, and ye mountains green !
O home that heaven to my childhood gave,
Good-bye, for I must vanish from this scene.
If I return, my country, may I see
My people happy on your flowering lea !

Your mountains stretch not upward in the air
As high as cold Helvetia's snowy height ;
Provence's song-fill'd fields may be more fair
Than are your billowing prairies, wide and bright ;
But what are flowers, what are peaks to me ?
I love the land of my nativity.

God gives one treasure to each land in store ;
Each guards some great achievement in its halls :
The Frenchman boasts about his Emperor,
And Rome points proudly to her ancient walls ;
The crown of Hellas still the ages scorns,
But yours, my country, is a crown of thorns.

The sacred Field of Rákos silent stands :
Ah, but the Magyar thence has long been gone !
Over our fathers' footprints in its sands
The night wind scatters its oblivion.
Silent the spot ; our hearts are wrung aghast ;
And one tear mourns the greatness that is past.

And one tear speaks of Buda, on whose crest
A sad memorial lingers in the gloom,
A mouldering mass of ashlar that attest

¹ A selection of Hungarian poetry, translated by Professor Watson Kirkconnell, under the title "A Magyar Miscellany" was published in the *Slavonic and East European Review* Vol. IX No. 27, and in Vol. XVI, No. 47.

My country's losses, buried in that tomb.
Those walls by time were overthrown long since,
Old battles on those stones have left their prints.

And Mohács stands there yet ! Still higher grow,
Over new furrows and the heroic dead,
The heads of grain, within whose strength they flow,
Although the ancient carnage now is fled.
No stone, no funeral barrow, marks the spot ;
But Mohács stands, its grief is ne'er forgot.

Oblivion cannot touch it while the tide
Of silver Danube meets the patriot's view.
So long as there is living by its side
One child who to his country still is true.
Past Buda, Mohács, Nándor, it careers.
Are you, perchance, great stream, my country's tears ?

My Hungary, I love you, mute and pale,
I love you in your tears, so worn and sad.
Deeply I love you in the widow's veil
In which your heavy bitterness is clad :
Sweetly you smile, because, though Fate is grim,
One hope still lingers on in spite of him.

And now, Good-bye, perhaps for long indeed,
Perhaps Good-bye forever, land of mine !
Far off, alas, your loved blue peaks recede ;
Your child is hurried forth by fate malign.
If I return, my country, may I see
My people happy on your flowering lea !

GYULA SÁROSY (1816-1861)

MY BIRTHDAY

While yet 'neath mother's breast I lay
A thousand hopes would fill her ;
Whenever of her babe she thought,
A breath of joy would thrill her.
A fruit of suffering I came,
Alas, no one could warn me. . . .
Had my poor mother understood,
She never would have borne me !

'Twas freezing when I came to earth;
The cold it almost slew me;
To save me, my dear mother's love
To her warm bosom drew me.
The tear that trembled in her eye
Was shed that hour to mourn me. . . .
Had my poor mother understood,
She never would have borne me !

The first thing in this world I saw
Was not the earth, but rather
A ruin darker than the dark,
The grave of my own father.
Into my eye and heart it came,
An omen sad to scorn me. . . .
Had my poor mother understood,
She never would have borne me !

But youth soon vanish'd; lost to me
Was dreaming's vain distraction;
The dreams were stripp'd away, and left
A man who yearn'd for action.
Disaster came and clutch'd my soul,
Its talons deep have torn me. . . .
Had my poor mother understood,
She never would have borne me !

My love was for my fatherland,
I wore a wreath of flowers
That shone on my devoted head
Through all the dullest hours.
Then blew disaster's trumpet-call,
Its clamours could not warn me. . . .
Had my poor mother understood,
She never would have borne me !

Although my prison-door was low,
No word of grief was spoken,
Because I knew that though I stoop'd,
My faith would not be broken.

Like some glad rosary of pearls,
My loyal tears adorn me. . . .
Had my poor mother understood,
She never would have borne me !

My glorious mother ! Could you know
What patience faith has taught me ;
Could you, my mother, only see
The pride that honour brought me ,
If you but knew how I fulfil
My duties among men——
You would not think it suffering
To bear me once again !

MIHÁLY TOMPA (1817-1868)

THE MAPLE TREE

In the hall of his fair castle,
Sits an old grey king in power ;
And beside that old grey monarch
Sit his three young, lovely daughters——
Lilies in an old oak's shadows.
Hope is like the tender greensward
That surrounds that ancient castle.
Graceful are the elder daughters,
Proud, like swans on tarns of crystal,
While the blue-eyed youngest daughter
Seems a sweet and budding lily.
As when in the quiet twilight
Fleecy cloudlets front the sunset,
So her fair curls fell in clusters
Round her brow and down her bosom,
Oft upon that youthful beauty
Rest the grey king's thoughtful glances. . . .

Like a tranquil lake, his spirit
Does not feel the gusts of passion
Rousing it in stormy billows ;
Nor do nightingales of rapture
Warble there, nor doves of sadness
Coo along its quiet margin.

From the tree of youthful visions,
Hope's fair branches now have fallen,
Yellow'd, in the lake have fallen,
Yellow, float upon its mirror.
Everything is calm and gentle !
Only swallows of remembrance
Swiftly flit across its surface,
Dipping wing-tips in its waters
Till the calm lake gently quivers.

So the grey one sits there musing. . . .
In his graceful daughter's beauty
He beholds that charming angel
Whom his youth had loved with ardour.
Lo, across the quiet gloaming
Speaks the bell from out the chapel,
Starts to ring with words of silver.
In the pensive cypress shadow,
There that faithful wife is buried !
'Tis as if her soul were speaking
In the small bell's tones of silver,
And the grey king's musing spirit
Truly understands the message.

Came the moonlight and the sleep-time.
Deep in dreams they all did slumber,
Ruddy maids and old grey monarch.
And across the silver moonlight
Came a shepherd lad's low piping,
Yearningly those tones came floating
Through the moonlight in the orchard,
Musingly a maiden listens,
Listens to the tender music.
And as if her love address'd her
In the gentle flute, her spirit
Truly understands the message.

With the radiance of the sunrise
Woke the grey king, full of trouble,
For his night's dreams had been restless :
He had seen his crown dismantled,
Stripp'd of all its gleaming jewels.

Woke the fair girl, full of anguish,
 For her night's dreams had been restless :
 She had visited her mother,
 Sought the home where corpses slumber.
 Woke the shepherd youth in sorrow,
 For his night's dreams had been restless .
 For his flock's most tender lambkin
 Two wild beasts had torn asunder.

“ To the green hill's pleasant shoulders
 Go and search with little baskets,
 Go, my good, my kindly daughters !
 Your grey father yearns for berries,
 Sweet to smell and cool to savour.
 She who first returns from yonder,
 From the hill with heaping basket,
 She shall be my chosen daughter !
 She shall know my warm affection,

She shall wear my crown hereafter,
 Rule o'er all my seven kingdoms.
 To the green hill's pleasant shoulders
 Go you forth, my own good daughters ! ”
 So the grey one spoke in yearning,
 And his daughters, with their baskets,
 Went to pick the fragrant berries,
 Sweet to smell and cool to savour,
 On the green hill's pleasant shoulders.

“ Fill, fill up, my little basket ! ”
 Softly speaks the eldest princess——
 “ That the crown of my grey father
 May not light upon another ! ”
 “ Fill, fill up, my little basket ! ”
 Spoke the second sister likewise,
 “ That my father's seven kingdoms
 May not now enrich another ! ”
 “ Fill, fill up, my little basket ! ”
 Softly sighs the youngest daughter,
 “ That I ne'er may be rejected
 From the heart of my grey father.
 Fill, fill up, my little basket ! ”

Lo, the fair girl's little basket
Fill'd at once to overflowing.
Seeing this, the older sisters
Spoke within in jealous hatred :
" Shall the crown of our grey father,
Our grey father's seven kingdoms,
Go to this, our little sister ?
No, 'tis better she should perish ! "
So the wicked sisters kill'd her,
Shed her blood in ruthless hatred ;
There beside an ancient maple
Deep they dug and hid her body,
Shared her berries there between them,
Tore her basket all to pieces.

When they reach'd the shining castle,
They address'd the old grey monarch :
" Oh, our father, grief afflicts us . . .
Our good sister, your good daughter,
Lost her pathway in the forest ;
There a savage beast assail'd her,
Fell upon her without mercy."
And the grey king, in his sorrow,
Foul'd his grieving head with ashes ;
Now his vision was accomplish'd,
Lost his crown's most sparkling jewel,
Since his little girl had left him,
Pass'd to visit with her mother
In the home where corpses slumber,
Ne'er again to come and greet him.

When once more the silver moonlight
Rose upon the twilight orchard,
Dreamily the youthful shepherd
Lipp'd his flute and breathed upon it.
All was mute. In vain he blew it.
Dumb was now his pipe for ever,
No sweet language can it utter,
No one longer lives to listen,
Sleeps the lovely blue-eyed maiden
In the shadow of the maple,

Slain and buried unlamented.
Shepherd lad, the savage creatures
Now have torn your lamb asunder !

Up the green hill's pleasant shoulder,
In the ancient maple's shadow,
Lo, upon the third night after,
Sprouted forth a tender sapling
Where the fair girl had been buried.
Up the green hill's pleasant shoulder
Sadly walk'd the youthful shepherd,
With his flock beside him grazing.
Then the lad cut off a whistle
From that sprouted maple sapling,
Put it to his lips and blew it,
Heard it speak in sad complaining :
——“ Blow, ah blow, my own beloved !
I was once a happy princess,
I who now am but a maple,
But a little flute of maple.”
Then the youthful shepherd took it,
Brought it to the old grey monarch.

He upon his lips then laid it,
Heard it speak in sad complaining :
——“ Blow, ah blow, my dearest father !
I was once a happy princess,
I who now am but a maple,
But a little flute of maple.”

Then the wicked sisters blew it,
Thus upon their lips it murmur'd :
——“ Blow, ah blow, ye hags that kill'd me !
I was once a happy princess,
I who now am but a maple,
But a little flute of maple.”

Then their father cursed those daughters,
Cursed the hags that slew their sister,
Drove them forth to homeless exile,
Nowhere can they find a shelter
From their sister's bloody phantom,
From their father's awful curses.

In the pensive cypress shadow,
 In the small bell's tones of silver
 Spoke the wife and vanish'd daughter
 In the quiet rays of twilight
 To the grey king sunk in mourning.
 Thither not long since he wander'd
 To the pensive cypress shadow——
 There to visit with his loved ones,
 And returns no more for ever.

SÁNDOR PETÖFI (1823-1849)

OLD AUNT LOTTIE

Aunt Lottie ever on the threshold stoops ;
 She cannot stand ; for very age she droops ,
 With nose bespectacled, her head is bow'd,
 And she is sewing—possibly her shroud.
 Alas, Aunt Lottie, how the years have fled
 Since he that call'd you " Sweetheart " has been dead !

The pleats that once adorn'd her dresses' grace
 Are now the wrinkles of her aged face ;
 Today her dresses hang as limp and wan
 As if a pitch-fork had but tossed them on.
 Alas, Aunt Lottie, how the years have fled
 Since he that call'd you " Sweetheart " has been dead !

Her hair is winter—frosty does it show—
 White as bleach'd linen or the driven snow ;
 High on her head is its dishevell'd mop
 Like a stork's nest upon a chimney-top.
 Alas, Aunt Lottie, how the years have fled
 Since he that call'd you " Sweetheart " has been dead !

Her eye turns dimly inward, half-expired,
 As if of its old birthplace it had tired,
 And flickers sadly there within the gloom
 Like an old lantern in a sunken tomb.
 Alas, Aunt Lottie, how the years have fled
 Since he that call'd you " Sweetheart " has been dead !

Her chest is flat, a barren quiet plain,
 As if, beneath, no heart could now remain.
 The heart is there, but almost motionless :
 And rarely does the pulse its beat express.

Alas, Aunt Lottie, how the years have fled
 Since he that call'd you " Sweetheart " has been dead !

Youth's a wild boy, that prodigally stands
 And scatters fairest gifts with both his hands ;
 But comes its father, miserly old age,
 And takes back all that lavish'd heritage.

Alas, Aunt Lottie, how the years have fled
 Since he that call'd you " Sweetheart " has been dead !

THE NIXIE

*Translated from the Russian of ALEXANDER PUSHKIN by OLIVER
 ELTON*

A monk of old, who sought salvation
 In prayer, toil, fasting, so to make
 His soul by much austere probation,
 Fled to a coppice by a lake.
 This ancient had already riven
 Himself a grave, with humble spade,
 And only asked the saints in heaven
 For death, desired and long delayed.

One summer day, as this devoted
 Recluse, by his low hovel-door,
 Was praying unto God, he noted
 The copse grow darker than before.
 The lake lies all a-steam and hazy,
 And deep in cloud, across the sky
 There rolls a ruddy moon and lazy.
 He scans the waters flowing by :

He scans them powerless, horror-stricken,
 Scarce knowing what he feels—and sees
 The waves boil suddenly, and quicken,
 And suddenly subside in peace.
 And then, like evening shadows, lightly,

Like early snows upon the hill,
A woman, naked, rises whitely,
And on the shore sits, mute and still.

On that old monk she gazed, while shaking
And combing out her dripping hair.
The holy man, with terror quaking,
Eyed her, and knew that she was fair.
Her hand was beckoning and calling,
And one swift nod the signal gave;
Then, like a sudden meteor falling,
She hid beneath the sleepy wave

All night the hermit, old and surly,
Slept not; all day, no prayer he made;
The wondrous maiden, late and early,
Haunted his spirit like a shade.
Once more the moon, through clouds obscuring,
Rides, and the oaken copse grows dim;
Once more the maiden, pale, alluring,
Sits on the wave, and watches him.

She looks, she gives a nod, and blowing
A mocking kiss, too far away—
Weeps, or with childish laughter crowing,
She splashes in the wave, at play.
Then wailing tenderly, and crying
“Come to me, monk! come, come to me!”
She sinks, through the clear waters flying,
And all is silent utterly.

On the third day, by passion harried,
The hermit by that magic shore
Long for the lovely maiden tarried.
The shadows filled the copse once more . . .
The mists of night by dawn were banisht;
Where was the monk?—the children peered,
But only saw—all else had vanisht—
Float on the waves—a grizzled beard.

STARS

Translated from the Russian of A. FET by MAUD F. JERROLD

I stood a long time motionless,
Intent the distant stars to see.
And then a kind of link was formed
It seemed betwixt the stars and me.
I thought . . . but know not what I thought,
I listened to a mystic strain,
The twinkling stars shone softly down——
And I have loved the stars since then.

THE PIT

Translated from the Russian of IVAN NIKITIN

by MAUD F. JERROLD

Deep drove the spade that dug the pit . . .
A lonely life by joy unlit,
A patient life, no hope in sight,
And silent like an autumn night.
Bitterly my poor life went by
Only like some steppe-fire to die.

What matter? Sleep, harsh destiny!
The pine-lid will close over thee,
And the damp earth on that will press
And there will be one man the less;
And none will feel his loss, nor one
Remember him when he is gone.

Carelessly now the passer-by
Paces the churchyard; in the sky
The bird soars free, and sings up there
A song that silvers all the air.
Deep is the calm . . . Life's question o'er,
Nor song nor tears are needed more!

EAGLETS

*Translated from the Polish of K. TETMAYER by H. E. KENNEDY
and Z. UMINSKA*

THERE was a peasant from Poronin whose name was Kuba Kosiński. Folk said of him that he never needed rain, save perhaps in winter. And the truth was that no one knew which he had more of : fields through which water flowed, or water that flowed through the fields.

"Kuba is terribly bold in a flood," said the peasants, "for, you know, water won't harm its like." If the rain poured, they said : "Kuba's holding is growing." When he drove with his plough to his fields, they joked : "Take care you don't get on to a piece of ground, or you'll spoil your plough."—"Kuba's going to plough the water; the trouts will grow!" Again, if he went with his rake, they said : "Nobody ever knew a man catch salmon with a rake." Or, maybe, Kuba is walking along with a hoe : "Hey, Kuba's going for gourds. The graylings will have a place to winter in!" He is driving in his cart : "Hey, mind it doesn't drip out! Better take a pail!" And other sayings of the kind.

They called him "Watery Kuba."

The folk's jibes angered and pained Kuba. But folk are folk : they're just like dogs. A shepherd's dog, or one from the country, gets in among the fat town curs : "On with you! At him the whole of you!" Not one will defend him; he's lucky if one single dog doesn't join in the scrum. And even that not from kindheartedness, but because it is lazy or old.

It pained Kuba and angered him, and poverty gnawed him too, and besides, when his daughters grew up like poplars, Roza, Ulka and Vikta, neither was there anything to put in their mouths nor was there the wherewithal to cover them like human beings. Their mother hadn't that grief and shame to bear, for she had died when the last of them, Vikta, was born. They were brought up no one knows how. Ulka was only two years old at the time, and Roza three. They grew up on goat's milk—when they got it! More often it was water.

But race is race. The Kosińskis were fellows like beech-trees, and so were the Capkulas, from whom Kosiński had taken his wife. Women like barnyard gates! If one of the Capkula wenches stood in a doorway, no good trying to get through! Even if you bent your head under her arm, you couldn't squeeze past her thigh.

When they walked, their skirts skipped; the young men said, from fullness of life; the old men said, from fullness of flanks.

They crunched nails with their teeth, and a farm-hand would have to be strong indeed if they couldn't throw him in a wrestling-bout. It is true that in wrestling a man always gets softer and a woman harder. But lifting weights, when it came to putting sheaves on a cart or pitching them into the barn, then it was evident They were strong, the Capkula women!

And adroit and handsome—moulded to be wives. But who would take a poor girl to wife? Only a fool or a very beggar, who could hope for no other. "When two beggars meet one day, common sense can keep away!" is the saying.

Kopiński's wenches were real Capkulas: strong, diligent, handy and good-looking. But for their fortune they had only a little bit of stony ground; no woodland, about an acre and a half of field, and that worth nothing. Buildings, God have mercy! Water as much as you want; two shifts each, two skirts each, one cloak and one kerchief apiece, and their mother's sheepskin coat between them. In winter only one of them could go out. Would anyone take wenches like that?

And so they went nowhere, neither to any wedding nor to amuse themselves at anyone's cottage. They had nothing to go in.

"It's always merry at Watery Kuba's," people joked; "the girls don't need to run about places. They trot around enough at home, when it's cold, and their empty bellies play them a tune!"

So nobody asked them out. Who is pleased to see a beggar? A beggar's a beggar! Folk often called "Beggar's daughters!" after them. The girls cried.

* * * *

Kuba lived near the river, on the bank, in a waste place. There was no house to be seen anywhere round. Forest—but someone else's—farmers'. The Dorulas, the Chowaniec family, the Galicas, the Paras—those were rich lords! More than one of them kept over twelve cows, fifty sheep or so, three or four horses. Kopiński had no cow; one goat! In summer the wenches lived on mushrooms, or on berries that they gathered at the foot of the big mountains. But in winter and spring—Heaven help them!—for two or three days they would put nothing in their mouths but a scrap of flour mixed with water. Once, when Ulka stole a bit of oat-cake from the Chowaniec homestead, there was a regular festival.

They grew up on air and water, wild as firs in the forest. For

months at a stretch they never saw a human being. Though Roza was twenty, Ulka nineteen, and Vikta seventeen, no lad had courted them. They were thin, wretched-looking, ill-clothed and sad, though handsome enough. Roza had black hair and black eyes, like sparks. Ulka and Vikta had light hair and grey eyes, like sparks too. They were slender, well built, but there was no flesh on them. It had nothing to grow on. Nobody set greedy eyes on them either.

At last Kuba had enough of all that misery, and of being laughed at too: "Watery Kuba, watery Kuba. . . . A curse on them!"

One day in autumn, when everyone had driven in his cattle from the mountain pastures, Kuba said to his daughters: "Have you eaten anything today?"

"Bilberries," they answered.

"Are you hungry?"

"We are."

Kuba was silent a while.

"Would you be sorry to leave this hut?" he asked

"Why?"

"What if we went away from it, somewhere?"

"Where?"

"Somewhere out in the world."

"What for?"

"To get bread."

"But where can we go?"

Kuba fell silent again.

"Wenches," says he after a while.

"Yes?"

"Take whatever there is in the chest, and something besides. Some rags or bits of linen. Make bundles."

"Where are we going?"

"Somewhere—far away."

They collected whatever there was.

"Dad," said Vikta, "let's take that little picture mother left behind her."

And she took down a little picture of Saint Genevieve from above the bedding.

"Take it," said Kuba.

"And I'll take a hatchet with me," says Roza

"And I the goat," says Ulka.

"Where shall we go to?"

"You just come along."

They went out. Kuba shut the door of the hut and put a stone

against it. He looked at it, sighed, spat, waved his hand in farewell as who would say: "Let it be as it must be."

"Let's be going," he said.

The wenches followed him, straight along the bank, beyond the river, into the fields. Through Pardalowka farm, thence into the forest, to the foot of the hills, and beyond that into the Tatra mountains. They passed through the White Water Valley, above the forest, beyond the Green Lake, to the Iron Gates. It was morning; they were terribly hungry. There had been nothing to take with them from home. They had only plucked bilberries by the way.

"Dad, we can't go any further without eating," says Vikta.

"What have I to give you?" asked her father.

"Where shall we go to, dad? Up there among the rocks?" says Ulka.

"Well?"

"But there aren't even bilberries," says Roza.

"There aren't."

They fell silent.

The goat grazed on the grass. It was chewing its cud.

Roza got up from the ground, took the hatchet, and went towards it. Bang on its head with the back of the hatchet.

The goat fell without a sound.

Roza cut its throat with the sharp end of the hatchet.

"Dad, light a fire!" says she.

"You've killed my goat," cried Ulka.

"Anyhow, she couldn't have got up there," answered Roza, and pointed to the peaks.

"I shall miss her," says Vikta.

"The goat was mine," says Ulka.

"Just as much mine as yours," replies Roza.

"But I brought her from home!"

"It was ours—we all owned her."

"But I brought her!"

"And I killed her!"

Silence fell. It was terribly wild, that cry of Roza's!

"Wouldn't you like to eat her as soon as father lights the fire?" said Roza after a moment, and began to skin the goat.

Ulka compressed her lips, and Vikta began to cry.

"Roza did well," said Kuba, who meanwhile had been gathering brushwood for a fire. "I should have killed her myself. She would never have got up there, and there's nothing to eat."

" Shall we go up those peaks ? "

" That's right."

" What's beyond ? "

" Hungary, Liptov."

" And when we get there ? "

" We shall look about."

" Are we going to work ? Into service ? "

" I didn't bring you up for that."

They skinned the goat. Of what they roasted they ate a part, and the rest they took with them. For the first time the girls tasted meat.

" Did you like that bit ? " asked Roza of Ulka.

Ulka compressed her lips, and Vikta said :

" Oh, she won't bleat any more for us. Eat her I did, and I still shall ; but I'm sorry for her."

" Hey, child," said Watery Kuba, " if a man was to be sorry for everything that isn't the way it should be, he'd soon weep a whole flood ! "

He sighed, then spat and went forward.

From among the rocks they went into undergrowth, out from the undergrowth on to the rocks. They were to go along the ridges, above the chasms close under Litworowa Peak ; and it felt every minute as if the stones would slip away under their feet.

" Dad," cried Vikta, " I shall fall, I tell you ! "

" Don't look down beneath you ! "

" Oh, what a drop it is down there ! " said Roza, and she looked down.

" Our finger-ends will be worn nice and raw ! " cried Ulka.

" Hold on ! Hold on ! " warned Watery Kuba ; " for if you plumped down there, you'd be ground to powder."

" I feel as if I had no legs already," cried Vikta. " As if I was flying in the air."

" There below you is Death. Don't look down ! "

" Hey ! Oh, how it flies ! " said Roza, knocking a stone loose with her foot.

" How it clatters ! "

" It's broken into bits."

" What a shower of earth went after it ! "

" How it roars ! "

" How it rumbles ! "

" Tu-r-r-r ! "

" Look, look, water ! "

- " A lake ! "
 " How it shines ! "
 " How much sun there is on it ! "
 " Dad ! Do you see ? A lake ! "
 " I see ! "
 " Look there, down below ! "
 " You wouldn't fly down there alive ! "
 " It shines black and glitters ! "
 " Gusts of wind come from it."
 " Not from the lake, from the rocky peaks."
 " Dad ! Do you see ? Chamois ! "
 " Where ? "
 " There ! Over there ! Look up there ! There on that little ridge ! That tiny green spot ! "
 " I see ! "
 " Where from ? Where are they ? "
 " Eeee-heo ! . . . "
 " I see ! "
 " I see too ! Right enough ! Behind me too ! "
 " Eeee-heo ! "
 " See how the gravel flies like dust ! One, two, three, four ! "
 " Five, six, eight, eleven ! "
 " Eh—about fifteen ! "
 " Or more ! "
 " No, thirteen ! "
 " Eh, we've counted more than that ! "
 " One-and-twenty ! " declared Watery Kuba.
 " Look, look, one-and-twenty ! "
 " They've disappeared among the crags."
 " There were never so many of them ! "
 " So be it ! God bless 'em ! " said Watery Kuba.
 From the narrow ridges to the wider ones, on to the dry path of a torrent, over rubble, over broken pieces of rock, they moved towards the topmost ridge.
 " Here, anyhow, one doesn't get giddy," said Vikta.
 " Just now it seemed you couldn't help slipping down," said Ulka.
 " Wings would have come in useful," says Roza.
 " Climbing a fir is nothing to that ! "
 " Or a pine ! "
 " You'd have to put a hundred firs one on top of the other."
 " A thousand ! "
 " Maybe a hundred thousand ! "

They came out on to the topmost ridge.

"Dad! Christ's wounds! Am I dreaming?" cried Roza.

"Liptov."

"What? That there? That white thing?"

"Towns, countries!"

"How many fields there are!"

"How bright it is!"

"The sun never shines so brightly in our parts!"

"How many plains there are!"

"On the left hand Spiž; on the right Orava."

"What woods!"

"And there?"

"Mountains?"

"The low Tatra."

"Higher than ours?"

"Lower."

"What a world!"

"You'd never think that such a thing could be!"

"Hey, it's big, too!"

"Whichever way you look!"

"It's beautiful too!"

"Hey, Lord God!"

"So it is, beautiful!"

"Gay!"

"So that it gives one joy!"

"Shall we go there? Down there?"

"We shall see."

"Eeee-heh-heo . . ."

"One's voice fails."

"A dreadful waste is round us."

"Only those rocky peaks above us!"

"Like churches!"

"Can we only go that way?"

"No. There are more little crests like this on the Polish Ridge."

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They ate some more of the goat.

Water Kuba knew of the Batyżów Valley and of a mountain-shed in it, for there in his youth, through one summer, he had shepherded the sheep of a Liptov mountain farmer, long ago. He turned from beneath the Iron Gates, beyond the Batyżów Peak, tending downwards towards the Kończysta Mountain, above the Little Pond that

is there. He crossed the ridge. They crept downwards on the face of the rock wall. The sun would soon be sinking. The whole Liptov Valley began to be flooded as if with gilded violets, shed by the sun. Thickly.

Kuba found the mountain-hut; it was not far from the lake.

"Shall we pass the night here, dad?"

"That's it."

"And shall we go further to-morrow?"

"We shall see."

* * * *

For a day and a night Watery Kuba and his wenches rested. Already the goat-meat was coming to an end. After the second night, in the morning there was a panic in the village of Batyżowce. From the cattle that were grazing close under the Tatra mountains, an ox was missing. And panic began to spread through the neighbourhood. Once it was a pedlar that some thing attacked in the wood, killed and robbed; other times some thing stole into the village or the little town and took what it could lay hands on. Cows, oxen, sheep began to be missing from the flocks and herds.

Who? What?

Robbers from beyond the mountains would fall upon the countryside, rob an inn or a manor-house, or steal a bullock, and then run away to where they had come from; but this place was always the same. Where?

It had already begun to get cold, and it stayed cold. Plunder and murder dropped down as if the rocky peaks cast them out from themselves and swallowed them up again. The neighbourhood had to tremble—Batyżowce, Gerlachowce, Mięguszwowce, Poprad, Sławków, Czorba.

Meanwhile, Watery Kuba's wenches got fatter. They dressed themselves in new shifts and skirts, and in the mountain-shed there was a hiding-place among the rocks, specially fashioned, and in it copper, silver, gold and corals.

"Already we could buy some kind of a mountain-holding," said Watery Kuba, hairy, black from smoke, lying by the fire among his three wenches. Their hatchets were by them, their knives, even stolen pistols.

From time to time folk met on the roads an old, grey peasant and three ragged, barefooted wenches.

"Where do you come from?"

"From beyond the Tatra."

"Where are you going to?"

"Poverty drives us."

"Are you looking for work?"

"Work."

Nobody guessed. The hatchets were short, hidden under their capes; the pistols beneath their shifts. They had spied out well where there was something to be stolen, where a merchant or inn-keeper lived, and where cattle were kept! If they couldn't steal without killing, they killed. They raided unexpectedly at night, none knew whence: they disappeared in the night like phantoms. Only terror remained.

Kuba used to lie beside the fire at night. He would wrap himself up in capes and in his sheepskin coat, and think. The wenches slept soundly, but he, being old, already found it hard to doze off. So he thought about the future. This was all very well for a time. First of all, winter would soon be on them—snow already fell from time to time—and then nobody could hold out in a shed in the mountains. Besides, people were bound to discover who was doing the robbing. An old, grey peasant and three women—all right, but even that would raise suspicion. There were repeated robberies, and three or four murders. A certain amount of property had already been got together. They would have to return to their hut. They would winter there, and in the spring they would pretend to go and look for work; but really they would go and buy a bit of ground somewhere and return no more. They would go off beyond Novy Targ, beyond Obidowa mountain. The wenches would get married; they were fat, red-faced, and had gained flesh in a way that was pleasant to look at. Watery Kuba would be landed Kuba. How fate, by God's will, had changed!

And the wenches lived as if on fire. They had learned to run about the crags like goats, through the forest like wolves. The mountain wind had burned their faces, the blood had flamed up beneath their dark skins, its glow heated them. Their first robbery went smoothly, and their first attack on the high road also succeeded. And a rage for theft, or even for killing, possessed Roza. Looking from the top of the crags at the towns and villages, after they had been sitting still for a few days, she couldn't keep quiet.

It was she, not the old father, who was leader in the raids. She went first, her hatchet under her cape, her pistol in her shift. She got weapons. She robbed a grocer's shop in Poprad, where weapons also were sold. She slid in by the window alone at night, bending the bars with her axe enough to let her in. If anyone had heard or

seen her she would have been done for! Her father and sisters waited round the corner of the opposite house, ready either to fight or to run. If they could not defend themselves, it was better that one head, though it was their daughter's and sister's, should be sacrificed, than that their's should fall. Their hearts beat hard in their breasts. That was the most daring robbery of all.

"Weren't you afraid they would get you?" asked Vikta.

"Huh! It never even came into my mind. If I'd been afraid, I shouldn't have gone in."

In the valley near the lake, in the forest during a raid, she seemed to grow. When she walked about among people, she bent and shrank together and only looked half her size. She was afraid of people; she couldn't bear them.

"I could bite them when I walk among them," she said; "my jaws ache to do it."

Ulka stole the best. She always brought back the most plunder, especially money. Nothing escaped her eyes, she passed nothing by. "Ulka has light in her finger-tips," said her sisters, laughing at her; for however dark it was in shop or alcove, she always found what was needed.

She was the housekeeper in the mountain-shed. She cooked, she hid the plunder in its hiding-place so that it wouldn't get wet, she washed, she made the fire. When she had done her work, she lay down and slept.

Vikta, the youngest, went about with the others, for she was afraid to stay alone in the mountains; but she was not much use. She carried up into the mountains what her father and sister gave her to carry, but she was not able to steal much herself. While old Kopyński lay beside the fire, smoking a pipe, and made plans for the future, Roza sharpened knives on a whetstone or dried powder, and Ulka washed shifts or counted her money. This she was never tired of doing, putting it in heaps so as to count better. Vikta looked for chamois, for marmots; for the big grey birds that walked about among the stones near the lake, chirping and chattering, or the smaller birds that flew about among the rocks. She would have liked to sing, but her father had forbidden her to sing loudly lest anyone should hear, though the fierce wilderness spread round them. So she would hum softly whatever came into her head, and whistle softly too: "Eeee hey-heo! . . ." She would have been very glad to have sheep and to graze them on the mountain pastures. She was the prettiest of the sisters, but the most delicate and the weakest.

And all would have gone well. But it happened that they made

a raid into the valley, near the villages, in fine weather. Then snow fell and they left tracks.

The people set out to follow the tracks, but a terrible wind-storm rose. It broke down the trees, and they returned. Only one bold hunter, a man from Sławków, decided to go on, the more so as the tracks made him wonder. There was one track of a man, but the others were small, women's. A man and three women. By Saint Martin! What could it mean? Women had become robbers? . . . He knew nothing of the whereabouts of Kopyński and his daughters, but he understood that the wind-storm must have halted them too. He took his musket and his hatchet, and set out after them.

Though the wind flung snow in his face he never lost the track. He kept on going as if after boar or bear. But those who fled never paused on their way. They went up higher and higher into the mountains; and they were clever, for they scattered amid the young trees, each going separately.

"The snow might betray us," said Watery Kuba. "We shall just take everything carefully from the hiding-place and run away to where we came from."

It worried him, how to cross the snow. There was no question of going the way they had come, by Litworowa Peak. Only a bird could use that way. He knew of a pass beyond Garluch which was easier. But they would have to go round the summit, downwards above the Big Valley. Their pursuers would meet them if they were following. The hunt had scattered—it might all end badly.

"We shall fight," says Roza.

They spread out among the young trees. They were to meet near the shed. They would not stay afterwards. Come what might, they would go on that night. If possible, towards the Big Valley; if not, then cautiously downwards towards the woods and through them, close under the Tatra, somewhere towards the lower ridges; towards the Orava Range, towards Krzywan. The pursuers wouldn't hunt at night. Only they mustn't get lost in the woods! But here old Kuba counted on Roza. She could manage everywhere. Thus he quieted himself.

As for Roza, she could even stand up against three men herself. Two she would settle with pistols, the third with her hatchet.

But they too might have weapons.

Let them!

"I don't care about their weapons, only about mine."

Meanwhile the huntsman from Siawków chose the man's track and followed it. He came out on a rocky, flat place near the lake, on the shore where he could be seen from the hut above. Kopiński and his daughters caught sight of him. They looked to see if others were coming. They had resolved to defend their gains to the death. Were they to lose what they had won in the sweat of their brows? Wearing to the blood their hands and feet, living among the rocks, roofless so long, like wild beasts risking so many times capture or even death, enduring so many rain-storms, and winds, and such cold? Were they to have endured all that, only to let someone take away their hard-earned booty, carry off their sweat-won gains? Did ever highland farmer or field-labourer, rich Galica or Chowaniec or Para, drip with sweat as they did; toil so hard, carry such loads, get so tired? Even Vikta gripped her pistol in her hand, though until now she had been afraid of it.

But no one else appeared near the lake, and the man who had come, evidently very tired, looking around and seeing nothing, settled down by a great rock, leaned his back against it, sat there and looked about him. Then he smoked his pipe till he fell asleep. They could see it all.

Then Roza and Ulka stole towards him with their knives. He slept on soundly.

"Kill him!" whispered Roza.

"No, bind him! He'll tell us whether they're pursuing us."

"Ah, you're right! But what shall we bind him with?"

"Our petticoats."

They took off their outer petticoats and twisted them up.

"We'll put a knife to his throat, and you tie him up," said Roza.

Under the knife's point the huntsman awoke, but he didn't quiver. He only opened his eyes. He felt the point of the knife on his skin, over the wind-pipe. Ulka was binding his hands behind him with the petticoats.

"You're devils?" said he, when Roza took the knife off his skin.

"Devils we are! Come along!"

"I'll get away!"

"Try!"

And Roza put the knife to his throat again.

"Come along!"

The wenches took him to the shed.

He was amazed.

An old peasant stood before him, bushy as a forest, black as a turf-bog. Only his hair shone white, like grey moss on a fir. Near

him stood a wench, young, scarcely full-grown, with a pistol in her hand. Close by were the two she-devils, young, comely and full-grown; like lime-trees. They had bound him with their petticoats during his sleep and were leading him. They were living in the shed, he saw. There were even some household utensils. He was terribly amazed.

Old Kuba thought: "Pretend to him that it was not they who did the robbing? What's the good? He wouldn't believe it, and in any case he shan't get away alive."

"Are they pursuing us?" he asked.

"Tell the truth," said Roza, touching the huntsman's face with the knife.

"They've stopped. The wind turned them back."

"All right! What did you bind him with? Your petticoats?"

"Just so."

"Right. It must be done better."

They bound the huntsman's arms and legs with a rope. They tied up his mouth so that he couldn't shout.

Old Kuba thought: "Either kill him at once, or make him carry the booty as far as possible and then kill him." He decided on this.

It began to get dark, and nobody was coming up. In the night nobody would come over the fresh, slippery, soft snow. Besides, the wind must have blown away the footprints, not leaving a trace. A thick, gloomy mist had come over from the north, from beyond the peaks.

It seemed to Watery Kuba that it would be safer to cross over beyond Garluch Peak, towards Podhale, than to go downwards towards Liptov, to the lower ridges. But he couldn't remember which way to cross over under the Garluch crags so as not to come upon a precipice.

"Watch him here," he said, "and I'll run and look for the way to get through. If it isn't too dark, we'll go by night; if it's very dark, at daybreak. The worst of it is that mists are drawing in."

"Take care the mists don't surprise you somewhere, dad!"

"I'll put stones down to show the way. A man soon gets stupid in the mist. That he does."

"Get back soon."

"I'll only just look round. Watch that man!"

"We'll keep an eye on him, all right! Run, dad, as fast as you can!"

"Right!"

He went off.

The wenches stuffed themselves with food. Vikta unbound the huntsman's mouth and gave him some too. He was a bold man; he began to joke. He made fun of himself for letting wenches take him.

"What will you do with me?" he asked.

"We shall untie your legs and you will help us to carry the goods we have gathered. Then we shall kill you. Dad said 'twas to be so."

"Oh, come now, you won't kill me."

"You'd betray us!"

"I won't. I swear it!"

"As dad decides it shall be."

* * * *

The mist was coming up thickly, ever more thickly. And evening began to draw near. They kept going out to look, one after the other; the old man did not return. They waited—night came.

They piled up wood for the fire and lit it, for they were certain that none pursued them, and in such a mist neither fire nor smoke could be seen.

They saw to the ropes that bound the huntsman, and lay down round the fire to sleep with the man between them. They had bound his mouth; so their father had ordered.

When Roza awoke there was no mist, the night was clear. The crags loomed dark above the lake, the lake was like an abyss. The moon gleamed from the sky; it was a half-moon. Silence.

Roza raised her head and looked. The huntsman, as before, lay with one side to the fire, on the other side was Ulka, at his feet, Vikta. Roza was near his head. It looked to her as if Ulka was pretending to sleep and Vikta had bent her head when Roza raised hers. Both sisters seemed to her to be horribly near to the huntsman—nearer than when they lay down to sleep.

She too slid towards him.

Slowly she crept nearer, but Ulka must have been doing the same thing, for they bumped together, Roza with her knees to Ulka's head.

"What are you pushing for?" said Roza to Ulka, and hit her on the arm. "Move off."

"Move off yourself. Where I was, there I am."

"That's a lie. I'm cold."

"And I'm cold too!"

"Throw on some more wood."

"Thrown it on yourself."

"Oh, if I don't kick you!" said Roza after a moment.

" Or I you ! " replied Ulka.

Roza jumped up from where she lay. Ulka had bent over the huntsman, her hands were on him.

Vikta jumped up too, and cried : " What are you doing, Ulka ? "

" Ulka ! " cried Roza, threateningly.

" What ? " answered Ulka, and her voice quivered.

" You ! "

" Well ? "

" Will you get away ? "

" And you ? "

" I caught him ! "

" I bound him ! "

" Perhaps you wanted to unbind him ? "

" And you, what would you like ? And even if I did want to unbind him, what then ? "

" He's mine ! "

" Mine too ! "

" Yours ? "

" Then take him away from me ! "

" I will if I want to ! "

" Or I will ! "

" You will, eh ? "

" You think *you* will ? "

Their faces came near each other. It seemed to Vikta that they were threatening each other with their teeth, so near were they.

" Go away ! " cried Roza, and seized the huntsman by the arm.

" You go away ! " cried Ulka, catching him round the waist.

By the light of the fire Vikta saw a kind of mad anger in Roza's face. Roza jumped up, kicked Ulka so that she bent double, and seized the huntsman under the arm, lifting him above the earth as if she would have carried him away. But Ulka suddenly caught him by the legs, near the knees, and Vikta, scarcely knowing what she was doing, mad with excitement, clasped him under the thighs. They began to pull him, drag him, each towards herself. From the huntsman's gagged mouth came a hoarse sound ; first he tried to shout, then he gave a groan. Ulka, who was the strongest, pulled him by the legs towards her. Vikta involuntarily helped. They dragged Roza towards them, one step, two, three.

" Whose shall he be ? " groaned Ulka.

Roza tried to set her foot against a stone for support, but she couldn't. The sisters dragged her towards them, two steps more. Then she shouted : " Take him then," dragged him with an effort

towards her, and with her whole force banged the head of the huntsman against a corner of the rock. A terrible groan came from under the cloth over his mouth. Blood and brains spurted out.

Released from Roza's grasp, the huntsman fell heavily from Vikta's and Ulka's arms. Terrified, they let him drop.

"You've killed him!" screamed Vikta.

"You've killed him!" repeated Ulka.

"I've killed him," replied Roza. "And is he yours now?" She leaned against the rock, supporting her back and arms against it, ready to fight.

Vikta knelt down by the prostrate huntsman and took the cloth from his mouth.

He groaned, but scarce audibly; weakly, as if with his last breath.

Ulka jumped for a knife and cut the ropes which bound him. He scarcely moved again. He must have died there and then.

"You've killed him," whispered Ulka.

"She's killed him," repeated Vikta. They were kneeling by him, one with the cloth in her hand, the other with the knife, both of them spotted with blood.

Roza turned away, stood motionless for a moment, and then began to scatter the fire with a stick. Nothing but dimly glowing embers and charcoal remained. It became dark.

At that moment the voice of Watery Kuba sounded near by "Heh—heh—heo! . . ."

"Dad's coming," quavered Ulka.

"Are you there? Why are you crowding round the fire?" called Kuba.

Coming nearer he said: "The mist overtook me, I thought I was lost. I got stupid, I walked like a blind man. It led me, curse it, to a dry torrent bed; I thought I'd have to stay there. Nothing to be seen anywhere, just mist. The angels seemed to want to tear me off those crags. I lost my way. I went round and round . . . And what's that there? In the name of the Father and of the Son! . . ." He came up and saw the huntsman lying motionless in the moonlight, with arms and legs unbound.

"What's happened? Why don't you speak?"

He seized a dry branch prepared for the fire, set light to it, and peered.

"His head's smashed! In the name of the Father and the Son! Who did it? Did he untie himself and try to escape?"

He looked at him closer and closer, muttering to himself: "The

clothes on him are torn. His temple bashed against a rock. . . . The ropes cut with a knife. . . . Not torn away at all. . . .”

He turned to his daughters: “Did you tear him to pieces like eagles? . . .”

The wenches were silent.

“What did he do? Why, he couldn’t have bashed himself against the rock, and he didn’t slip down, for he had nowhere to slip from. What was he up to?”

The wenches were silent.

Watery Kuba was accustomed to rule his family strictly, so he stamped his foot and shouted angrily: “Will you speak, you bitches, or won’t you?”

The wenches stood about the huntsman, silent. Roza was looking at her father with keen, wide-open eyes. Ulka turned her face aside, Vikta put the end of her apron between her teeth and bent her head. Watery Kuba lost the remains of his patience, caught up a stick that lay near him, and sprang towards Vikta.

“Will you tell or not? You cursed witch!”

Vikta got frightened, retreated, hid her face with her hand and shouted in fear: “We killed him!”

Watery Kuba stopped as if some thing from under the ground had caught his heels. For a moment he stood dumb, then he cried in amazement: “You killed him?”

“We did,” repeated Vikta, and added hastily in fear: “Roza killed him.”

Watery Kuba couldn’t recover from his astonishment.

“I’m dumb,” he said. “You killed him? But what for? Whatever for? Did he try in his sleep to cut the ropes and escape? Or did he want to jump at you? But look, he was bound, bound fast! Did you cut his bonds for him?”

“We did, but he was a corpse then,” said Vikta.

Watery Kuba opened his mouth in wonder. “What on earth . . .?” he said. “Then you tortured him bound?”

The wenches remained silent.

“What for?”

Roza began to look down, Ulka turned her face still more away, and Vikta again took the corner of her apron into her mouth and bent her head. Watery Kuba stood there and looked at them, one after the other, by the light of the moon which had come out of the clouds and hung over the ridge of the Batyżów crag, rent by and glittering on the snow-sprinkled rocks.

“But why? Did you want to eat him, or what?” he said

after a moment He was looking at them. "Hm," he said, "why are you so ashamed? You've bent your heads, you don't look straight at me. . . . Oh!" he screamed suddenly, getting into a fury again, "either you tell me at once or—by a hundred devils!—I'll cut you in pieces!"

He seized the hatchet in a mad rage.

Vikta and Ulka jumped aside in terror, though he had not yet moved a step from where he was standing, and Roza said hoarsely: "They wanted to tear him away from me. . . . He was mine. . . . That's why. . . ."

Watery Kuba again wondered greatly. "Tear him away?" he repeated. "How do you mean? I don't understand. . . . Eh? Tear him away? What for?"

"Ulka was pressing up against him," said Roza.

"And Vikta too," cried Ulka quickly.

"And Roza," cried Vikta, hurt.

"They were both shoving!" said Roza.

Watery Kuba listened and wondered dumbly; suddenly he raised his head, caught the air in his mouth, squatted on the ground and began to laugh: "Ha, ha, ha!" till it echoed through the dark valley by the lake.

"Ha, ha, ha!" laughed Watery Kuba, "The Devil himself would laugh! Ha, ha, ha! Then you wanted to tear him to pieces between you! Hold me up! I'll burst! Save me, ye holy angels! . . . I shall burst with laughing! Ha, ha, ha! I'll get the colic—the devil himself would laugh—laugh like hell! Ha, ha, ha! . . ."

He sat down on a stone and roared with laughter, till he rocked right and left. "Ha, ha, ha! Ha, ha, ha!"

Roza looked at him with wild, wide-open eyes, Ulka had turned her face away again, but her father's mirth caught Vikta, and she began to squeak with a strange laughter, not her own.

When Watery Kuba had laughed his fill he wiped the tears out of his eyes, settled his belt on his waist, and shoved his hair off his shoulders. He stood up from the stone, and in a voice still breathless with laughter began to speak: "Now girls. . . . Day is breaking. . . . We must get away. . . . The hunt will be on our tracks early. They've spied us out down there. They'll find the track of the huntsman too. . . . Let's be going, so as not to come across any one."

He looked towards the huntsman. "Ah! That fellow would have come in useful to carry the goods. . . . But there, be that as

it may! . . . We must manage for ourselves somehow. . . . Quickly! Quickly! Bustle, girls! Rich farmer's daughters!"

The girls set to work like a fire, evidently glad that their father's thoughts had turned away from the huntsman. But Watery Kuba, as he packed and tied up the booty, laughed and jeered at them. "Just be patient a while. . . . My, you're of Capkula blood all right! . . . Every Capkula girl goes for her man like a cat for a sparrow. . . . Oh hey, just wait, just wait. . . . Wait till we get down. . . . Now you're fat and comely. . . . Ha, ha, ha! . . ." And again he began to laugh so that he stopped packing for a moment.

"All sorts of things have I heard in the world, but never the like of that! Honest to goodness!"

"Take something to eat with you, girls," he said, when all was ready. "Take something for yourself, Ulka; you eat plenty. And now let's be going."

He grunted under his sack, the girls groaned too, putting the sacks on each other's backs. They were just about to start when Watery Kuba stopped suddenly and said: "True enough! That one would have given us trouble."

Then he quickly slipped the sack off his back, stepped up to the dead huntsman, turned him over with his face to the ground, and drove a knife under his shoulder into his heart.

"And now let's be off as fast as we can."

THE OUTLAW

Translated from the Czech of IVAN OLBRACHT,

by DORA ROUND

OUTLAWS! Desperate lads!

If the times and the fortunes of heroes favour them, they may found a ruling dynasty; but more often their bodies swing from the gallows, and most often of all they end with their heads in the moss in a pool of blood, struck down by a stab in the back. But their fate is then a glory, greater than the glory of kings. For these fallen ones were of the people; they belonged to these mountains. Here their fame is great because they did not follow the alien path of rulers, because they left no dynasty behind them. They took on themselves the sufferings and burdens of all, they did the things

which the mountain folk have never dared to do, though they yearn to so ardently : to avenge injustice, kill the nobles, take from them their ill-gotten riches, and destroy with fire and sword all that they could not use, for joy, for vengeance, for a future warning and from fear of what was to come. They are the children of the people's dreams : of those who never in their histories have ventured to rebel and who have never known the joy of wholesale vengeance.

See, that flat boulder yonder was the banqueting table of Oleksa Dovbuš. Near that spring he used to gather his desperate lads together. Under that age-old pine they divided the spoils ; there they would dance the wild arkan, in rows, holding each other round the neck, singing, squatting down and pounding the earth with their heels. Along this path he went to the nobleman's castle to burn it down. Here stood the tavern where he went to the Jew's wedding feast and came away with the sacks of money and jewels. Yonder lies the thrice accursed village of Kosmače, where lived Dzvinka, the treacherous, whom he loved, and yonder rises the Black Mountain, where he is buried among his treasures.

The stories which the rich invented about him are not true. The things are not true which are written about him in books, to cast a shadow over his glory.

Oleksa Dovbuš did not live in the middle of the eighteenth century during the confusion in Poland, when Augustus was fighting with Stanislas, when Rákóczy's rebellion had flared up in Hungary, and the grave internal quarrels were brewing in Roumania which led to the war with Russia. He did not rob for seven years up and down a country-side swarming with deserters from the armies of Rákóczy, Gieniavský and Golc, and in mountains full of serfs escaped from the estate of the nobleman Joseph Potocký, who were resolved rather to go to the gallows than to endure the cruelty of all kinds of mercenaries and the robbery of the nobleman's hirelings and Cossacks. And finally it is not true that he was shot in the village of Kosmače by Dzvinka's husband, Stephen. And the year 1745 is only the gentry's way of reckoning it. Oleksa Dovbuš never lived at any time. He lived a thousand years ago, a hundred years ago, he is living to-day, he will live to-morrow. For Oleksa Dovbuš is not a man. He is a nation. He is the lashing of revenge and the wild yearning for justice.

Then what was the truth about Oleksa Dovbuš ?

It was like this :

He was a puny shepherd lad, poor, crippled and stupid. For—to use the words of the preachers and Scripture writers—it had to be

shown that each of us, timid, humble and poor, can achieve great deeds if it be God's will. Dovbuš took all the money that he had earned by herding sheep and bought a pistol and, limping on one leg, he roamed from one village to another, amid the laughter and delight of the children who ran after him, and if any one among the shepherds got a beating, it was he. Folk took him for a good-for-nothing.

But God rewarded him with great strength

Beyond the Tissa, in the Black Mountains, rises the mountain Kedrovatý, and beneath it is a great chasm above which juts a rock. Here lived the Devil; and he made mock of God. He would sit there and blaspheme. God hurled lightnings upon him, but the Devil dived into his hole; the thunder struck the rock and broke off a piece of stone. Then the Devil crawled out again and began jeering once more. Again the Lord God struck at him, and the unclean one vanished into his hole. He went on joking thus with God for a long time. One day Dovbuš looked on at this game of hide and seek. He stood with his back to the lightnings, aimed at the Devil and shot him. The Devil fell into the chasm, his head bored deep into the earth, and there remained of him only a cloud of dust.

Above Dovbuš appeared the Archangel Gabriel.

"You have deserved well in the sight of God by ridding the world of the Devil. What do you want from God as a reward?"

Dovbuš considered.

"Folk take me for a good-for-nothing, and I should like to show them that I can do something and that I can be of use to them. Let God give me such strength as there is not in all the world, so that I may be victorious over evil and avenge injustice; let Him make me that no one can conquer me and that no bullet can touch me." And when he went back to the other shepherds and they began jeering at him again and wanted to beat him, he threw them from him like pebbles.

From that time Oleksa Dovbuš became a leader. He defended the truth and avenged human injustice. He was cruel to the nobles, but to the people he was merciful and kind. He robbed the rich and gave to the poor. With fifty desperate lads whom he gathered round him, he burned down the castles of wicked noblemen and the houses of their bailiffs. He broke into the taverns of the Jews, took a cask of brandy for himself and his merry men and poured away the rest. He flung the pledges into the street so that each could take what was his. Once he fell upon the castle at

Bohorodčany and carried off a sack of golden ducats. He loaded it on the shoulders of his lads, seized his long-handled axe, which he used as an alpenstock, and thrust it through the sack. Wherever they went, the gold pieces fell and scattered, and the poor people ran and picked them up. The nobles and the Jews mended their ways, for they feared him.

He lived on the slopes of Kedrovatý. His comrades carved him a chair out of the rock; here he sat and issued his commands to the people. He led attacks as far as Roumania and Turkey, where he took money from the infidels and brought it back to Kedrovatý. Whoever was in need and came to him was given something. What he did not give away, he hid in a second rock. He ordered his merry men to seal up this rock so securely that no one should ever open it, and they did so. Today people are building a railway and have blown whole mountains to the four winds, but these rocks they have neither opened nor shattered. Within them are gold, silver, precious stones, weapons smeared with oil, and if Kedrovatý were to open, these treasures would shine so brightly that the whole world would be dazzled. But they are waiting for a new Dovbuš who will come. For before his death Oleksa buried his tinder-box deep in the ground at Brazy. Every year it moves the length of a poppy seed upwards to the surface of the earth, and when the whole of it appears in the sunshine, a new Oleksa Dovbuš will arise in the world, to be the joy of the people and the terror of the nobles, the champion of truth and the avenger of injustice.

All the troops that were sent against Dovbuš he put to flight like a flock of birds. The Lord Emperor himself came to know that a man was living whom no force could kill, and ordered him to come to Vienna, saying that he would make peace with him. But he tried to deceive him, and when Dovbuš drew near he sent out his troops against him and stood at a window to see what would happen.

But all the shots rebounded from Dovbuš to the soldiers and killed them. Then the Emperor commanded the shooting to cease at once, and he made peace with Dovbuš. He gave him freedom to fight over the whole land, only bidding him spare his army, and he thereupon gave him a paper with seals. Three days and three nights Dovbuš was entertained by the Emperor and his Court.

For seven years after that he fought over the country-side and as long as he lived it was well with the poor.

He was destroyed by a woman, the eternal enemy of man, that shameful breed for whose sake so much evil is done on earth. He

fell in love with a woman, forgot his calling, and perished. Ah, the devilish and treacherous breed! She was called Dzvinka, she lived at Kosmače and she was married. In moments of tenderness she coaxed from him his secret, and ten times she called God to witness that she would never betray it to anyone. The invulnerable Dovbuš could be killed by a silver bullet. It must be hidden in a dish of spring wheat and be given to the priest to consecrate at the twelve great festivals in the year, and over it twelve masses must be said by twelve priests. But Dzvinka told her husband Stephen.

Dovbuš was going with his merry men to storm the castle of Kutsk.

"To-morrow we must be early afoot, lads, to-night we will go to sleep betimes. We will look in at Kosmače. We will pay Dzvinka a visit."

"Oleksa, our little father, do not go to Kosmače! We have had a bad dream."

"My lads, my braves, how foolish you are! Each of you load two bullets, stay below the mountain, and I will go and ask if Dzvinka will give us supper."

He came under her window. On the window the evening sun was shining.

"Are you sleeping or waking, little godmother, and will you give us supper?"

"I am not asleep, I am listening," thought Dzvinka to herself, "I will get supper ready and it will be a magnificent one and everyone will be astonished at it."

"Are you sleeping or waking, my heart, and will you give Dovbuš a night's lodging?"

"Oy! I am not asleep, I am listening, but I will not give the outlaw a night's lodging. Stephen is not at home and the supper is not ready."

"Open! or do you want me to break down the door, little bitch?"

"I do not want you to break down the door, but open to you I will not."

Dovbuš grew angry. He pressed against the door. And up in the rafters Stephen loaded his rifle with a silver bullet. Dovbuš beat on the door, the locks gave way. Terrified, Dzvinka whispered to him through the chink:

"Oleksa, my soul, do not come in. I am not doing this of my own will. In the loft above the rafters Stephen is lying in ambush."

The door burst inwards. Stephen shot from above with a silver bullet. He aimed at the heart and hit the right shoulder, but from the left side too there flowed blood.

Dovbuš lay in his blood before the hut. His merry men were far away.

"Ah, Stephen! for a little bitch you have killed me!"

And Stephen answered from the rafters.

"You should not have loved her. You should not have trusted her with the truth. There is as much faith in a woman as there is scum on running water."

Where were his merry men, his braves? If he shouted, they would not hear, if he whistled, the sound would not reach them. But he shouted and they heard, he whistled and the sound reached them. And his merry men came rushing to him like a flock of rams.

"Oleksa, our little father, why did you not listen to us? Our little Dovbuš, why did you not kill her?"

"How could I have killed her when I love her so dearly? Go, and ask her if she loves me too."

And Dzvinka lamented:

"If I had not loved him, I should not have put on a white gown. I should not have put on a white gown and adorned myself with gold and silver."

"Oy, you merry men, my braves, I am sick at heart. Carry me from here. Lay me under the beech tree, let me take leave of you and die like an outlaw."

They laid him under the silver beech.

"Oleksa, our little father, shall we beat the little bitch to death or shoot her?"

"Do not beat her, and do not shoot her. Burn down the hut, but do not hurt her."

And his men lamented:

"Oleksa, our little father, where shall we go without you, how shall we spend our young lives, how shall we capture castles? Counsel us: Shall we go to Hungary or Roumania?"

"Do not go robbing on the highways, go home and work on your farms. You have three nuggets of gold. One you will bury with me, the second give to the little bitch, and the third divide among yourselves. Leave your axes and do not spill human blood. Human blood is not water, and it is not fitting to spill it. No longer will you roam about the world, no longer will you go plundering; you cannot do it, and you have no leader. Comrades,

my braves, lift me on your axes and carry me to the Black Mountain; there I have loved, there will I also die. On Kedrovatý stand two pine trees, they are my little sisters; there stand two oaks and they are my brothers. Bury me there!"

They carried him on their axes to the Black Mountain. There he died and there he is buried: in the shadow of the wild rocks, on an unknown spot, in the midst of treasures which, if they were disclosed, would dazzle the world.

God loves Dovbuš. And he glorified him even after his death.

Not later, not earlier, but on the very day when, for the first time in the year, the first sunbeam pierces the shadow of the rocks on his grave and touches his heart, the world awakes to Easter Sunday, the greatest Festival of all Christian souls.

KARINTHY'S FIRST FIFTY YEARS

In the Központi Café in Budapest, a little apart from the main stream of the city's traffic, sits a writer who will be fifty years old in June. His name—Frigyes (Frederic) Karinthy—would be familiar to the whole world had he written his remarkable books in English or French instead of Hungarian. His mother tongue has condemned him to a place also a little apart, where it is difficult to catch the ear of those passing along the highways of world intercourse. Europe's readers have been the poorer by a rare experience.

It was almost accident which turned Karinthy from scientific to literary ambitions. When very young, he achieved a reputation with a volume of brilliant parodies, *This is How you Write* (Így Írtok Ti)—the first of a long series of comic books. A remarkable duality of talent has enabled him, side by side with these, to write works of profound philosophical seriousness. Though he is a born humorist, and though the comic history of mankind which he is planning may turn out brilliantly, the essence of his art is to be found in the more serious works. There was something simpler and more direct than mere talent in his early story *A Meeting with a Young Man*, in which he describes a conversation between Karinthy, the successful author, and a young man who turns out to be his forgotten self and who reproaches him with infidelity to the ambitions of youth. In his finest stories, Karinthy expresses his criticism of life from a point of view so original and striking that one can only apply to it the word genius. His theme may be the problem of sex, as in the wonderful *Ballad of Silent Men* (Ballada a Néma Férfiakról),

or his Swiftian satire *Capillaria*, the new psychological discoveries as in *Thirst* (Szomjúság) and *The Hurdy-Gurdy* (Verkliszó), music as in *A Journey to Faremido* (Utazá Faremidóba), time and metaphysics as in *News from Heaven* (Mennyei Ríport), or the speculations about life in general which form the subject of his volume *Who Asked my Opinion?* (Ki Kérdezett?). The introductory essay to this latter book is a typical example of his style. Nobody has asked his opinion about this tragi-comedy of life, but he cannot help giving it. And all the great teachers and artists who have caught their contemporaries by the sleeve? They, too, spent their lives answering questions no one put to them.

I had intended to write a longer study of Karinty's work, with shorter illustrations, but perhaps it will be better on this occasion to let him speak for himself. The two examples of his work that follow cover much of his writing life. *The Circus* is a symbolical picture of his struggle against becoming the mere clown and acrobat in words which his public wished him to be, and it is also the tragedy of every artist in a callous world. *My Mother*, a recent autobiographical piece, shows him in a mood of serene detachment, with tragedy and humour intermingled in an evocation of the mind of a child making its first contact with suffering. Taken together, the two may suggest something of the achievement of a writer who, at his best, can be ranked with the great imaginative masters.

VERNON DUCKWORTH BARKER.

THE CIRCUS

Translated from the Hungarian of KARINTHY by

VERNON DUCKWORTH BARKER.

I KNOW that I had a passionate desire to go to the circus, but perhaps my longing to possess a violin was just as intense. As time went on, I got my violin, yet still no one would take me to the circus, so I fell to dreaming of it at odd moments as best I could. Once I caught sight of it far away beyond the mountains, and I felt as if someone were leading me to it by the hand. On another occasion, I found myself standing in the midst of a great city I did not know, but the circus was still the same, with the same entrance as before and doors opening in two directions. This time, it seemed as if I had taken my ticket and could have gone in, but at that moment my dream broke off, leaving me once more outside.

Then at last I dreamt my dream through. I was standing behind the pay-desk, close to the entrance, and next to me stood the manager, a lame, excited fellow with a beard, who was half-lifting the gay-coloured entrance curtain with one hand and incessantly shouting "This way, ladies and gents, this way, entrance this way, show just starting, ladies and gents, this way. . . ." The crowd was pressing forward, an immense throng in which all sorts and conditions mingled—servant girls, soldiers, smartly dressed women and clean-shaven men about town, jostling one another, laughing and talking in eager voices. I knew that the manager would soon catch sight of me, as indeed he did. Seizing me by the arm, he exclaimed irritably "Got a ticket? Then step this way. If you haven't, clear out of here!" My heart almost stood still as I explained that I had no ticket, but that I did not want to see the show. Instead, I had brought my violin. . . . I pointed in despair to the fiddle which I was hugging under my arms. Bending down to me, he waited with some annoyance while I stumbled through my explanation that I had no ticket, but had composed a song of my own on the violin and would gladly play it before the public, if he would let me through. At this, he began to laugh so loudly that I could see down his throat as if it had been some deep tunnel. Then, in chilly tones, he addressed me as follows: "My friend, you appear to be somewhat queer; indeed, you've bats in the belfry, I fear." This struck me as an exceedingly witty verse and I could see that he was pleased by my spontaneous appreciation. He patted me on the shoulder and told me to wait, as he might be able to do something for me if we had another talk.

I stood trembling with anxiety in a dark corridor. After a while he came in and informed me with a condescending geniality that mere fiddling was chicken-feed to him. I at once took this to mean that he had little confidence in my success, and I began to assure him that he might have faith in my skill. His face thereupon took on a more serious expression. "All right!" he said, "We'll try you out." But first I must apply to the military authorities for an Imperial and Royal license to practise as a musician. Meanwhile, he would show me the whole circus from behind the scenes—performers, animals and all, so that I should get an idea what it was all about and what the public wanted.

My heart was beating wildly with excitement at the thought that I was in the circus after all, but at the same time I was a little afraid. I was still clutching the violin eagerly under my arm and struggling not to forget the melody. He led me on through innumer-

able curtains on which every variety of lively scene was painted. Up above us, men in red coats were working. I expected to see actors or women on horseback, but instead we came only to a wide staircase, up which he ran so swiftly that I could hardly follow him. We crossed rooms carpeted in velvet. Once, accidentally, I opened a door. A great hubbub of voices struck me in the face and I caught sight of innumerable, seething heads. The manager shouted to me to close the door instantly, as the public was waiting for the performance and was not allowed to look in.

Soon, he opened a little iron door, beyond which a vast, semi-circular hall extended into the depths. Here, in the midst of a magnificent room, among fountains and palm trees, a handsome man with compressed lips and wild eyes was strangling a woman. You could hear the thick gurgle of death in her throat. It was a ghastly sight. I began to scream, cursing the man and yelling at him to let her go. The manager seized my hand. "You fool!" he said, "They're only my actors. It's a play they're doing. Can't you see they're not real men, but wax ones like the panopticum?" And, indeed, when I looked at them more closely, I saw that the woman's face was utterly unnatural and that she had glass eyes.

I felt ashamed of myself, and hurriedly changed the subject, but my heart was still wildly beating when the manager led me into a big, untidy room where men and women in grease paint and bright colours were sitting about on benches, such as one would see in a school. I soon learnt that this was a school for clowns. I too was made to sit on a bench while the manager summoned his performers one by one on to the platform. The first walked up on his hands, knocking his head every now and then on the floor, but he merely had to repeat the performance for his pains. Then a tall man was called out, who produced a knife and slashed open his chest with it. Blood came pouring out of the wound and, groaning loudly, he fell on the floor. The manager, nodded his approval.

"You'll do," he observed. "They'll like that."

The suicide went back to his place, took a needle and thread from the bench and proceeded to sew up his chest, whistling meanwhile and making faces. I noticed that his chest was scarred all over with countless sewed-up wounds.

Others went up who had different accomplishments to display. There were ventriloquists who imitated animal and human noises with such miraculous skill that I could hardly believe my ears. One

of them copied the voice of a child so perfectly that tears came to my eyes when he enacted its death. Yet, when I looked at his face, I saw to my amazement that neither his lips nor his eyes were moving. Another imitated a weeping, and then a cursing, woman. He was followed by others again who emitted a sound like weird, crooning laughter, while sinister eyes shone in the darkness.

Finally, the manager glanced at a book and called my name. I stood up in my place and, looking across at me, he asked sharply "What can *you* do?"

I pointed to my violin, and again I stammered something about the melody I had composed. A laugh passed from end to end of the room, and the manager struck his fist angrily on the table.

"You make me tired," he cried, "with your trumpery old fiddle!"

I wanted to say that the melody I had composed was a very original one and that I would like to play it for him, if he would allow me, but meanwhile he called to one of the men and sent me out with him to see the instruments.

They took me now into another room full of immense machines and appliances, each of them being some kind of musical instrument. There were giant trumpets worked by bellows, a touch being sufficient to bring a veritable peal of thunder echoing from their throats. I saw triangles as big as rooms, struck by steam hammers. On the top of a huge drum, trained elephants were walking in a circle and beating the drum with their feet. There was also a wonderful organ run by an electrical machine, which worked thirty pianos and a thousand steel organ pipes at once, the loftiest pipe being as high as a factory chimney. The conductor stood on a great bridge; and when he threw out his arms, a single chord rang through the room, and there was so violent a whirlwind that I expected to see him flung out of the building. There were keyboards before the musicians like those on printing machines and they worked in spectacles, their eyes intently fixed on the notes.

Dizzy and with my ears still ringing, I turned back to another section, where the manager was waiting for me. I told him that I had seen the instruments, but that they were all new to me and that I could not play any of them. He shrugged his shoulders and said he was sorry, but in that case I was wasting his time. We were standing in front of two curtained doors leading on to the stage. Through one of these, which stood half open, the performers were hurrying in their different masks, and one could see a gleam of many-coloured electric lights each time the curtain swayed. I wanted to

go through, but the manager said that, as there was nothing I could do there, it might be better if I paid the mortuary a visit first.

We passed through the second door into a dark corridor leading down to the cellar. In the distance, there was a faint glimmer of gas light. To right and left of us, alcoves opened out in the dense, misty gloom. White-cloaked attendants hurried in and out with dirt-besmeared faces. A sudden terror laid hold of me, and I dared not look in. At the end of the corridor, the manager stood talking to someone. I stole a glance round me. Beside the wall, long zinc tables had been set out, on which naked corpses were laid in rows—aged men and children and old human limbs artificially preserved. A heavy, stifling smell of formalin emanated from the depths. I could see where another corridor led downward in utter darkness. The manager had begun to speak of my case to the doctor, and he seemed to be suggesting that I should remain there. Already the doctor was glancing towards the dark corridor.

And then I began to implore him not to make me stay. I told him I would gladly learn some act or other, if I could not reach the stage in any other way. Both shook their heads, and the doctor observed that my only chance lay in becoming an acrobat, as the public were getting impatient.

They took me then into a high place like an attic, from which I could look down through a little sky-light on to the city far below me. Rows of tall, narrow ladders were leaning against the walls, and the room was littered with ropes bars and nets. Acrobats in pink tights were to be seen practising on the ladders. A ladder was set before me also, and I was told to climb up it. When I reached the top, those on the ground tilted it out over the street. Clinging on frantically, I looked down and saw the whole city, and men walking in the streets like ants. Then, with a little cry, I fainted.

Again I went to it, and again. For long weeks and months I practised and struggled. Up and down the ladder I climbed, and as soon as I could do this properly and had learnt somehow or other to stand on the topmost rung, they would pass a chair up. Balancing it cautiously, I learnt how to put the chair in position and then to stand on it. Subsequently, we did the same with two chairs, and eventually with three. But this took me a long, long time. . . .

A day came when I stood at last on the stage. My face already shrunk and lined, and I wore grease paint like those I had seen

the first day. I had been in the circus now for so many years that I knew its every corner. In my pink tights, I plodded wearily about between the dim curtains, while perspiring stage hands ran to and fro with carpets. A continuous murmuring sound buzzed in my ears, but I was too tired to realise what it was. Suddenly as the velvet curtain parted, there was a blaze of crude and sickly light. A mass of heads pressed forward. I heard a brief burst of clapping, followed by an expectant whispering silence.

I stood for a moment alone on the great stage carpet bathed in dazzling white light. Then, on noiseless feet, I ran into the centre, while the arc lamp followed me as I went. Moving as smoothly as a snake, I bowed to the boxes on either side. Then I took hold of the ladder and swiftly, silently—with such ease that I was not conscious of my body at all—I climbed up till I was level with the fourth story of a house. Cautiously, I pulled myself up on a single slender pole, swaying for a moment as I sought my balance. From the ground, they passed me an iron-legged table on the end of a rod; and, taking it from them, I placed it lightly on two legs on the topmost rung of the ladder. This done, I climbed up to the table and stood on it, balancing myself until I was able to set three chairs there, one above the other. I heard a murmur of satisfaction as I proceeded to climb on to the summit of my edifice. The last chair had its legs in the air; and on one of the latter, holding my breath as the chair swayed silently in a circle, I put the lower face of a giant cube. The whole edifice gave under me so easily that I felt the very beating of my pulse throb through it to the lowest rung of the ladder. Last of all, came a pole. Minutes went by before I succeeded in balancing it on the upper face of the cube. This over, I pulled myself slowly up it, and, once on the top, paused to get my breath. Hot beads of perspiration were slowly rolling down my face and every nerve in my body quivered, as taut as a bow-string. Pausing for a moment until the edifice was at rest, I stood up in a death-like silence, loosened my costume and took out the violin. . . . With trembling hand, I laid the bow across it . . . felt my way with one foot until I could slowly lift it free of the pole . . . leaned forward . . . balanced for a moment or two . . . then, taking advantage of the awe-stricken silence in which the crowd below me sat open-mouthed and horrified, I began, slowly, with trembling fingers, to play the melody which long, long ago I had heard singing and sobbing in my heart.

MY MOTHER

Translated from the Hungarian of KARINTHY by
VERNON DUCKWORTH BARKER.

I WAS not yet six years old when my mother died.

Apart from family traditions (which do not belong to this confession), my personal memories of her in her lifetime are slight and fragmentary. One Sunday afternoon, when our peasant maid had her outing, my mother laughingly went through her absent treasure's wardrobe. Taking out the bodice, the hundred-pleated crinoline skirt and red boots, she tried them all on and, standing thus disguised before the tall mirror with arms akimbo, she began to sing in the style of Louisa Blaha (her lovely voice was almost a legend) "There's something I want to say to you." From my corner, I looked on with open-mouthed astonishment, but, although we two were alone in the house, I realised clearly that she was going through this performance not for my benefit, but for hers. This must have been about '93. I have another recollection of fighting tooth and nail, like some thin, spiteful tom-cat, to defend myself against an excess of motherly love. My mother, pressing me passionately to her, held me in her arms and kissed me, engaging in a veritable struggle of love. I wanted at all costs to get down on the floor again, because my self-respect was wounded and I was annoyed by what I took to be an infringement of my personal liberty. I have another memory in connection with my mother, which recalls to me the family table after supper, lit by the big paraffin lamp. I was with my brothers and sisters, but our father was not at home. For our amusement, our mother began to imitate several members of the family. My brothers and sisters rolled about in their chairs with laughter, whilst I sat with a serious, enraptured expression, observing the mimic's "art."

By comparing data, I assume that this memory relates to the last month of her life. Perhaps a week afterwards, they took her away on a stretcher. The two attendants who carried her looked to me like two black giants, as I stood gazing up at them and carefully avoiding the procession. From what seemed the incredible height of the moving stretcher, I could only hear my mother's voice. She was crying, and I felt at the time that she said goodbye to me rather pathetically. It was as if someone had called my name from the clouds. No sooner had the door closed behind them (my father accompanied her to the hospital), than I made a bee line for her empty bedroom, there to make a thorough examination of the mysterious medical bottles, powders and odds and ends of paper

which had aroused my curiosity on her bedside table the previous day. Some one had left a lump of sugar there and, soaking it in a few drops of raspberry syrup, I ate it on the spot.

My last picture is of my mother's profile, looking wan and cold, on the pillow in her private ward at the hospital. My father bent over her and told her in a low voice that he had brought me with him and that I was standing at the end of the bed. "I know," replied my mother in a cold, dry tone, without turning to me. I felt hurt and baffled. With downcast eyes, I started to pull out the fringe of the bedspread. It seemed to me that my mother was angry with us both, though I did not know why.

Apparently I went home with this feeling still in my mind, and I did not get rid of it all the evening, for from that moment my memories become continuous until the next morning and later (my mother died that night). Indeed, I think it probable, that this very evening I attained to that higher realisation of consciousness, which, starting from some particular point in childhood, resolves our memories into a continuous whole.

Next morning I was standing by the window, and my father had just put on his hat and coat in the hall. The bell rang and my father opened the door. A man in a black coat came in and said something in a very low voice. I crept out inquisitively, but my father turned back into the house without noticing me. I saw him hurrying into my elder sister, who was dusting the piano. The black-coated man stood by the door with downcast eyes, holding his hat in his hand and not saying a word. My father came running back and again did not notice me, then both of them hurried out towards the stairs. Plucking up courage, I ran after them and caught them up on the staircase. I pulled at my father's overcoat, looking up at him and asking him with my eyes what had happened. He bent right down to my ear, further than I had ever seen him bend before.

"Mummy's dead," said my father, in a voice that had no emphasis or tone in it, but was very deep and as black and muffled as night. Then, without looking back, he hurried away downstairs.

My sister Elza was leaning on the piano crying. I went over to the window and stood gazing out at the fine November rain. I realised that I was expected to cry too and I jerked my shoulders up and down for a moment, so that Elza should see from my back that I was crying, if she happened to look at the window. But I did not cry: tears would have spoilt what was for me a new, and in fact a tremendous sensation, the discovery of *grief*: with all

my powers focussed, I wanted to observe myself. Meanwhile to keep my attention concentrated, I followed the zigzag pathway of the raindrops clinging to the window-pane, down which they rolled slowly, reluctantly, until two ran together, mingled with one another and sped down suddenly from the increased weight in a little, twisting rivulet.

After half an hour, Elza went out, leaving me alone in the flat with the maid. I went to her room. This time our maid was a loud-voiced, noisy Budapest girl. She was loudly bewailing "My poor mistress, O Blessed Virgin, my poor mistress!" crying and giving herself great, resounding slaps on the knees. All this was another discovery. When she saw me coming, she began to weep over me and to speak in touching, homely phrases, as if she had been pleading with an invisible jury to take pity on me in my sad situation. In reply to my question as to what had happened, and where my parents had gone, she informed me, in a funereal voice, but with a realism as colourful as that of the chamber of horrors, that they were taking my mother to the mortuary, where a post-mortem would be performed and where she would afterwards be laid out on the bier. It was the post-mortem which struck me most, and the good girl answered my questions about it with a verbose and detailed explanation.

Meanwhile, Auntie Annus had arrived in a great hurry, her eyes red with crying. I followed her into the room, and she sat down, remarking that she was surprised they had left me alone. She put her elbows on the table, and sat staring in front of her with heavy, unseeing eyes, while I stood in the middle of the room, a slight, pale figure, my green eyes inquisitively watching to see how the *grown-up* would behave in such a situation. Apparently, I was not satisfied and did not think her distress sufficiently acute, for, after a few moments of gloomy silence, I interrupted her meditation with a sigh of grief inspired by the lecture I had enjoyed a minute or so earlier. Then, imitating the maid's voice, I began to "animate" the story in funereal tones.

"Yes. . . . It's awful. . . . Poor Mummy. . . . Now they're taking her to the mortuary. . . . They're doing a post-mortem. . . . In the mortuary. . . . Everybody has to have a post-mortem. . . . It doesn't help them. . . . No. . . . That's just it. . . ."

Auntie Annus looked up in astonishment and fixed her eyes on me with obvious repugnance, then turned her head away and remarked in an irritable, half-stifled tone "Mortuary. . . . Post-mortem. . . . Where did you learn those words? They're not for

little boys. . . . Go and get your things on. I'll take you to Uncle Károly's."

I went to the funeral with Uncle Károly and his family.

It was in a mood of profound reverence and enraptured awe that I looked on at that gloomy "performance," at the many black draperies, the great smoking flames on their two pillars and the wreaths piled up on the staircase. I remember the heavy scent of the flowers and the subdued, ghostly, inarticulate sobbing of the relations. My mother lay high above my head with her arms cross-wise on her breast, her eyes closed and on her face a radiant, wondering smile, as if she had been the object of admiration at some festival in her honour. I felt a great respect for her now and, realising that hers was the chief part in the ceremony, I thought it quite natural that nobody should pay any special attention to me. The only thing that worried me was the fact that she had no shoes on her black-stockinged feet. The Ganz factory choir meanwhile began to sing in an extremely low, sad voice.

A week later, my sister Mici came back, for she had not been at home when my mother died. I was told in advance that our mother's death was to be kept a secret from her and that the family had decided to say she had gone away. Although I fidgeted and felt uncomfortable, I played my part in this kindly deception without giving myself away, believing as I did that a little girl, who was slightly older than myself, would be taken ill if she suddenly learnt the truth. My surprise was all the greater when one day in the middle of lunch Mici winked to me between the soup and the meat course that she wanted to whisper something. I leant over to her and she informed me, without any particular emotion, in fact almost triumphantly, that she knew everything. "Poor Mummy's dead, but don't say I know. Mari told me, and I had to swear I wouldn't let on." I cannot say why, but I felt a great sensation of relief to know that Mici had come through the ordeal in such excellent health and that the grown-ups had been mistaken. At this time I was a good deal put out by the fact that the grown-ups' world expected me to respond to its pity by certain prescribed forms of behaviour. "Poor little orphan!" they said, and seemed to look upon it as my duty to manifest the state of mind which *they* imagined to be that of a poor little orphan. This called for some dramatic ability, and I did not always succeed in striking the right note. Gradually, an aversion grew up in me to the words "poor little orphan," "hasn't any mother" and to all similar expressions, an aversion from whose influence I have never been able to free

myself. I cannot otherwise explain my life-long feeling that in conversation, and even in literature, there is something indecent about the mother cult as employed for dramatic and sentimental effect, and about the words "my mother" when they are made to take on an emotional colouring by the use of emphasis and inverted commas. Or is it perhaps that I feel the catch in the voice, with which people pronounce them, to be deliberate and insincere?

Of quite another kind was the cult which started in me after my mother's death, without any external compulsion whatever, and remained deeply rooted in my heart and imagination till I was twelve years old.

It was my intention to speak of this cult, but I hardly know how to explain what it was.

The fashionable psychology of the day would perhaps express it by saying that my sub-conscious mind (as the phrase goes) simply *did not grasp the fact of my mother's death*.

I am not referring here to my dreams. It is a natural, everyday occurrence for the dead to appear in our dreams as living persons, due to a mechanical reflex of the mind.

It was in broad daylight, with full consciousness of what I was doing, that I gave free play to my imagination.

Out of that play I deliberately extracted, with an eagerness of desire that became an almost unhealthy passion, a secret, well-ordered scheme of self-indulgence.

Day after day for years, when the bell rang and I set out homewards from school, with my satchel on my back or swinging in my hand, there arose in my mind some fresh picture, forming itself eagerly and impatiently out of the unchanging theme which I alone knew—that today I should find my mother at home.

Being an intelligent little boy, I could not help inventing some sort of confusedly logical explanation for all this, since with my own eyes I had seen my mother as she lay on the bier. I decided that the whole story of the funeral had been gone through at my mother's request, either for fun or as a trick to catch somebody or something. My mother must have had some important diplomatic reason for wishing to be thought dead (I remembered that it had been said she was to open an institution), and this was why she had to live abroad and why we were not to know anything about it.

However, this logical aspect of it was only a pretext for me to dream, every day differently, of what our meeting would be like.

My mother would be waiting in the hall. She would know when to expect me and, as soon as she heard my footsteps, she would come

running up to hide behind the door as I opened it. I would go through into the sitting-room with an indifferent expression, as if I suspected nothing. Of course, I knew all about it, really, but I didn't want to spoil the fun. And afterwards I would feel two hands placed over my eyes and would hear somebody laughing. "Well," she would say, "who is it?" And I would cry out, just as if I were genuinely surprised "Why, it's Mummy!"

Or my mother would be walking in the street in her hat and coat. She would catch sight of me, hurry round the corner and let me pass. But at the next corner I would creep up behind her—and it was *I* who was frightened. D'you think I can't see you? D'you think I don't recognise you? Well, what have you got to say to that? Haven't I grown? And then we would laugh, as we put our arms round one another and kissed.

Or my mother would be sitting at table serving the soup, when the bell would ring and she would get up, put her spoon in her mouth, cry, "Don't tell him, children!" and run into the other room. I would take off my satchel and coat as usual, sit down at table and begin to drink my soup. Only, my heart would be beating wildly, but this no one would hear. I, too, would pretend not to hear when, slowly and cautiously, the door began to open. . . .

I was twelve years old when the following incident occurred.

Late one winter's afternoon, I arrived home from my Scripture lesson. I was tired and out of humour as I trudged along in my cold damp overcoat, whistling in a dull, lifeless way. The thought of my unfinished lesson haunted me. From the street, I noticed that there was a light in the middle room, and I made up my mind to go there first of all and have tea.

From the hall, I clearly heard my brothers and sisters talking in the middle room.

Yet, when I opened the door, I found myself in complete darkness and silence.

That same instant I realised what had happened.

They had agreed among themselves to turn out the light and to keep quiet when I opened the door, so as to see what I would do.

The blood rushed to my heart: I literally felt my face turn pale. My temples began to throb strangely.

Yet I managed to control myself sufficiently for the words "You can't have me like that—I know who's here!" to come out of my throat in quite an everyday, off-hand tone.

The next moment somebody burst out laughing and the light went on.

I look round me and . . . and I saw only the loving faces of my brothers and sisters . . . just my brothers' and sisters' faces. There was nobody else there.

I blushed, then turned pale and a gulping sound rose in my throat which at first I took for a laugh. . . . But the laugh broke into a long loud cry

And then came a frantic outburst of tears. I wept savagely, and no one knew what was the matter. I drove all the others away and only wanted to lie down. They thought it was a fit of hysteria.

I never betrayed my secret to anybody.

It was six years after my mother's death when I shed my first tears for her.

POLAND'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

PART I.—THE GENERAL SITUATION

WHEN we look at the sky by night, we get the impression of immobility. Yet we know that the heavenly bodies are moving in the framework of their systems, that the latter are legion, and that the whole universe, having no beginning and no end, is moving from the unlimited into the unknown. In this field the human mind can only bow in helplessness before the Almighty. From such an excursion to the stars it returns to earth, for here it is at home. Here it knows much—so far as geology and geography go, little—in regard to the history and psychology of nations, and virtually nothing as to their future. Efforts to pierce this veil with the shaft of intuition or the ray of logical reasoning give but uncertain results, and lead only to disappointing prophecies. Nevertheless this risky and tempting effort of the mind is unavoidable. In order to live we must work, in order to work we must plan, and before planning we must look ahead.

There is neither nation nor state which of itself can decide the course of history. There never has been, nor ever will be, a genius who could say that he foresaw everything, and prepared for it. Only the madness of pride would deny these truths. Fortunately no such pride has governed those responsible for the future of Poland. When Marshal Pilsudski entrusted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Joseph Beck in November, 1932, he said to him: "Remember above all, that no plans should be made without the means of realising them!" Two years later, another Polish statesman, Roman Dmowski, wrote in the *Gazeta Warszawska* (31 March, 1934) as follows: "The position of the Great Powers is changing in this direction, that they have steadily less ground for treating us as minors, as pupils or clients, and that they will be more and more compelled to reckon with us, and with what we want. Only let us take care not to get too big ideas as to our own powers!"

Poland lies at the heart of a densely populated continent, whose history has been particularly stormy. Her successes and disasters, her joys and sorrows, have been above all the work of her own sons; but they have been also bound up with the changes going on all around her. Even Europe is not a world shut in by herself. The Soviet Union ties it to Asia, the interests of France and Italy bind it to Africa and the Near East. Not even the U.S.A., though sheltered

by two oceans, can isolate themselves. When the sail was as yet the only power on sea, and the horse the chief means of travel on land, the elemental truths of geo-politics brought it to pass that the rivalry of two European Powers involved other continents. When England took Canada, France repaid her by supporting the Thirteen Colonies, and thus made the American Republic realisable. Thanks to modern science the world has now shrunk unbelievably, so that the policy of any one of the seven Great Powers involves literally the whole face of the globe.

The relations of lesser Powers—among them Poland, are limited to their own vicinity; but even things happening far away come to affect them directly. Poland has no immediate concern with what goes on in the Far East or in the Mediterranean, yet who would assert that whatever is happening there is not of interest to her? We know that it is, and it must be. For this reason we watch with eager attention these happenings, just as we follow with care the events in any neighbouring or allied country. Not because we want to, or could, interfere at all; but because this or the other swing of the pendulum in any state has always some, and can have great, bearing on one's own foreign relations.

Without forgetting for a moment their own aims, the makers of the Foreign Policy of any state—before deciding either on holding to their present course or on changing it, should always study with care what will be the conditions of success for the new policy. They should get answers to the following fundamental questions:—

i. Will the existing arrangement of forces among the Powers maintain itself for a longer time, or will it be subject to change? If the latter, then in respect of what elements, and in what direction?

ii. Can the changes in prospect be harmonised with the keeping of peace, or do they create the danger of a new war? If war is inevitable, when may it break out, and how will the Powers be lined up?

I.

We remember the saying of Heraclitus, that everything changes and nothing stands still. All the same, it is natural enough that people who are happy should like to keep things as they are as long as possible.

Verweile doch, du bist so schön!

was Faust's word in this connection. So then in the past, kings and their chancellors who were satisfied with the position of their

states put forward plans for the organising of "eternal peace," which should secure to them the existing order. Such was the sense of the *Congregatio Concordiæ* proposed by the Czech King George Podiebrad in 1460, such was the purpose of the *Grand Dessein* of Sully in 1630. The same sort of a "realist pacifist" was Tsar Nicholas II, when he proceeded to the calling of the first Hague Conference in 1899. Human hearts, in which great emotions sleep alongside small and foolish ones, are a political reality. We have no lack in the world of disinterested idealists, who will support every noble thought, without reference to its source, or the end in view. As a result, every plan for "eternal peace" will find adherents. A comparison of Woodrow Wilson with Tsar Nicholas would be an injustice to the former. Wilson was more of an idealist than the reverse, when he put forward his project for a League of Nations. He was moved more by a desire for a compulsory Court of Justice for international disputes, for general disarmament, and for security guaranteed by mutual help, than by the thought of how this would affect his own nation. Clemenceau and Lloyd George viewed with scepticism the future of all this, but they supported it, for they saw in it an instrument for their own national policies.

Out of the meeting of these purposes was born the Covenant. No one will deny that it was the boldest attempt to organise international co-operation known to history. Yet, even if one believed that it will one day be realised, it would be a crime to assure one's nation that the League of Nations is now a guarantee of its integrity and independence. When we maintain that to this ideal we have still a long way to go, we make no reproaches to the League. We simply insist that, while the Pact of the League is here, the League itself has not yet appeared. In order that it may appear, and function as an executive organ of general security, the League would have to be universal, and in a certain sense a super-state.

For the first condition it is necessary that all the great Powers should belong. We know how the U.S.A. declined to enter the body initiated by their own President. Holding that they were all-powerful without accepting such responsibilities, American politicians have been content to clothe their egoism in the garments of humanitarian phraseology, so that "the greatest democracy in the world" dealt the first serious blow at the idea of a League of Nations.

The super-state does not and cannot exist. By the term we mean that its members should hand over to it some part of their sovereign rights. If they did, they would make of the Geneva Academy a superior political power, of which all the elements are found in the

Pact. For the chief, though concealed idea of the latter is the transference to an international body of the kind of law and order existing in civilised countries. Since courts and codices exist in all lands, why not create a court of compulsory arbitration for states too? Since we have police and prisons in all lands, why not have sanctions and police controls against the aggression of governments? Nevertheless, when the Assembly of the League resolved on the Geneva Protocol, as the first step toward such a goal, it was "torpedoed" by Great Britain, in March 1925. In this way the second great world democracy undercut our faith in the idea of a League of Nations. For the same reason Sir Samuel Hoare, ten years later, could not use the instrument broken by his predecessor, Sir Austen Chamberlain.

The admission of Germany in 1926 brought the League nearer to the ideal of universalism. Outside there now remained only the U.S.A., towards which Geneva sighed longingly; and the Soviet Union, which at that time no one wanted to see on the banks of the Lake of Geneva at all. The Germans came in, not from any enthusiasm for the idea, but for political calculations. They wanted above all to secure the evacuation of the Rhine, to get rid of the burden of reparations, and to secure equality in respect of armaments. After a few trials of strength, they discovered that at Geneva they could hope for no real help in realising these designs. They came to the conclusion that French diplomacy—the most influential at Geneva from 1925 on, regarded the League as an instrument for securing "the fruits of victory," and that no thought of equality of armament was entertained at all. It is not our place to give lessons to French diplomacy, and we know quite well with what internal difficulties it had to reckon, if it wished to take the initiative. The French parliament could not bring itself to sacrifice fancied gains in order to secure real ones. They could have kept the Germans in the League, but at the price of *Gleichberechtigung*. They could have held to the view that Germany must keep to what she had promised in writing, and *basta*: otherwise there would be a resort to force. Since, however, the third great democracy of the world could not—or would not, choose either of these paths, she did not help on the progress of the League, either in the matter of its form or its content. True, she brought into the League in 1934 the Soviet Union, "the sixth continent"; but we are not at all sure that this was a victory for the League.

Everyone knows of the blows dealt to the League by Japan, Italy and Germany. We must remember, however, when reviewing

the causes of the present lifelessness of that institution, that if its Pact was not equipped with the needful executive powers, the chief responsibility falls on the three democracies mentioned. Immediately after the war they could have introduced new law and order in the world. They possessed both physical and moral power to do this, but they did not. National egoisms throttled humanitarian hopes. Thus was a great occasion lost.

Two Polish statesmen, whose names are from the outset inseparably bound up with the restoration of the Polish state, declined to put great faith in the experiment of the League. Wilson told Dmowski in Washington in October 1918, that an "international police" would watch over peace in post-war Europe. Dmowski's question was: "Will U.S.A. keep their expeditionary force there?" Six months later, on 8 April 1919, Pilsudski wrote to one of the Polish delegates in Paris, Leon Wasilewski, these words: "It looks as though, in this world of ours, talk about the brotherhood of nations and faith in American doctrines are beginning to win out!" He went on to advise him how to exploit this fact. On the other hand Skrzyński believed in the League. Speaking before the Committee of the Diet on Foreign Affairs on 26 February 1925, he defended the Geneva Protocol at the very moment when it became known that London would not have it. "The world will not return to the Balance of Power: it will not return to any of its pre-war forms."

One may well hold that "it will not return," since the world has simply not departed from "pre-war forms." What Skrzyński meant by that phrase is as old as time, and no 11 November could suddenly conjure it away. For more than a decade Europe and the world enjoyed peace based on the moral and material predominance of the victors; peace made fairer by temporary financial prosperity, thanks mainly to the billions made by Americans in the war. But this effort at settling international life by the group of Powers satisfied with their arrangement of forces and their divisions of the spoils, did not succeed. The chief reasons are three:

- i. Many who profited from the Great War either thought little about tomorrow or else, taking their desires for reality, set up false horoscopes in foretelling the fall of Fascism in Italy, the consolidation of democracy in Germany, the evolution of the Soviet Union in the direction of some sort of bourgeois oligarchy, or the certain return of the U.S.A. to the League.

- ii. Those same Powers, benefiting from the War, were at the same time the guardians of a static peace; and when something needed

saying about the dynamics of history, they always uttered sentiments about sacrificing the interests of minor Powers. Further, it even has happened that they made light of the interests of their allies.

iii. When matters were at stake affecting directly the interests of these same Powers, matters they themselves characterised as "vital," they had not strength of heart to show their power at the proper moment.

The existing arrangement of forces thus passed into a phase of change, a period of stormy years, which might be called a search for a new balance. Without a care in either heart or head for anything save their own "tomorrow," and coldly calculating their changes, first Japan (in 1931) came to the conclusion that she might with immunity begin on the mainland of Asia the big task of subjecting China. With the coming of Hitler to power, the Germans set about getting rid of all duties imposed upon them on their own soil. This inevitable process, the responsibility for which has been laid on those "bad" Germans only by naïve people, reduced the level of political confidence in Europe and hurried on the already-begun race for armaments. Pretending a readiness to stand by in opposing Germany, Italy prepared diplomatically the conquest of Abyssinia in 1935. She succeeded, but the result was a marked chill in Italo-British relations. This tension in the Mediterranean, as well as the internal crisis in the Soviet Union, as seen in the mass execution of high dignitaries and officers, was exploited in turn by Japan in order to achieve the second phase of her plans in China.

The interim balance of these critical years could be struck as follows: by the method of *faits accomplis*, and with the use of arms, the "totalitarian" powers have strengthened their position and territory, if not at the cost of the "democratic" states, at least in spite of them. All three are at once over-populated, and poor in respect of gold and raw materials. The chief "democratic" powers do not suffer from over-population, they possess enormous territories and almost all raw materials, while of gold they have twenty-five times as much as their "totalitarian" neighbours. The English call gold "the politician's policeman." Let us not exaggerate. Germany, Italy and Japan will manage quite well without gold. Both for individuals and for nations, gold is doubtless a part of happiness—alongside health, love and fame: but organised work in the framework of a well-ordered people—that too is gold. And there is something else, most important of all. Not the readiness to offer gold, but that to offer blood has been and always be the chief buckler of

security, the chief factor in greatness, and the chief source of national success.

2.

From the moment when the post-war world passed into the phase of change, the radio amplifiers and the public platform have sounded almost daily alarms of war; but when observers of international relations, possessing more real knowledge and good nerves, attempt to pierce in thought the mists of the decade before us, they see only peace.

What sort of peace? Is it only of the kind that comes from the fear of war, and so an anxious and usually short-lived peace? Is peace only the absence of war, and so a state where there is no confidence, but only a race for armaments; without any international economic co-operation, but rather a competition in *autarkie*, peace "without butter, but with guns"? Or will it be real peace? At the moment Europe enjoys the second kind, and its blessings are circumscribed: but we are not faced with the dilemma—war or peace. What we have is a choice between poor peace and the good kind, a grim peace and a sunny one, the peace of uncertainty and that of a new balance of power. The prophecy that in the next ten years we shall not see war in Europe we may base on the certainty that there is neither Government nor General Staff on the continent made up of such madmen that they would hurl their country into the throes of a general war. The fact is that any struggle in Europe, thought of as a local one, would become general very quickly. Not because of the Pact of the League, but because existing obligations, actual political interests, and geographical position would make it possible for the majority of states to keep out. None of the Great Powers is ready to-day for a world war, either morally or materially. Neither Britain nor France can wish it, since they have nothing to gain from it, and could only lose. The Soviet Union is not capable of an offensive campaign. So too, the "unsatisfied" Powers need a longer term of peace. The Germans, for example, are not ready for a great war, either morally, economically, nor on the score of the forces themselves. The generation is still alive which fought the last war. They have no gold, they are far from supplied with food-stuffs, and a sufficiency of raw materials is simply out of the question. The army is not ready, for the reserves have no training. In 1914 there were twelve million of these latter. At the moment they have about a million, with perhaps another million of *Ersatz-reserve*.

Does this mean that local wars in Europe, or in the world in general are unthinkable? Not at all. They can happen either

- i. when two small Powers fight (Paraguay and Bolivia), or
- ii. when a powerful state attacks its weaker neighbour, because other Great Powers do not want to interfere to help the victim, (Abyssinia or now China), or
- iii. when a civil conflict inside a country is thought of as a local war, for the reason that its outcome has international significance or that the parties engaged get help from without (Spain).

The fact that we do not see any general struggle in sight on the horizon to-day does not mean that such a war is not possible to-morrow. More than that, we do see three possibilities of this kind. Without suggesting that either of these is the more likely, or saying that they are inevitable, we shall name them.

- i. a war of Europe and the Soviet Union with Germany,
- ii. a war of Europe and Germany with Soviet Russia,
- iii. a war of the Anglo-Saxon Powers with Japan.

The first of the three lies in the interests of the USSR; for discord in Europe is a canon of Soviet security, and a war in Europe the condition of the Sovietising of the Continent. The second of the two would profit chiefly Germany, whose desire it is that no homogeneous and solid state organism should be established in the vast Soviet territories. As a condition of the third war, we must have the collaboration of Britain, U.S.A., and the Soviet Union. Should this come to pass, it might give rise to number one; and vice-versa.

PART II.—TWENTY YEARS OF POLICY

Joseph Beck, the nineteenth Foreign Minister of the new Poland, celebrated on 2 November 1937, the fifth anniversary of his taking office. Nine days later Poland celebrated the nineteenth anniversary of her liberation. Two nineteens! Six and a half years of August Zaleski's tenure of office and over five years of Beck's are a proof that, thanks to High Heaven and to Marshal Pilsudski, Poland ceased in May 1926 to change every half year the headship of her Foreign Office. That day in May marked the turning-point in Poland's relations with her neighbours. On the other hand, if we were to seek a synthesis of her foreign policy, without regard to the changes in her constitution, we should find it falling into four periods.

Taking the cabinet of Swieżyński, set up in Warsaw 26 October 1919, as the first government of the new Poland, we have the following list of men, in the order of holding office, who were either Ministers, or were "in charge":

1. Stanisław Głąbiński (26.X.'18-4.XI.'18), 8 days.
2. Tytus Filipowicz, in ch. (4.XI.'18-17.XI.'18), 13 days.
3. Leon Wasilewski (17.XI.'18-16.I.'19), 2 mos.
4. I. J. Paderewski (16.I.'19-9.XII.'19), 10 mos., 23 days.
5. Władysław Wróblewski, in ch. (13.XII.'19-16.XII.'19), 3 days.
6. Stanisław Patek (16.XII.'19-9.VI.'20), 5 mos., 24 days.
7. Prince E. Sapieha (23.VI.'20-24.V.'21), 11 mos.
8. Jan Dąbski, in ch. (24.V.'21-11.VI.'21), 17 days.
9. Konstanty Skirmunt (24.VI.'21-28.VI.'22), 1 year, 4 days.
10. Gabriel Narutowicz (28.VI.'22-14.XII.'22), 5 mos., 15 days.
11. Alexander Skrzyński (16.XII.'22-26.V.'23), 5 mos., 10 days.
12. Marjan Seyda (28.V.'23-27.X.'23), 4 mos., 29 days.
13. Roman Dmowski (27.X.'23-16.XII.'23), 1 mo., 18 days.
15. Karol Bertoni, in ch. (19.XII.'23-19.I.'24), 1 mo.
15. Maurycy Zamoyski (19.I.'24-27.VII.'24), 6 mos., 6 days.
16. Alex. Skrzyński (27.VII.'24-5.V.'26), 1 year, 9 mos., 9 days.
17. Kajetan Morawski in ch. (10.V.'26-15.V.'26), 4 days.
18. August Zaleski (15.V.'26-2.XII.'32), 6 yrs., 6 mos., 17 days.
19. Józef Beck (2.XII.'32 . . .).

This fairly long list falls clearly into two unequal groups, corresponding to the two constitutional epochs of the restored Poland:

(i) That lasting to 15 May 1926, a time of Seymocracy (from *Seym*—Diet), of formal democracy, weak governments, recurrent crises and planlessness; in which, during seven and a half years, there were seventeen Foreign Ministers—on the average lasting just over five months each.

(ii) The period of Marshal Pilsudski and his successors, a time of authoritarian but not "total" governments, democratic but not parliamentary. It has lasted twelve years, with but one change at the Foreign Office.

This purely external division of epochs reveals the fact that, by contrast with the years of parties and parliaments, authoritarian government has been for Poland more advantageous. By this I do not mean that the educated classes in the country take a negative view of democratic institutions, or see in others a model of perfection. We know well that the British people has reason to be content with the way its democracy functions, but we know also that institutions must be suited to the character and political

maturity of the people concerned. We shall not repeat the error of 1921, when Poland shaped her constitution "on foreign models." It was an ultra-democratic experiment, in a country ill-prepared for it. Its authors were proud that Poland had a constitution more liberal than the French. Today, one may be sure, they do not envy their ally, France, the results of that kind of liberalism. The new Polish constitution of 1935 is not, on the other hand, to be put in the same class as "fascist" ones. It is an original effort at a constitutional régime, in which the executive can function; but civic liberties are guaranteed, and the acts of government are controlled by the Diet.

I.

We noted above that the history of Polish foreign policy can be divided into four periods. Let us see that they look like, and what was the chief feature of each.

Period One—the struggle for frontiers. It lasted from November 1918, until March 1923, when the Powers confirmed our frontiers with the USSR and Lithuania. The central figure was Pilsudski. During the first year, while the Peace Conference was on, Roman Dmowski took part in the work. He reaped for Poland the fruits of long years of effort, getting the maximum possible under the circumstances. Pilsudski, on the other hand, was busy with the opposition at home and with the Bolshevik invasion. He lost out in the conflict with the Sejm—for the time, and the Constitution was acclaimed in spite of him; but he won the struggle with the Soviets.

Where armies could not be sent, he caused, supported or tolerated insurrections. Our western frontier is doubtless the diplomatic triumph of Dmowski, but it may be doubted whether it would have been so good had not the Poznanians given their blood in December 1918. Further, without the heroism of the Silesian insurgents the result of the plebiscite would have been "interpreted" not better than the suggestion of 20 October 1921. The south-eastern borders of the Commonwealth were won and held only thanks to Polish valour, and to the firmness of our diplomacy (again we owe a debt to Dmowski for his unyielding attitude in the Polish Ukrainian Truce Commission, headed by General Botha). The reunion of the Wilno territory with Poland was the work of Pilsudski alone. Finally, it was in this first period that two important decisions were taken by the Marshal, which have vindicated themselves to our own day: the alliances made in 1921 with France and Roumania.

Period Two—the finding of ourselves. This began with the “strategic retirement” of Pilsudski to his villa in Sulejowek, and ended with the “offensive” of his return in May, 1926. No one, not even Dmowski, could take the helm of state in his absence, nor even last as Foreign Minister. It could not be, on account of the internal dislocations. On this leader, apart from Pilsudski the only statesman whose greatness shone in the Polish firmament during the struggle for independence, the false position of the National Democrats took its vengeance. While admiring Italian Fascism and the Action Francaise, they supported the régime of seymocracy in Poland. Polish foreign policy, meanwhile, became the preserve of influences from the Left. Their advocate was Alexander Skrzyński. When I once paid him the compliment of being “the wisest of Polish Conservatives,” he replied loftily: “You are wrong; I am a Polish socialist!” Pilsudski said about him in 1923, that “though he is not a man of new ideas, he does introduce new methods.” Later he expressed himself about Skrzyński with less indulgence.

In those days Poland was in dread of Moscow, not knowing that Moscow was in fear of her. People in Warsaw were watching with concern a Germany that was emerging from the deluge of inflation, but they had no notion of the enormous difficulties the Reich still had before it. After the victory of the *Cartel des Gauches* in France, in May 1924, and the coming to power in England of the Labour Party, there blew throughout Europe the winds of “democratic” peace policy. The first attempt was achieved at conjuring out of the Covenant a collective system of security, but on their return to power the English Conservatives throttled it. The fashion changed to regional pacts, “in the framework of the Covenant.” Locarno was born, and Poland was attached to it.

La Pologne, nous la portons à bout de bras! sighed at that time Herriot. A very uncomfortable position that, whether for the carrier or the carried. In order to get away from it, in order to stand firmly on her own feet, and together with France—but also with other nations, to carry peace on her shoulders, Poland had to make great efforts. Skrzyński was right in setting his sails to the winds then blowing, he was right in using the language then spoken. Proof of this is the fact that he was the first Foreign Minister from Warsaw who got a hearing in the West, or in whom anyone took any interest. Had he been a realist, he could have permanently reinforced Poland’s international position. Alas, he mistook appearances for reality. He dedicated his fine talents to the service of a pacific

chimera. Having the making in him of a statesman, he became rather the apostle of ideas, which were noble, but too misty.

Period Three.—Pilsudski brings Poland back to realism. This stage lasted over six years. August Zaleski was Foreign Minister, and his collaboration with the Marshal was complete. The latter saw, indeed, the gaps in Poland's plan of security, but he did not see any circumstances which offered the right moment for serious negotiations. He watched the horizon with attention, and steered a cautious and temperate course. His first concern was internal consolidation, the building up of the nation's resources. The Stabilisation Loan of 1927, and the first easing of the tension with the Soviets in 1928, are landmarks. No improvement in relations with Germany followed, but that was not Poland's fault. In proportion as tendencies grew in France to be reconciled with Germany, the relation of the Reich to Poland became more aggressive. Briand discussed with Stresemann the conditions on which the Rhine could be evacuated the sooner; but he would not hear of linking up to this an agreement on the part of Berlin to a pact of non-aggression with Warsaw. When Louis Marin and the now deceased Franklin-Bouillon spoke in the French Chamber about the ties of alliance with Poland, Briand replied that "alliances are in contradiction to the Covenant of the League." . . . At the same time members of the National Democratic Party in the Polish Sejm were charging Zaleski with neglecting the French alliance. With alliances, however, it is the same as with love: in the words of the Polish folk-song, it is necessary "that two should care at once."

Period Four of Polish Foreign Policy begins at the end of 1932. Its chief feature is the struggle for a place in Europe without entanglements. This period is not yet ended.

When it became clear that the former victors would no longer be able to prevent Germany from rearming, Pilsudski made this observation: "The time is at hand when the conventional structure of international life that has lasted for a decade, can no longer survive." He foresaw that "a number of complications will accompany this change." He formed the conviction that Poland would have to take up the struggle for the improving of what, in her present position, was "weakness, indefiniteness, and inadequacy." The change in tactics brought with it a change of Headship. It was under these circumstances that, on 2 November 1932, Zaleski resigned; and his place was taken by Joseph Beck, who had been Under Secretary of State since December 1930.

None of our Foreign Ministers has had a harder part to play than M. Beck. None has worked in times more critical. His fellow-Poles received his nomination not without scepticism. The newcomer was very young—barely thirty-eight. Only a somewhat small group of people knew him well. These, who knew his qualities, did not doubt that M. Beck would be equal to the tasks the Marshal committed to him.

Abroad the new Minister was also received with reserve. It was well known that he was the chosen confidant of Pilsudski. The inference was that the Marshal was leaving the diplomacy “of position,” for that “of movement.” No one doubted that the end in view was a larger measure of security and of self-determination for Poland. Some, nevertheless, esteemed these intentions as simply a beating of drums, while others called them ingratitude. There were even those who got impatient at the fact that Poland was bringing confusion into the already established “hierarchy” of European powers. Many were of the opinion that Poland was one of the “small” powers magnanimously set free by the “great” ones; and that out of gratitude she should sit quiet in her corner and look on while a “Directorate” of Europe was shaping, whose members could carry on their work together—at the cost of others. Pilsudski did much toward the spoiling of these plans. People did not venture to attack him, so they turned on his Minister, at times with pretty wretched arguments. In the face of all this M. Beck showed unusual *sang froid*. Never once did one hear from his lips a word of complaint or impatience. In his conversations with foreign statesmen, he knew how to say “no” when Poland’s interests demanded it, but he has never boasted of his successes. Even today his firmness does not please everyone, but it does command respect.

Among his own people in Poland, M. Beck has passed the hardest test. His term of office has been cut right in two by the passing of Pilsudski. When the master was no more, the question was asked, how would the pupil get on? Today no one doubts that the pupil is following with courage and surety the line laid down by his teacher. Just as no one denies that with the ripeness of a statesman the Polish Foreign Minister has won for himself the needful confidence at home, in order with the better authority to realise in action the testament of Pilsudski in foreign relations.

2.

In the winter of 1920, Lord Balfour remarked, “Nobody knows Poland’s policy.” True enough, at that time it was difficult for an

outsider to find himself in the aims, and means to achieve them, of Poland's foreign policy. Today no person of goodwill could repeat that phrase, since it is not hard to see what the answer is. In conclusion, then, let us sum up in simple propositions. Whether in view of the general world situation, or on analysis of Poland's relations with her neighbours, it seems clear that her foreign policy must be governed by the following principles :

i. Peace in return for peace. Poland takes the position that her highest interest is to help secure for herself and for Europe as lasting peace as is possible, but she will not purchase this with any concessions not in keeping with her honour as a nation, nor with vital state interests.

ii. We will not give up our own. Considering her existing possessions as the minimum of historical justice, Poland would reject without discussion any intentions to lessen her territory or her international rights.

iii. We do not want what belongs to others. If Poland were driven to war, she would put forth the motto of further change in Europe on lines of the principle of self-determination of the peoples.

iv. We will not be the aggressor. Ready at any moment to defend her own, Poland will not strike at any other state unless with provocation.

v. We shall carry out our agreements. True to her word, once given, Poland will hold to her international obligations in general and to her alliances in particular.

vi. We will not be a buffer state. Mindful of her past experiences, Poland does not want either her eastern neighbour to guarantee her integrity and safety against her western one, or *vice versa*.

vii. We need raw materials, and fields for emigration. The necessity for industrialisation of our country and the lack of raw materials, on the one hand, and on the other the over-population of our villages and the excess of Jews in our towns, compel Poland to announce a double claim : (a) for access to raw materials, and (b) for access to areas able to receive our inhabitants, who must emigrate in order to escape misery.

viii. *Nihil de nobis sine nobis*. Poland will not permit any power or group of powers to interfere in her private affairs, or to pass judgment in respect to her vital interests.

KAZIMIERZ SMOGORZEWSKI.

Part III of this paper will deal with Poland's relations with her two bigger neighbours, and will appear in the next number of the Review.—ED.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE FAR EASTERN CRISIS

THERE has been much discussion as to the true reasons which induced Japan to embark on her present adventure in China. Various causes have been given: Japan, overpopulated and small in area, needs territory for the overflow of her population, as a great industrial power she needs raw materials for her industries, and in addition she is seeking control of the Chinese market particularly for her silk exports; she is stamping out Communism in China.

These three arguments may be briefly refuted: With regard to territory for colonisation, she already possessed a considerable colonial empire prior to her conquest of Manchukuo in 1931. After the Russo-Japanese War, with an eye to the coming annexation of Korea, an ambitious plan was drawn up for the settlement of a million Japanese a year on the mainland of Asia. In actual fact, in the following two decades less than one million Japanese settled in the Japanese overseas possession. As for Manchuria, it has been the Chinese and not the Japanese who have flowed in to colonise it.

With regard to the second argument, it might have been valid prior to the conquest of Manchukuo, but not afterwards. In Manchuria Japan found for her industrial needs a reserve of timber estimated at 200,000,000 tons; coal estimated in the Hsin mine alone at 600,000,000 tons and in all Manchuria and Inner Mongolia 2,500,000,000 tons; iron deposits estimated at 1,200,000,000 tons; shale oil conservatively estimated at 350,000,000 tons; agricultural fertilisers, soda magnesium, aluminium and agricultural products such as oats, millet, koaliang and soya. These estimates, as given in the Tanaka Memorial, are said to be those of the South Manchurian Railway and of the Japanese General Staff. Whether these figures are correct or not, is irrelevant. Suffice it to say that had Japan concentrated her energies on the development of Manchukuo instead of dispersing them in all her subsequent conquests, Manchukuo to a great extent could have solved her problem with regard to the need of raw materials for her industries. Similarly, the question of controlling the Chinese market might have been solved more profitably by winning the friendship of the Chinese people and by bolstering up the growing prosperity of China, instead of plunging that country into a ruinous war and assuming the role of the arch-enemy of the Chinese people.

Further, it must be remembered that the misery, destruction and famine caused by this war in China not only ruins trade but also

serves as an excellent breeding ground for the very Communism which Japan is purporting to fight.

That these considerations may have partially influenced the circles in Japan responsible for the present aggressive policy, does not explain the main reason behind the Japanese drive. To get the complete picture, it is necessary to consider certain psychological and social abnormalities which have distorted the political outlook of the Japanese nation or, more exactly, its ruling elements. It suffices to indicate here the very special position of the army, the survival of the feudal clan spirit, the influence of the Satsuma clan on the navy and the Choshu clan on the army, the warlike traditions of Japanese history, the belief in the superiority of the Yamato race over the rest of the world, coupled with a faith in its "manifest destiny." These, together with a loss of perspective resulting from a too rapid rise to the status of a great power and such other factors as the termination of the restraining power of the Genro, and the appointment to command in military positions of the extremists who staged the military revolution of 1936, have resulted in the present mood of aggressive imperialism. As in the case of pre-War pan-Germanism, this Japanese imperialism has evolved theories and doctrines, justifying its action historically, and a school of literature remarkably outspoken as to its aims. Even leaving aside the jingoist writings of retired army and navy officers, to be found in every country, we are faced with such important and ominous pronouncements as the Tanaka Memorial of 1927, the Minami Honjo Memorial of 1931 and the recent speeches and declarations of General Araki and Admiral Suetsugu. These declarations vary as to the ultimate goal of Japan's efforts, the more extreme ones aiming at the domination of Asia, driving the white man out of it, and even invading Europe. But they all agree as to the tasks immediately ahead being, first, the conquest of China and second, war with Soviet Russia for the control of Eastern Siberia. We may, therefore, for the time being, leave the nebulous and cosmic aims out of account, and consider as problems of immediate historical importance the double menace of Japan to China and to Russia.

We are now in the presence of an actual conquest of China by Japan and an avowed intention of Japan to attack Russia. According to the American newspaper correspondent, Mr. Knickerbocker, who has recently visited Vladivostok and the Amur Region, there have been in recent months over 400 cases of frontier fighting between the Soviet Red Army and the Japanese forces stationed on the border of Manchukuo. More ominously, whereas the Japanese armies in China are composed mostly of older men drawn from the reserves,

the cream of the army, composed of the younger classes, is stationed in Manchukuo facing Soviet Russia. These facts imply the virtual existence of a potential state of war between the two countries. Whereas the question whether these conditions will ultimately develop into a major Russo-Japanese conflict belongs to the future, some incidents have resulted both in China and in Soviet Russia which may alter considerably the balance of power in Asia. First, there is a striking parallelism in the change of the moral climate in both countries. That the profession of arms was in such disrepute in old China as to be classed with banditry, was a testimony to the essentially peaceful nature of the civilisation which centuries of power and isolation from the outside world had evolved. The stress on scholarship and the cult of moderation, as taught by Confucianism, had paved the way for an intense dislike for solving any problems of international relations by violent means. Furthermore, the very nature of the problems which the Middle Kingdom had to face made possible the selection of peaceful ways of solving them. Indeed, up to the time when the impact of the West began its destructive and creative work, that is to say up to the middle of the 19th century, China faced only the question of remaining safe from invasions of barbarians along her borders. The easiest and safest way was not military conquest but the fundamental canon of I-i chih-i: using barbarians to control barbarians, in other words, *divide et impera*. The preference for this diplomatic method of dealing with frontier problems, coupled with the idea that all nations outside China were barbarians, was so deeply rooted in the national consciousness that in a modified form we find it surviving as late as 1931. The instinctive reaction of China was not to fight Japan, but rather to set up other nations against the island empire. The appeals to the League of Nations and the playing on the sympathies of the western nations at that time were according to the best traditions of the canon I-i chih-i.¹ All the more striking is the powerful resistance put up today by the Chinese armies and nation against the recent Japanese offensive in North and Central China.

Furthermore we find China for the first time unified. In the past China had grown to be less and less of a nation and more and more of a loose federation of peoples held together solely by a common civilisation or, more exactly, by a common outlook on life. Hence the spirit of independence shown by the various provinces, the deep cleavage between North and South, and the facility with which provincial governors and war-lords betrayed the Central government.

¹ See *Empire in the East*, edited by J. Barnes, N.Y. 1934. The chapter on China and the Barbarians by Owen Lattimore, p. 22.

Today, in striking contrast, we find a nation unified in spirit, presenting a common front to the enemy; and there can be little doubt that this change was brought about by the menace of Japan.

Thus we may say that two novel elements have appeared in Chinese life within the past decade which, for lack of better words, we may qualify as militarism and nationalism. Assuming that these are not passing trends and that they are liable to be further strengthened by the increasing pressure of Japan on China, it may well be that the future destinies of Asia will be moulded by them. Indeed, in projecting the growth of these trends into the future, we have to face two possibilities: Japan is victorious and conquers China, or Japan fails in her task and breaks down. In the first case China may undergo the fate of Poland; but the example of that nation shows that a nation which keeps its national spirit and civilisation alive cannot be destroyed. Moreover, how much more difficult it would be for Japan to hold China than it was for the three combined mighty empires of Europe to hold a relatively smaller and weaker Poland! If on the other hand, Japan fails in her effort to subdue China and breaks down, or—what would be tantamount to it—gets involved with other powers so that the struggle becomes general, the result will be the emergence of a nationally awakened China welded together by the fire of martyrdom—the perennial manifestation of the Phoenix rising from its ashes. And what will the triumph of Chinese nationalism mean to the world at large?

The story of all nationalisms has been the same, be it Italian, German, Polish, Russian or even Japanese. First, a weak country oppressed or menaced by powerful neighbours; then the national awakening and struggle against the oppressor, with the war of liberation becoming the symbol of national courage and inspiration for the patriotism of future generations; then the hour of triumph, the gradual overflow of national aspirations beyond the borders of the newly unified or liberated state; the appearance of theories of national or race superiority, the concept of some great historic mission which leads in turn to conquests, to oppression of neighbouring peoples, and possibly war with other nations and once more defeat. The France of Louis XIV and Napoleon, the Russia of Catherine II and Nicholas I, Germany from Jena to 1914, Italy from Mazzini to Mussolini have all gone through or are going through this cycle. What would stop China from following the same path?

It must be remembered that as late as the end of the 18th century China was still a conquering, aggressive nation. Indeed, between 1746 and 1800 the Chinese conquered Sinkiang, carried on a war in Tibet and Nepal against the Gurkhas who were brought to

submission, invaded Burma and re-established their dominion over Cochin-China. On the other hand Japanese invasions of China have had an almost cyclical regularity. Indeed, we find major Japanese attacks occurring in the 14th, 16th and 19th centuries. In each case it took years of fighting to drive the Japanese away. The present cycle, which started with the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5, is still in progress. True, a novel factor has been the emergence of Japan as a technically more advanced nation using the latest methods of mechanised warfare and backed by the power of modern industry. But one of the reasons for the Japanese aggression last July was the alarm induced by the very rapid technical progress of China since the Nanking government's consolidation of its power in 1927. The modernisation of such cities as Nanking and Wuhan (Hankow), the building of the network of highways of the Canton-Hankow Railway, the spread of airlines, the growth of universities and the development of Chinese industries were factors showing the ability of the Chinese to modernise and maintain their vitality.

There is a widespread tendency to overlook the resiliency shown by nations after great national catastrophes. Many were those who in the dismal years following the advent of Soviet power in Russia, in the face of civil war, terror, epidemics and famine, predicted the complete disintegration of Russia in a wave of anarchy. Similarly, today many observers are predicting the death of China and the destruction of her age-long civilisation at the hands of Japan. But the record of progress shown by China in the past decade, as well as the unleashing of national energies as revealed by the present struggle, give a reasonable basis for the assumption that the end of this struggle will be followed by a period of development similar to the one witnessed in Soviet Russia under the various five-year plans, and very much for the same reasons. A backward nation, having learned by the bitter lesson of war the cost of neglecting its economic and technical development, strains its energy, as a means of survival, to overtake more advanced nations. In the relatively improbable contingency of Japan's succeeding in transforming China into a colony, the effect would be very much the same, though in a slower and more indirect way; the story of all colonisations has revealed that the colonised nation uses to its own advantage the lessons imparted by its colonisers. There remains however one prerequisite for this, namely, the survival of an ardent national spirit and the urge for survival in the face of defeat; if the lessons of the present struggle are correctly read, it would appear that the Chinese people

have exchanged their past Sybaritic passivity for a new dynamic energy, just as every nation has done under similar circumstances.

Turning to Soviet Russia, we may trace the appearance of similar trends under somewhat similar conditions. It is hardly possible to speak of Russian history as being pacific. Indeed, Professor Sorokin, in his comparative study of wars throughout history, points out that the percentage of war years for Russia throughout the course of her history is 46 per cent. as compared to 50 per cent. for France and 56 per cent. for England, with other European countries lagging behind.² But notwithstanding this high percentage of wars, the Russian people have in common with the Chinese a fundamentally non-warlike psychology. Wars were fought by Russia either in self-defence or in pursuit of a national policy such as the drive toward the sea, or the obvious rounding off of national frontiers or, again, the support of fellow Slav peoples. Such policies were dictated by the government and, with the exception of the governing bureaucracy and portions of the nobility which were inspired by patriotism and a sense of nationalism, the people at large went to war because such was the command of the Tsar. Religion and a primitive elemental sense of nationality were the nearest equivalents to nationalism one could find in pre-War Russia. Moreover, the immensity of the country and the remoteness of the border made for a strong sense of regionalism and a lack of any hostile discrimination against one particular foreign nation. Neither Japan nor Germany were really hated during the hostilities against them in the last two wars preceding the Revolution.

All the more remarkable is therefore the change taking place today, ironically, within the framework of Soviet ideology. The rise of what we may term Soviet nationalism is as remarkable as the corresponding rise of Chinese nationalism. It originated in the segregation of Russia from other nations during the early period of the Revolution. Regarded with unmitigated horror by the Western nations and driven into economic and moral isolation, the Soviet Russia of the early twenties had to find support within herself for her moral and economic rehabilitation and develop a psychology of superiority, based upon her own Messianic ideology. She had to build up a powerful army and an industrial equipment which today form an inseparable element of military power. She also had to mobilise the national spirit. Partly for its own propaganda purposes and partly for this mobilisation of spirit, the Soviet

² P. A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, vol. III, p. 352.

government began instilling into the people, as the Five Year Plan was nearing completion, a pride of achievement. The "We and You" attitude toward capitalist nations was gradually being changed into a pride in "our Socialist Fatherland" and a stress on the jealousy of other nations. It will be noticed that the Japanese war menace appeared just at this time, that is to say, toward the end of the first Five-Year Plan. Here was a tangible proof of the menace of the outside world which was anxious not to allow Russia to develop peacefully at home, or at least such was the interpretation given for internal consumption; and when the rise of Hitler completed this picture on the Western border, all the elements for the rise of an exacerbated feeling of nationalism were ripe. True, this new nationalism is not Russian in the sense of glorification of the Russian nationality, but Soviet, putting more stress on the glorification of the system and of the community of races living within the Soviet border; yet that is a difference which matters little with regard to the effect this phenomenon will have on the outside world. Furthermore the changed attitude of the Kremlin toward the Russian past, the reinstatement of Peter the Great as a national hero and even more strikingly of St. Alexander Nevsky, is proof that the movement is not only growing in strength but is narrowing itself to a more and more Russian national ideology.

Thus if present Russia shows the rise, in an ever increasing degree, of the glorification of the military, and an appearance of a proud spirit of nationalism, both these trends may be directly credited to Japan's actions. Both in China and in Russia Japan has so far accomplished a moral revolution of tremendous significance for the future of Asia. But she has done even more: she has succeeded in bringing the two nations once more together.

That the two revolutionary movements should have looked to each other for mutual support in the earlier stages of their development was easily understandable. China looked to Russia for badly needed assistance in technical advice and war equipment, whereas Soviet Russia, after the failure of a direct Communist drive upon Western Europe, turned to Asia as a field for a flanking attack on European capitalism. Already the Congress of Baku in 1920 had succeeded in bringing the various Asiatic revolutionary movements under the co-ordinated guidance of Moscow; and subsequent events showed China to be a particularly fruitful field for Soviet endeavour. Indeed, Sun Yat-Sen in dying had left a famous testament recommending close co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Soviet government. There was only the necessity of slightly modifying the interpretations of the three principles which Sun Yat-

Sen had laid down as the basic character of the Chinese revolution, in order to bring them into accord with the demands of the Third International.

The period between 1924 and 1927 marked the high-water mark of Russian influence in China. Not only was the Kuomintang under the direct control of the Soviet agent, Borodin and his mission, but the Chinese nationalist forces in South China were effectively reorganised under Russian guidance. However, the moderate wing of the Kuomintang party not only feared the impact of Communism on the Chinese masses but held to the slogan "China for the Chinese." Headed by Chiang Kai-Shek and the powerful financial interests of the Soong family this group not only succeeded in driving the Russian Soviets out of China but ever since has been waging a bitter struggle against the Chinese Communists. As a result of six campaigns fought against the Chinese Communists, General Chiang Kai-Shek succeeded in localising their influence to the more remote parts of China, particularly to the upper reaches of the Yangtse Kiang. It would therefore have been logical for the Japanese, who have proclaimed as one of their major goals in China the stamping out of Communism, to have given full support to Chiang Kai-Shek instead of undermining his power and then directly attacking him. Even in the earlier periods of Japanese aggression in Manchukuo and Jehol, Chiang Kai-Shek was still concentrating on the struggle with Communism. When it became apparent that Japanese aggression would not stop short of a conquest of China proper, the inevitable happened. As a result of the mysterious kidnapping of Chiang Kai-Shek at Sianfu in December, 1936, a peace compromise was made between the Nationalist Generalissimo and the commanders of the Chinese Red Army, which eventually was transformed into the Eighth Route Army and, by one of those mysteries of Chinese politics, found itself at the opportune moment located in a position to operate on the flank of the advancing Japanese in Shansi and Shensi. The next step was just as logical: finding nothing but desultory support from the League of Nations and the Western Powers, the Nanking government came to an agreement with Soviet Russia. "A drowning man will clutch a snake," said the Turkish diplomat Reis Effendi, when under relatively similar circumstances in 1833 Turkey appealed to Russia for aid against Mehemet Ali, the rebellious Viceroy of Egypt. Whether the future will see a Soviet China in close union with Soviet Russia, is a question which it would be dangerous to attempt to answer at this juncture; but the mere fact that the question has come within the realm of plausibility is a striking testimony to the fact that here again Japan has succeeded

in achieving the exact opposite of what she had set out to do. There is little doubt that the knowledge of the Sianfu transactions between Chiang Kai-Shek and the Communists hastened the Japanese advance in China last July; but again it must be stated that it was Japan's earlier actions which made such a transaction possible.

The evolution of parallel moods in China and in Russia is not the sole result of the Far Eastern crisis. Something even more tangible may be noticed in the resulting shifts of population, which tend to bring the two countries physically closer to each other. Let us examine the case of Russia first. It has been said that when any particular part of the human body is ailing, the blood and the vital energies tend to stream to that particular point. Something similar takes place in the body politic, and in the past Russia has given striking evidences of this phenomenon. The menace of invasions by the Crimean Tartars led to the founding, in the 16th century, of the belt of cities in the south central steppe area such as Voronezh and Orel. A century later, the menace of Sweden led to the rise of St. Petersburg and the cities around the Gulf of Finland. Similarly, the Turkish wars of Catherine II saw the founding and rise of cities of the Black Sea region: Odessa, Sebastopol, Ekaterinoslav, Rostov and others. In each case a semi-desert region was not only studded by new cities of strategic value but transformed by rapid colonisation and the rise of agriculture and industries.

Something similar is taking place today in the Russian Far East, as a result of the Japanese menace. The Soviets, it is true, had taken over from Tsarist Russia a land already opened up by earlier colonisation, but—the efforts of such energetic governor-generals of the old régime as Gondatti notwithstanding—Eastern Siberia and the Russian Maritime Province remained a fallow land awaiting energetic pioneer development. The attempts to develop it in the period following the building of the Chinese Eastern Railway remained artificial, and this was one reason for the failure of the Tsarist Far Eastern policy. Why should it have been artificial? Because the region east of the Baikal could not be colonised before Western Siberia had been developed, just as in the United States any attempts to develop California and the Pacific Coast would have remained unsuccessful until the corresponding rise of the Middle West had occurred. The fact that Russian history has been a movement of colonisation going west-east need not be stressed here. Suffice it to say that the present centre of population is moving steadily eastwards, and that it has been calculated that the centre of population, when the Eurasian plain will be fully populated, will be located East of the Ural Mountains.

The rapid rise of Western Siberia in the decade preceding the World War was further intensified by the Soviet industrial development under the first Five Year Plan. For reasons of military security the region between the Volga and the Altai range, in other words astride of the Ural Mountains, was selected for the building of a number of great industrial plants. Professor Vernadsky gives interesting figures for the rise of the population in the cities of this region during the seven years coincidental with this industrialisation:—

			1926	1933
Sverdlovsk	..	..	132,000	481,000
Chelyabinsk	..	..	59,000	217,000
Magnitogorsk	..	..	non-existent	223,000
Novosibirsk	..	..	120,000	294,000
Stalinsk	..	..	4,000	249,000 ³

If we add to this the fact that the population of Siberia has grown by some 3,000,000 in the last decade and that Siberia has become industrialised, we may say that both in population and in economic development, though not in cultural or international standing, Siberia is rapidly approaching the status of Canada in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

But under normal circumstances it may have been expected that Eastern Siberia would lag behind awaiting the further development of Western Siberia. If this order has now been reversed, the cause is to be found primarily in the Japanese war menace: the whole driving power and energy of the Soviet government has been increasingly canalised to bolster up Russia's Pacific empire. Though, owing to military reasons, it is impossible to expect as rapid a rise of the Transbaikalian cities as we have witnessed in Western Siberia, the same military reasons are nevertheless producing some lasting and important effects in bringing to life those undeveloped regions. Indeed, the presence of the Far Eastern Red Army, now estimated by Mr. Knickerbocker to be a million strong, the drafting of thousands into forced labour to build fortifications, roads, railways, and the forcible colonisation of certain areas will result, even after the present emergency is over, in new strata of permanent population settling there, just as on a smaller scale the exiling of political prisoners in the 19th century accomplished the same purpose. Furthermore, the double tracking of the Transsiberian Railway, the building of the Baikal-Amur Railway, a pioneer line over virgin land, the construction of strategic highways, not to mention the development of air lines, and intensive exploitation of natural resources for army needs—all these inevitably will become mile-

³ G. Vernadsky, *Opyt Istorii Evrazii*, p. 179.

stones of progress even though at present they are serving only military purposes.

The second important result is the rise of Soviet Russia's power on the Pacific which, after an interval of a quarter of a century, has resumed the trend which was initiated in the nineties of the last century. The assembling of an airfleet, officially estimated by Japanese sources at 1,500 airplanes, and the corresponding rise of Soviet naval power, so far represented by a fleet of submarines, again estimated at from 50 to 100, and bolstered up by recently announced plans for construction of capital and other large ships, have brought about the renaissance of Russia as a factor in the balance of naval power on the Pacific Ocean.

Moreover, if the comparison with blood flowing to the affected part of the human body holds good in the case of Russia, it is also applicable to the case of Japan. Manchuria and later Manchukuo, just because it has been the "Tinder Box of Asia,"⁴ to use the title of a recent work, has thereby been transformed from a semi-desert into one of the most highly developed and populous regions of the Far East. Just as in the case of Russia, the efforts of Japan to strengthen its military position in Manchukuo, such as, for example, the building of a vast network of strategic railways and other works of engineering, will eventually result in further developing the country, regardless of who may become its future possessor. Thus the parallel development of the Soviet Far East and Manchukuo for rival purposes is bound to lead in the long run to a rise of new trade routes and to other important developments in the field of economic and cultural interrelations. If we bear in mind that even under Japanese domination Manchukuo is pre-eminently Chinese, both in population and in spirit, the net result is that along the Amur not only Russia and Japan, but the Chinese and Russian worlds actually have come into close neighbourhood and have bridged the gap which existed as long as Manchuria was a mere no-man's-land.

The same holds true in Outer Mongolia and in Sinkiang. Just because Outer Mongolia, now a Soviet Republic, is the advance line of defence for Western Siberia, the militarisation of that region under Russian sponsorship and the building of railroads from Semipalatinsk to Uliassutai and from Ulan Ude to Ulan Bator, have bridged the gap which separated Siberia from China in the past, namely, the Gobi Desert. Similarly Russia has acquired over remote Sinkiang an economic and military hold which the Central Chinese Government is under the present circumstances neither desirous of nor in a position to contest. Thus all along the border of

Asiatic Russia the padding provided by the outlying provinces of China has tended to disappear, and Russia has advanced to become immediate neighbour of China proper.

Whereas the drift of Russia under stress of the Far Eastern crisis has been eastward, a reverse movement westward has been developing in China. Indeed, as a result of the Japanese advance in the lower Yangtse region, the Nanking Government has been forced to move its capital to Hankow and Chungking farther up the river, the latter some 600 miles, as the crow flies, due west of Nanking. This evacuation of government offices, art treasures, etc., has been followed by a movement of business and by the flow of millions of refugees. Though this is intended to be a temporary move, it remains a shift of the centre of gravity of China and, as such, is due to leave some lasting effects. One of these may be surmised. So far the bulk of modernisation and industrialisation of China has been confined to the treaty ports along the coast and to the region of the lower Yangtse, roughly from Hankow to Shanghai. But now the moving of the capital, as indicated, will probably bring in its wake the spread of westernisation to the remoter parts of China, namely to the enormous province of Szechwan and its neighbours Kansu and Shensi. It is also probable that a part of the refugees from the war zone will settle there for good, bringing an intensification of the development of these vast expanses. Furthermore, in an attempt to get war supplies, the Chinese are feverishly building a highway connecting this region with Sinkiang and, beyond it, Russian Turkestan. This highway when completed will be to all effects the revival of the great silk road of antiquity and the Middle Ages. Once the great military and trading highway between Inner Asia and Europe, this road is associated with the names of Marco Polo, Fra Rubruquis, Plano Carpini, and the bevy of catholic monks and travellers who made their way to the court of the Great Khan of Tartary. It has been in virtual disuse for five centuries except as a caravan trail, and its revival as a motor road would be one of the most significant developments of the modern age. Furthermore, it would mean the eventual colonisation by China and the economic development of the desert regions it traverses, which may be considered to be the Chinese Far West. Thus it may be stated that by a shift in her centre of gravity China is moving, figuratively speaking, closer to Russia and Europe and, with the resulting disappearance of the obstacles formed by the deserts, the unity of the two continents, Asia and Europe, will assert itself more and more. Europe will tend to influence Inner Asia, and the reverse action will also be felt in Europe.

So far these arguments have been based on the assumption that

China will survive the impact of Japan and that Russia will hold its own in the Far East. There are other hypothetical cases which also must be considered: 1. China collapses and disintegrates; 2. Russia is defeated and loses Eastern Siberia; 3. Japan is defeated; 4. The present war spreads and involves a coalition of world powers. The first two contingencies may be linked together; for so long as a powerful Russia menaces Japan, it is highly improbable that Japan would be in a position to consolidate her conquest of China, particularly with regard to the regions bordering Siberia. Thus there would remain a region of inner China which would survive and become the jumping-off place for the ultimate liberation of the rest of the territory.

The idea that this war may lead to the complete collapse and disintegration of China is based on the idea that it represents the end of a cycle of Chinese history and that in her extreme old age China is not in a position to revitalise herself and regain a lease on life without outside help. The partisans of this theory point to the fact that in the past China has survived similar crises only through absorption of new blood coming from a virile conquering race, the Mongolian invasion of the 13th century and the Manchu conquest of 1644 being the two most outstanding examples. Hence, it is argued, the Japanese conquest would perform such a function. But this would require a period of decades, possibly centuries, and the Russian factor has to be considered in the meantime.

Assuming that Russia in her turn meets with defeat, either at the hands of Japan alone or as a result of a combined onslaught from the west and the east, what would happen? The loss of the Transbaikal region, and (let us hypothetically add) of Ukraine in the West, would result in the compression of Russia but not her destruction. The vitality and youthful vigour of the Russian people have not been sapped by the present Revolution; the evidences are very much to the contrary. One of the outstanding features of Russian history has been the tenacity with which the Russians have regained lost territories or tended to solve other frontier problems. The long struggle of Muscovy with Lithuania and Poland from the 15th to the 18th century, the century and a half struggle with Sweden for the Baltic seaboard, and twelve wars with Turkey testify to the persistence of Russia's foreign policy notwithstanding the internal transformations of the country. Thus one can reasonably expect that the loss of Eastern Siberia would open a similar period of long struggle which would drain the forces of Japan and not permit her to settle down. Furthermore, the compression of Russia might make her bulge out elsewhere and Russia might overflow into North Western China, transforming that country into a battle-ground between the

two neighbouring imperialisms and once more hindering Japan in her attempt to consolidate her gains.

The possibility of other powers becoming involved in the present struggle and the forming of some kind of a coalition against Japan, though at present relatively remote, must not be overlooked, for this has been the solution found by history in previous cases of over-expansion of one state, from the France of Louis XIV down to the Germany of the World War. Needless to say, it would produce the same effect on the respective positions of China and Russia as, in mechanics, the division of forces previously applied at one particular point relieves the strain on that point.

The last and perhaps less remote possibility of a Japanese defeat or breakdown, which might or might not be followed by a revolution in Japan, would naturally be welcomed in Russia, for it would remove a dangerous menace. Should, furthermore, revolution follow defeat, there would open up the possibility of a co-operation between the three great revolutionary movements of Asia which might lead to the increase of Soviet influence over the whole of Far Eastern Asia in the spirit of the principles established at the Congress of Baku.

It would therefore appear to be in the better interests of Soviet Russia at present to wait and let events mature. So long as Japan does not invade Siberia proper or Outer Mongolia and so long as the Japanese conquest, following the coastline of China, has veered off into the interior menacing the Yangtse valley and the region of Canton, the position of Soviet Russia is not only secure but extremely profitable. Japan is spending herself in an effort which apparently she underestimated, and the chances of the great maritime powers being involved become greater. Russia is able to play the same role that Japan played in the World War, when Japan at a small cost of personal expenditure reaped the benefits of a struggle which ruined her competitors and rivals.

As for Japan, whatever the outcome of the struggle, one thing is becoming apparent : there is too great a disparity between the means that Japan is able to marshal and the immensity of the goal set. It is probable therefore that the outcome of the present crisis will be very different from what the Japanese military leaders had conceived when they were planning their moves. If this outcome results in the strengthening of Russia's position in Asia and in the rise of a new great power, a unified China, modernised and strong, the present events will overshadow in importance the World War and will open a new chapter in world history.

A. LOBANOV-ROSTOVSKY.

University of California at Los Angeles.

SOVIET PLANNING ORGANISATIONS

It is by now becoming clear how extensive and worthy of study are the new forms of social organisation which Soviet Russia is evolving. Of these one of the most important is the planning system by which the economic life of the country is directed and co-ordinated. A necessary step in the understanding of this system is a study of the organisations which prepare the plans, their relationship to the central and local governments, to the organs of business administration and to each other.

The Soviet planning structure has been built up during the past twenty years with no precedents for guidance. The Russians regard it as a by-product of the Revolution, which concentrated the resources of the country and responsibility for their development in the hands of the State, and at the same time as one of the means for continuing the work of the Revolution "in the sphere of economics." Thus the pre-requisites and rudiments of planning spread throughout the country, in the early years, with the spread of Soviet rule, just as in later years planning followed Soviet control into the last strongholds of the private *entrepreneur*, trade and agriculture. By now the network of planning and statistical bodies covers every part of the country and every branch of its economic life. Their organisation and methods are continually being improved as experience accumulates, and changed to meet changing needs. The substantial framework of the planning system has by now been securely established, and a very considerably body of experience acquired in drawing up the plans. The scope of this article is to give a brief account of the structure and purposes of the Soviet planning organs, rather than the methods and processes of making the plans.

One part of the system is concerned with the planning of each administrative area of the country as a geographical unit. This may be termed horizontal planning. The other part consists of the planning departments of the economic commissariats, boards and trusts, and plans the country's economic activity by individual industries. This may conveniently be called vertical planning. Both the horizontal and vertical¹ lines of planning lead up to the State Planning Commission of the USSR, which, as the economic G.H.Q. of the Soviet Union, will be described in some detail.

¹ These terms are not generally used for this purpose by Soviet economists

Parallel to the planning structure is a vast statistical service, an essential part of the planning system.

HORIZONTAL PLANNING

The national plans for current business activity and future development of the USSR by now cover, in outline, all the economic activity of the whole country. Within the framework of the national plans, however, each elected local authority draws up the current and perspective plans for its own area. For this purpose the local Soviets, from town and county (*raion*) Executive Committees upwards, employ Planning Commissions. These commissions are bodies of experts with a special knowledge of planning, technique, the resources of their area, its industry, agriculture, trade, local transport, finance, housing and amenities, and educational, sanitation and health services. They are paid by and responsible only to their local Soviet. It is the general rule for the head of a Planning Commission to be at the same time a member of the local Soviet and to act as assistant chairman of its Executive Committee.² This general principle obtains throughout the hierarchy of Planning Commissions.

The functions of these Planning Commissions is to act as permanent expert advisory commissions on economic matters generally to the Soviet of the area concerned. Preparation of the yearly, quarterly and five year plans for their area on the instructions of the Soviet Executive Committee is only a part of this work. They have to maintain continual observation, using daily and monthly statistical reports, special inquiries and personal contact, on the various branches of economic activity in their area, to warn the Soviet Executive Committee or Government of possible "disproportions" looming ahead, and prepare measures for their prevention. These aspects of the Planning Commissions' work are most highly developed in the State Planning Commission of the USSR.

There are over 3,300 counties (*raiony*) in the USSR,³ very few, if any, of which are without a Planning Commission. The average number of full-time staff (that is, professional planners) on each is

² The English distinction between the elected member of local councils and the local government official is entirely absent in Soviet administration. See the chapter on the City Government of Moscow by Prof. W. A. Robson in *Moscow in the Making* by Sir E. D. Simon and others.

³ 3,307 *raiony* and 28 *okrugi* according to the map of the USSR published at the end of 1936, which includes changes made by the adoption of the new Constitution. There are now a few dozens more.

less than two,⁴ but there are up to a dozen representatives from the administrative departments of the local authority, other county economic organs, individual village soviets, and local specialists. These Commissions are mainly concerned with co-ordinating the work of the county's economic organs, the local collective farms, industrial and consumers' co-operatives, as well as drawing up the county plans and continually exploring possibilities for further economic development. They are less concerned with the larger factories, mines or transport lines owned by the Republic or Union Government that may happen to be within their area, in an industrial district, except as very important factors in the economic "balance" of the county, affecting labour supply, housing, local transport, trade, finance, education, and so on. These County Planning Commissions were set up in 1930 and 1931, and have since then acquired and pooled much experience, developing considerably in the scope and skill of their activities, under the guidance and advice of the provincial and central Planning Commissions. Competitions have been organised for the best "Raiplan" in a given province or republic.

The Town Planning Commissions, of which there are several hundred, are similarly occupied in the co-ordination of economic activity within the area administered by the Town Soviet, and in drawing up the plans. They naturally vary greatly in size and experience. The Moscow Town Planning Commission has a staff of over a hundred, and in addition each of Moscow's 23 boroughs has its own small Planning Commission under the Borough Soviet. The Town Planning Commission of a smaller, but important town, such as Sverdlovsk or Gorky, would include these departments: one for integrated planning; one for industry and power supply; one for housing and public services and communications; for education (including culture of all kinds) and health; for trade and suburban agriculture; for supplies of materials. The total number of full-time employees of town and county Planning Commissions was, in March, 1936, 5,695, and their average wage 282 roubles per month.⁵

⁴ Varying within the RSFSR from an average of 3.6 per raion in the Gorky Oblast to 1.1 in the Azov-Black Sea Kray. See, for further details of shortage of workers, and wages, in this profession of local planning, *Personnel of Local Planning Organs in the RSFSR* by S. Tonkov in *Plan* No. 10, 1937 (in Russian).

⁵ See *Number and Wages of Workers and Employees in the USSR* (in Russian) published by Soyuzorgouchet, Moscow 1936, being the report of a census of occupations taken in March, 1936.

The total employed in the Provincial (Oblast and Kray) Planning Commissions, and those of the Autonomous Republics,⁶ on the same date, was 2,881, with, it is worth noting, an average wage of 381 roubles a month.⁷ These Planning Commissions also vary considerably in size from staffs of less than 20 to over 100, with the variations in economic importance of the provinces and autonomous republics which they serve. Their function, like that of all Soviet Planning Commissions, is to take the economic bird's eye view of their area, as an integral part of the country as a whole, to draw up its plans co-ordinating current business of all kinds, and mapping out the maximum development on the available resources. The following is an example of the structure of a Planning Commission in an industrialised province: departments for integrated planning (including labour and finance), regional or geographical planning, materials, industry (both state and co-operative) and power supply, agriculture, roads and communications, trade, culture and health, housing and public services, defence. The full annual or five year plans drawn up by these commissions, on the instructions of their Provincial Executive Committee or Autonomous Republican Government, form substantial volumes, involving close knowledge of all the branches of economic activity in the area and considerable research as to possible development. They are in constant touch with the County and Town Planning Commissions of their territory, over which, however, they have no executive authority, and make constant use of their more detailed knowledge of the localities.

The next stage in the planning pyramid is formed by the State Planning Commissions of the 11 constituent Republics which, federated together, form the USSR. As the economic advisory commissions and planning organs of their respective governments, their work is similar to that of the State Planning Commission of the USSR on the smaller scale of the constituent Republic. They pay more attention than the central Commission to matters within the competence of the constituent Republics, such as local industry (which is of increasing importance, utilising local raw materials for local markets), housing and town planning, public services, education, and other matters for which the USSR Government has no commissariats or administrative departments. Some account of

⁶ There are now some 110 Oblasts, Autonomous Oblasts, Krays and Autonomous Republics in the USSR. At the time this census was taken there were about 75.

⁷ See *Number and Wages of Workers and Employees in the USSR* (in Russian) published by Soyuzorgouchet, Moscow 1936, being the report of a census of occupations taken in March, 1936.

what is administered entirely by the central State, by the Constituent Republics, and by both jointly will be given later.

In August, 1935, the RSFSR Government reorganised its State Planning Commission along the lines of the reorganisation of the State Planning Commission of the USSR, which took place the previous April. The revised structure of the RSFSR Commission is as follows. (It will in all probability have been changed again before this appears in print, following on the change in the central body by the decree of February, 1938, published while this article was being written.)

Gosplan RSFSR is a commission of 55 members, appointed by the RSFSR Government, on the nomination of the Chairman of the Gosplan RSFSR, from among the leading workers of Gosplan RSFSR and local Planning Commissions, scientists, technicians, educationalists, etc.

The structure of Gosplan RSFSR to include :

- A sector for integrated planning, including groups for the financial and labour plans.

- A sector for verifying fulfilment of the plans.

- A department for planning the supply of building materials, raw materials, and equipment.

- A sector for geographical planning, comprising a group for the general geographical plan, and individuals with special knowledge for each autonomous republic, territory and province in the RSFSR.

- A sector for state and co-operative industry, with groups for integration, heavy industry, production of building materials, light industry, food industry, wood and paper industry, small scale and county industry, co-operative industry.

- Sectors for the following : Power and fuels; agriculture; trade; housing; town planning and public services; road transport and communications; culture (education, sport, entertainments, etc.); health; defence; the training of planning personnel.

- A bureau for capital construction.

RSFSR Gosplan controls the Saratov, Kuibishev and Novosibirsk Planning Institutes, and organises additional courses for the training of its planning personnel.

The State Planning Commission for the RSFSR was first established in February, 1925. One was set up in Ukraine two months later, in the White Russian Republic in September of the same year, and for the Transcaucasian Federation at the end of 1926. Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan acquired their Planning Commissions in 1927, and the other constituent Republics as they were formed.

VERTICAL PLANNING

Ownership of the Soviet productive apparatus takes two main forms. There is ownership by the State, through its central and local organs of government, and ownership by co-operatives of peasants and of producers and consumers organised into national unions of co-operatives, which are sufficiently under the influence of the State for their activities to form an integral part of the national plans. The kind of economic activity which calls for a high degree of centralisation, such as foreign trade, the heavy, armament and machine-building industries, railway transport and the post office, are administered by commissariats of the central government, throughout the territory of the USSR. For internal trade, finance, agriculture, and the food, light and timber industries, there is a dual administration by all-Union and republican commissariats.⁸ Those matters entirely within the competence of the constituent republics, such as education, local industries and municipal economy, are directed by republic commissariats which have no central counterparts. These three types of commissariat are divided into boards (mainly for individual industries) which are subdivided into national or local trusts directly administering the factories, mines, farms, shops, banks and railway lines. The larger enterprises of the central commissariats are directly under the corresponding board or commissariat itself, to avoid unnecessary intermediaries. Within this general pattern of state economic administration there is a great complexity of local and national combines and offices for special purposes such as sales and supplies. To these must be added local undertakings owned and managed by the local state authorities (provinces, towns, counties and even village soviets) in organisations such as the Moscow Tramway Trust, which are all parts of the state economic system. The co-operatives of small-scale industrial producers and rural consumers,⁹ organised in regional and national unions, and owning subsidiary plants for food processing, etc. which employ labour for wages, complete the picture of this complex system of Soviet economic administration.

⁸ These Republic Commissariats administer the smaller enterprises. They are Ministries of the Constituent Republics, and at the same time are under the general direction of the central commissariats of the same name which directly administer the larger enterprises in the industries concerned, according to a list confirmed by the central government. Changes in these lists are changes of administration only, as ownership remains in the hands of the State.

⁹ Collective farmers are not nationally organised in their function of co-operative producers.

It is within this complex system that the "vertical" planning structure is found. Every business commissariat and co-operative union has a planning staff of specially trained economists and technicians. Their functions of drawing up and co-ordinating the plans for labour, materials, power, equipment, capital extensions, production, prices and sales, finance, labour productivity and production costs, would appear not essentially different to the corresponding department of a capitalist trust. There are, however, profound differences arising from the fact that the plan under consideration is an organic part of the national economic plan, and is drawn up on general lines of policy universally applied. Thus the principal factor in all these plans is labour productivity; and the necessity for its continual growth is the inspiration behind all Soviet planning. Both as a means to and a result of this, a continual rise in the standard of life¹⁰ is another cardinal policy of all the plans. It is such common lines of policy (expressed in an elaborate system of technical indices which cannot be described here¹¹), that make possible the integration of the work of all the innumerable "planning-economic departments" in the commissariats, boards, co-operatives, local and national trusts, combines, and the individual factories, mines and state farms, together with the work of all the territorial planning commissions, within the framework of the national five-year, annual and quarterly plans, as set up by the State Planning Commission of the USSR, and confirmed by the Soviet Government.

GOSPLAN USSR

It bears witness to the rate of development of Soviet institutions that, while this article was being written, the structure and functions of the State Planning Commission of the USSR (Gosplan USSR) were reorganised and restated. The previous complete overhaul took place in April, 1935, since when partial alterations have been made, of which the most important was as recent as September,

¹⁰ This continues, albeit not so fast as was anticipated in drawing up the Second Five Year Plan, despite the heavy burden of armament production and no slackening in the rate of capital development.

¹¹ The thousands of technical indices used in planning the work of an industrial commissariat could be classified under the following heads:— (a) Plan of production (in terms of roubles, physical quantity, quality and variety); (b) Plan for improving utilisation of productive capacity; (c) Plan for increasing labour efficiency; (d) Plan for lowering costs of production; (e) Plan for workers required and wages; (f) Plan for training workers; (g) Requirements of materials, fuels, equipment, power; (h) Plan for capital construction, extensions, repairs; (i) Financial plans.

1937. The decree of 2 February, 1938, provides an excellent statement of the structure and functions of Gosplan USSR, and is worth producing in full.

DECREE OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ON THE STATE PLANNING
COMMISSION OF THE USSR

Moscow, Kremlin. 2 February 1938

1. The State Planning Commission under the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR (Gosplan USSR) is a permanent Commission of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

2. The State Planning Commission under the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR consists of 11 members, individually approved by the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR, from among the leading planning workers, the most prominent scientific workers and specialists.

3. The State Planning Commission under the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR —

(a) Works out and submits for the consideration of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR the national economic long term, yearly and quarterly plans;

(b) submits to the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR its findings on the long term, yearly and quarterly plans prepared by the commissariats and other departments of the USSR, and by the constituent republics,

(c) verifies fulfilment of the set economic plans of the USSR;

(d) works out on the instructions of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and on its own initiative particular problems of socialist economy;

(e) appoints expert commissions on particular economic questions;

(f) works out, and presents for approval by the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR, points in the methodology of socialist planning;

(g) supervises the work of socialist accounting [statistics] in the USSR.

4. The principal function of the State Planning Commission is that of ensuring in the national economic plan of the USSR, correct relationships in the developments of the various industries [branches of economy], and the measures necessary for obviating disproportions in the national economy.

The State Planning Commission is responsible for co-ordinating, in the national economic plan of the USSR, the work of complementary branches of socialist production: the extractive and manufacturing industries; agriculture and industry; transport and the national economy; co-ordinating increase of production with increase of con-

sumption, providing finance and the necessary materials for production; achieving correct geographical distribution of enterprises for the purpose of abolishing distant and counter freights, that is, near sources of raw material and markets.

5. In order to prevent hitches in the fulfilment of the national economic plan, the State Planning Commission :—

(a) verifies fulfilment by the commissariats, departments and enterprises of the state national economic plan;

(b) presents for consideration by the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR problems and suggestions arising from the verification of fulfilment of the national economic plan.

6. In order to carry out the above functions, the State Planning Commission has :

(a) its central apparatus of departments, sectors and groups;

(b) in the republics, territories and provinces—agents of the State Planning Commission for verifying fulfilment of the economic plans.

These agents are directly subordinate to Gosplan USSR, and work independently of the republic, territory and province planning commissions.

7. Under the State Planning Commission is the Central Board for Economic Accounting [statistics], whose work is governed by special Regulations confirmed by the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

8. The following is the structure of the central apparatus of the State Planning Commission :

Department for integrating the national economic plan, with a group for balance of the national economy;

„ for capital construction, with a group for balance of building materials;

„ for finances (budget and credit);

„ for distribution of enterprises and regional planning;

Sector for natural resources; for fuel, with a group for the fuel balance; for electrification, with a group for the power balance; for metallurgy, with a group for the balance of metals; for the chemical industry; for machine building, with a group for the balance of equipment; for road and air transport and roads; for the timber industry; for the food industry; for light industry; for railway transport; for water transport; for agriculture; for distribution; for local and co-operative industry; for the production of building materials; for housing and sanitation, for foreign trade; for culture and cadres [education, amusements, sport, and vocational training]; for health; for communications.

The Sectors of the State Planning Commission are concerned with all points in the planning of the given branch of national economy, and

verification of its plan fulfilment by all indices, quantitative and qualitative.

In addition to the above, the State Planning Commission comprises :

- A sector for the training of planners ;
- A bureau for the ultimate registration of inventions ;
- A department for internal administration ,
- The journal " Planned Economy " and publications department ,
- The Secretariat of the Chairman of Gosplan.

9. The agents of the State Planning Commission in the republics, territories and provinces, are appointed and withdrawn by the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR on the advice of the chairman of the State Planning Commission of the USSR and work on his instructions.

The agents of the State Planning Commission are paid from the Union budget, out of the estimate for Gosplan.

10. The State Planning Commission of the USSR has the right to require from commissariats and other government departments, and the republic, territory and province agents of the State Planning Commission from the corresponding enterprises and economic organs—the necessary materials and explanations for verifying fulfilment of the economic plans.

11. Planning commissions under the governments of republics and autonomous republics, under territory and province executive committees, are guided by the directives of the Gosplan USSR on questions concerning the methodology of planning and verification of plan fulfilment.

12. The members of the State Planning Commission may not combine their work in Gosplan with other work in soviet or economic organs.

13. The State Planning Commission arranges its sessions for consideration of the principal questions of socialist economy connected with the setting up of the long term, yearly and quarterly national economic plans and verifying the course of their fulfilment.

14. Under the State Planning Commission is a Council composed of members of Gosplan, agents of Gosplan and other planning workers, numbering in all up to 90 persons.

The importance of this restatement of Gosplan's purpose is that it emphasises the functions of co-ordinating the various branches of the country's economy, and constant observation of the progress of plan fulfilment. In recent years, as the experience of the province and republic Planning Commissions and the planning-economic departments of the commissariats has increased, Gosplan USSR has tended to occupy itself less with local and industrial detail, and more with the general co-ordinating work, while all the time extending the scope of planning.

Thus, before 1936, at a certain stage in the preparation of the annual plan, the Republican Governments and Union Commissariats would hand in their provisional plan to Gosplan, which would, after

much work fitting them together, hand in a national plan to the USSR Government, which the Government would consider as a whole. Since 1936, however, the Republics and Union Commissariats submit their plans direct to the USSR Government, which considers and ratifies them individually, with the expert advice of Gosplan, which sends in to the Government its findings and suggestions on each of these plans, having examined them from the bird's-eye viewpoint of the economic system as a whole. This is now stated in article 3, section (b) of the decree.

Sections (d) and (e), article 3, of this decree, indicate the work of Gosplan as an advisory commission to the Government on all matters economic. These special Commissions set up by the Government or Gosplan on current economic matters or schemes for the next Five Year Plan include leading scientists of all kinds, engineers, agronomists, industrialists and local experts. In the preparatory work on the second Five Year Plan, and more so on the third Five Year Plan (not yet completed), hundreds of scientific institutes all over the country have participated, and the Academy of Sciences plays a leading part in this work.

Section (f) of article 3, and article 11 indicate a very important part of Gosplan's work. As the largest and oldest¹² planning organisation, it has provided the methodological leadership for the other planning bodies, since their inception. No Planning Commission in the horizontal Hierarchy has executive authority over those below; and this holds true of the vertical hierarchy too, and of Gosplan USSR in relation to the rest. But if necessary, a Planning Commission or planning-economic department may advise its Soviet, Government, Commissary or Director, to make the necessary orders or recommendations downwards, which will reach the planners below, through the Soviet or Director to whom they are responsible. By now, however, the direct authority of Gosplan USSR over other planning organs, on matters of planning technique and procedure is considerable, and defined in law as well as practice. The Union commissariats and constituent republics must send in their estimates for the planned period, of production, requirements of labour, materials, power, finance, and so on, and figures of the previous year's fulfilments and current year's expected fulfilment

¹² The staff of Gosplan USSR, without its subsidiary organisations in Moscow and Leningrad, numbers over 700, including some 400 highly qualified experts in the various departments. Many of the best Soviet economists and technical men either work in or have worked in Gosplan. It was established in February, 1921, as a handful of experts, mainly concerned with the ambitious plan of electrification known as GOELRO.

of plan, on forms standardised and authorised by Gosplan USSR. These forms have been published in book form each year since 1934 by Gosplan, together with instructions and explanatory notes (*Instructions and Forms for Setting Up the National Economic Plan*). The planning-economic departments of the Union Commissariats also standardise their planning work. The Heavy Commissariat publishes annually for the same purpose a smaller book of the standardised forms and accompanying instructions for its Boards, Trusts and factories. Gosplan USSR also directly controls the training of personnel, at its Planning Academy in Moscow and its Planning Institutes in Moscow and Leningrad, for the leading positions in the planning profession all over the country.¹³

Article 4 lays down as Gosplan's most important task the work of co-ordinating and harmonising the rapidly developing and highly complex economic activity of the USSR. This insistence is a sign of the development of other parts of the planning system, releasing Gosplan from concern with local or industrial detail. It is, however, also due to the unsatisfactory fulfilment, hitherto, of this key function. A *Pravda* editorial (4 February, 1938) on this decree ascribes deliberate creation of disproportions in the plans, to the former leadership of Gosplan.

Article 5: Bound up with the work of ensuring that all kinds of economic activity develop in step, is the task of foreseeing which industries are likely to lag behind the rest, which to run ahead, warning the government of such impending disproportions and devising measures to obviate them or lessen their adverse effects. For this purpose the State Planning Commission keeps the progress of the national plan under constant close observation by means of the extensive statistical service (*see 3.g and 7*) to be described later, special inquiries and reports, personal contacts with business administrators, and so forth. Article 10 provides in law for the right of Gosplan, which had previously existed in practice, to require from local authorities "the necessary materials and explanations for verifying fulfilment of the economic plans." Gosplan acts as the fingers of the central government, always on the economic pulse of the country. (On a smaller scale, local planning commissions and vertical planning departments fulfil the same function for their respective authorities.) Article 6. *b*, providing for agents of Gosplan USSR in every republic and province, to report on plan

¹³ There are about seven other large Planning Institutes, many local courses, evening courses and even correspondence courses for the training of planners.

fulfilment, entirely independently of the local authorities, is the major innovation in this decree, and will strengthen this side of the State Planning Commission's work.

Article 8: There are no fundamental changes in the actual departmental structure of the Planning Commission itself. As before, there are special "synthetising" departments, each of which deals with all sections of the national economy from a particular aspect (that of capital developments, finance, and the regional or geographical aspect, with a department for integrating the whole, which was established in September, 1937). The remainder of the former departments, dealing with groups of industries, agriculture, transport, trade, etc., for the whole country, are now called sectors. The provision that each sector be concerned with all points in the planning and observation of the corresponding branch of economic activity, is worth noting. This was the main purpose of the reorganisation of April, 1935 (which was more sweeping than the present one), and is here expressly stated because it has not yet been achieved to a satisfactory extent. There is no mention in this decree of the department for Defence, which included sectors for the armament industries, for the mobilisation preparedness of the national economy, and for the Commissariats of Defence and Internal Affairs, as established in September, 1937. There is also no mention of the All-Union Planning Academy in Moscow or the Moscow and Leningrad Planning Institutes, which have hitherto been under the direct administration of Gosplan USSR. In September, 1937, the State Planning Commission's Institute for Economic Research was reorganised into a Technical-Economic Bureau under the Chairman of Gosplan for research purposes, but there is no mention of this Bureau in the present decree.

Articles 14 and 2: The Commission set up in April, 1935, numbered 70 members (not to be confused with the staff), drawn from all relevant spheres, including the planning profession. The present Commission of 11 is a less unwieldy body, and the large former Commission is replaced by a Council of 90, to be called together by the Chairman of Gosplan.

ECONOMIC ACCOUNTING

The statistical organisation (which the Russians, significantly enough, call Economic Accounting) of the Soviet Union is worthy of special note. Parallel with the horizontal planning system is a network of statistical organs controlled by the Central Board for Economic Accounting (*Tsunkhu*) in Moscow, which takes its

instructions from Gosplan and also direct from the Government. Its head is one of the assistant chairmen of Gosplan. Every town, county, province, autonomous and constituent republic of the USSR has its economic accounting board, independent of the local authority, which inspects the collection of statistics in the area, and receives monthly, quarterly and yearly statistical reports from all the local economic administrative organs. For special purposes, such as the sowing or harvesting campaigns, ten-daily and daily figures are received. This continual stream of information is summarised and analysed by the local boards for economic accounting, and sent up, from town and county, through province and republic boards, to the Central Board, being further summarised and analysed at each stage. At the Central Board in Moscow some 800 people are continually at work on the methods of collection and compilation of the figures, and the preparation of regular and special reports required by the State Planning Commission or directly requested by the Government. Special investigations of many kinds are also undertaken by the local boards of *Tsunkhu*, such as the continual collection of sample family budgets (including daily time expenditure in work, leisure, study, etc., as well as the monthly financial budgets), which provide very useful information for working out the local and national retail trade and other plans. One of the numerous special censuses carried out by *Tsunkhu* was that for occupations in March, 1936, which gives the total staff of the Central Board for Economic Accounting and its local boards as 33,360 (of which 2,405 are part-time). Of this total, 784 were employed at the Central Board itself, and another 471 at its "Factory of Mechanised Calculation" in Moscow; 18,250 were employed in the town and county statistical boards. Institutes for the training of statisticians, controlled by the Central and local Boards for Economic Accounting, employed a total staff of 3,760.

The work of this centralised horizontal statistical service is highly standardised. The forms, periods and procedure for all kinds of this continuous statistical reporting are fixed by the central and local boards. The absence of such standardisation in the early years, when the service was being built up, rendered any effective utilisation of the local reports at the centre very difficult.

Within the "vertical" system of the business commissariats, boards and trusts, including the factories, mines, railways, shops and farms, each planning-economic department has its corresponding statistical group. Like the planners, the statisticians are responsible to the business director concerned. The functions

of book-keeper and statistician are carried out by the same people in the smaller enterprises, but they are quite distinct. This statistical work, too, is standardised as much as possible by each commissariat. There is thus a constant stream of figures going up from each factory, etc., through its trust in summarised form to the commissariat, and thence to the Central Board for Economic Accounting which, continually receiving and tabulating figures sent up along both the "horizontal" and "vertical" lines, is a vast storehouse of information on the economic condition of the USSR.

Some mention, in an account of the Soviet planning apparatus, must be made of the Communist Party. Almost every executive position of responsibility in the country is held by a member of this highly disciplined, devoted, and effective organisation of able men and women. The importance of this, in achieving that unity of purpose and policy essential for any thorough planning system, needs no stressing. There is, however, something more in the political organisation of the USSR which makes planning possible. That is the unity of purpose between different kinds of people, peasants and workers, browns and whites, managers and labourers, under economic arrangements through which, in the absence of clashing vested interests, the enrichment of the individual or group is combined with the general advantage.

JACOB MILLER.

SOVIET HISTORY

I

"THE assumptions with which we begin . . . are real individuals, their action and their material conditions of life . . . The first assumption of all human history is obviously the existence of living human individuals¹." So wrote Marx and Engels more than 90 years ago. Three years ago a Soviet teacher wrote in the leading historical journal in the USSR as follows: "The study of facts requires that in history courses living people, who alone make history, should figure. Living people have almost disappeared from our curriculum and teaching²." Some would regard this result as the inevitable consequence of historical materialism; others would entirely deny this, but they would not deny that the true understanding of historical materialism and its correct application as a method have encountered, for a variety of reasons, very serious difficulties even in the home of Marxism.

1930 may be said to mark the beginning of a new period in Soviet historical work: in that year the reorganisation of the Academy of Sciences on a Marxist basis was completed and the drive against non-Marxist historians was carried through to the bitter end³. "The historical front," in common with the other "fronts," was to be made secure and infused solely with the Marxist-Leninist (and soon -Stalinist) view of history. That does not,

[NOTE.—This article was written as the basis for a paper read to the Cambridge Historical Society on November 16, 1937.]

¹ *Deutsche Ideologie*, written in 1845-6, published for the first time as a whole in Marx-Engels *Gesamt-Ausgabe*, I Abt., vol. V. The most important part of it had first been published in *Marx-Engels Archiv*, 1926, vol. I, and was republished in the first volume of H. Duncker's very useful collection *Marx-Engels, Ueber historischen Materialismus: ein Quellenbuch* (Berlin, 1930). There is, I believe, no English translation.

² Yu. Bocharov, "Zadachi prepodavaniya istorii," in *Istorik Marksist*, 1934, no. XXXVII, p. 88.

³ There are informative studies on the organisation of Soviet historical work (including that in the Ukraine) and on the struggles against non-Marxist historians by F. Epstein in *Jahrbücher für Kultur u. Geschichte der Slaven*, 1930, vol. 1, pp. 78-203, and by S. R. Tompkins in *Slavonic Review*, vol. XIII, pp. 294-319, see also the first two sections of A. Florovsky's indispensable bibliography "La Littérature historique Soviétique russe (1921-1931)," in *Bulletin d'information des sciences historiques en Europe orientale* (Warsaw), 1934 and 1935, vols. VI and VII. The Ukraine is dealt with separately, by M. Korduba, in vol. VII. On the attacks on non-Marxist historians in 1929-30, see particularly *Istorik Marksist* for 1930: there is a useful article on this, and other cognate, material by R. Salomon, in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, 1932, vol. VI, pp. 385-402.

however, mean that all subsequent history succeeded in being Marxist. On the contrary, as this paper will show, it has proved exceedingly difficult for professed Marxists to write acceptable Marxist history. In practice, that is to say, as regards what was taught in the great majority of schools and colleges, it was soon found that historical materialism (i.e. dialectical materialism in application to human societies) had been supplanted by sociology and economic materialism, and in Ukraine and White Russia by nationalism as well. This lamentable state of affairs was at first mainly ascribed to faulty training in Marxism and in particular to the very great influence of Pokrovsky. This was an ironical fate to befall a man who had been a revolutionary since 1906, who promptly had accepted the October revolution, and who had been accounted the most outstanding of Marxist historians and the most tireless of educational workers. Criticism of him was begun some years before his death in 1932, and shortly after it a general campaign was launched against the evil influence of what was called "the historical school of Pokrovsky⁴." Within the last 12 months this campaign has been intensified as part of the general drive against "counter-revolutionary wreckers . . . and agents of Fascism": it is now, we are told, no longer a time for "the old methods of 'discussion,' but for new methods—methods of merciless rooting out and smashing⁵." I cannot attempt to examine how far the accusations directed against Pokrovsky are well-founded, but there is no doubt as to the existence of many of the evils attacked, and I think that some consideration of them will help to make clear certain of the leading problems confronting Marxist historians and the teaching of Marxist history.

The struggle to reform the teaching of history according to the

⁴ The two most important of Pokrovsky's works are available to English readers in translations: *History of Russia from the Earliest Times to the Rise of Commercial Capitalism* (London, 1931), which consists of the first two volumes of his *History of Russia from the Earliest Times*, and *Brief History of Russia* (London, 2 vols, 1933).

⁵ *Istorik Marksist*, 1937, no LX, p. 38. This number contains violent attacks on much of the work done by Soviet historians and on the policy of the previous editorial board during the last two years, largely instigated by attacks published in *Pravda* in March of this year. T. Friedland and Vanag, both professors in Moscow and closely connected with *Istorik Marksist*, are specially singled out for attack and have been disgraced. The whole editorial board have been dismissed, and the review is now issued with the name of N. M. Lukin alone, as "responsible editor." Lukin (an authority on French revolutions and 19th-century socialism and the Soviet leader at the International Historical Congress and its committees) was the leading member of the previous editorial board and is himself severely castigated in this same number of *Istorik Marksist*.

true principles of Marxism was brought to the very highest quarters. Resolutions of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party in 1932 and 1933, and of the Seventeenth Congress of the Party in 1934, and joint resolutions (16 May, 1934 and 26 January, 1936) of the Sovnarkom and Central Executive Committee of the Party decreed the refashioning of the history curriculum and text-books in primary and secondary schools. Even Stalin himself, in company with Kirov (the Leningrad leader who was murdered in December, 1934) and Zhdanov (Kirov's successor in Leningrad), entered the fray and issued "remarks" on the very unsatisfactory drafts of two of the new text-books (8 and 9 August, 1934). At long last, in August of this year the new text-book on the history of the USSR was officially approved⁶.

II

"We must declare relentless war on empty sociological schematism." The principal attention must no longer be given to sociology, to the problem of the characteristics of social-economic formations, to economic history in the narrow sense: concrete factual history of the class struggle, of social-political events, of cultural life must no longer be pushed into the background or entirely abandoned.⁷ Thanks to Pokrovsky's position and his influence with the Commissariat for Education, history was almost

⁶ The text of Stalin's "remarks" is printed in *Istoriĭ Marksist*, 1936 no. LIII, pp. 5-8, and of the above-mentioned resolutions, *ibid.*, pp. 3-5; and 1934, no. XXXVII, pp. 83-4, 86. The resolution of 26 January, 1936, provided for a competition for the best text-book on the history of the USSR, for use in the third and fourth classes of "middle" schools, and for a small committee to decide the result. The committee issued its report in *Izvestiya*, 22 August, 1937 (republished in *Krasny Arkhiv*, 1937, vol. LXIII, pp. 219-23). The first prize was not awarded; the second prize, of 75,000 roubles, was given for the text-book (*Kratky kurs istorii S.S.S.R.*) prepared under the editorship of the Moscow professor, A. V. Shestakov; this is now the officially approved text-book for such schools and an edition of 10,000,000 copies is being rushed through to be ready in October. Two articles in *Pravda* (25 August) and *Leningradskaya Pravda* (28 August) give a full résumé of its contents; and there is an article on it by Shestakov himself in *Istoriĭ Marksist*, 1937, no. LXI, pp. 85-98. In view of the fact that the bulk of this paper deals with pre-19th century history, I should point out, lest my use of the extracts from Shestakov's text-book give a false impression, that, though it begins "at the very beginning," rather more than half of its two hundred and twenty pages is devoted to the years since 1861. In accordance with Stalin's instructions, it goes down to the introduction of the new constitution.

⁷ Y. Bocharov, "Zadachi prepodavaniya istorii," in *Istoriĭ Marksist*, 1934, no. XXXVII, pp. 85, 88.

excluded from secondary schools in favour of sociology, and in colleges at one time no history was taught except that of the last hundred years.⁸ The epoch of imperialist war and proletarian revolution certainly is of the first importance, but we must put an end to the prejudice that these are the only historical themes which should be studied; we must make good our lack of qualified researchers in the history of ancient times, the middle ages, and bourgeois development.⁹

New text-books must be prepared which must clear away the existing jumble of generalities about social-economic formations and must set out history in its living form, giving a systematic, chronological account of the most important events and facts, and including the characteristics of the main historical figures.¹⁰ Facts, dates, personalities are what are wanted: we cannot put up with "reformers" who are trying to reduce history in our schools to the teaching of "illustrative episodes" set in a sea of arid abstractions. Our text-books have only too frequently represented the revolutionary struggle of the masses as a struggle against capitalism in general, against autocracy in general; there hardly ever appears on the scene any living figure as the representative of capitalists or of Russian autocrats. Hence the indignant remark of a history teacher: "The text-book says this happened under Paul. Must I know who Paul was?" Many young teachers sincerely hold this view; and they are not to blame; they themselves were taught history with the names of the Tsars carefully excluded.¹¹

These fulminations against the substitution of abstractions for a true Marxist study of history were specially directed to three questions; to that of social-economic formations, that of the existence of "objective laws" applicable by the historian, and that of the role of the individual in history. In examining these three questions I shall confine myself, in the main, to the writing and teaching of pre-1870 Russian history.

What are social-economic functions?—Soviet historians in writing of social-economic formations assume the theoretical bases of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and employ their periodising of history. The expression "social-economic formation" is a literal translation of the Russian words (*sotsialno-ekonomicheskaya formatsiya*, or *obshchestvenno-ekonomicheskaya formatsiya*) used by Lenin, and

⁸ P. Drozdov, "Reshenie partii i pravitelstva ob uchebnikakh po istorii i zadachi sovetsskikh istorikov," in *Istorič Marksist*, 1936, no. LIII, p. 20.

⁹ *Istorič Marksist*, 1934, no. XXXVI, pp. 4-9.

¹⁰ Resolution of 16 May, 1934.

¹¹ Bocharov in *Istorič Marksist*, 1934, no. XXXVII, p. 88.

consecrated by Soviet writers, for rendering Marx's expression *ökonomische Gesellschaftsformation*. It is described as the totality of the relations of production of any given society, which forms the economic structure of that society, the real basis on which arises the social, legal, political and cultural superstructure. Dialectical materialism, by separating off the relations of production as the basis of society, claims to provide for the application to these relations of the general scientific criterion of repetition; the analysis of the relations of production, which are formed without the purposeful will of people, makes possible the observation of repetition and regularity and the generalising of the different systems of different countries into one basic conception of a social-economic formation; only thus is it possible to pass from description of social phenomena to strictly scientific analysis of them, by separating off, e.g. the differences between one capitalistic country and another and examining what is common to them all. Marx began with the scientific analysis of the facts of one particular historically defined society, and not with general theories, and investigated the natural historical laws regulating the rise, development and decay of this society and its change into another higher, social organism. The results were so brilliant that his method was inevitably extended to the study of social-economic formations other than the capitalistic, and that historical materialism became not a hypothesis, but a scientifically verified theory.¹²

Lenin's exposition of Marx has of course been the main basis for Soviet historians in their lengthy discussions on social-economic formations. They begin by following Marx and Engels in generally dividing human history in broad outline into five epochs—primitive communism (also referred to as the Asiatic and the *gens* organisation of society), slavery or the ancient world, feudalism or the middle ages, capitalism or the modern bourgeois mode of production, and socialism-communism which is being born out of capitalism through a period of revolution. Each of these epochs is characterised by one dominant social-economic formation; but it is as well to remember Marx's warning that the epochs of social history can as little be marked off by hard and fast abstract lines as can geological epochs¹³, and the further warning from Lenin that there are not and cannot be "pure" phenomena whether

¹² I am using Lenin's description of historical materialism in his early (1894) book *Chto takoe "druz'ya naroda"* . . . , vol. I of the first Russian collected edition of his works, pp. 67-76.

¹³ *Capital* (Everyman ed.), vol. I, p. 391.

in nature or in human societies, that there is no such thing as "pure" capitalism, freed from admixtures of feudalism, etc.¹⁴

The dominant feature of the epoch of primitive communism is found in the absence of developed private property and hence of class divisions. Soviet writers therefore use the expressions pre-class history or pre-class society where non-Marxists employ such terms as pre-history, early man, or the various stages and cultures named by anthropologists and archæologists, and the study of pre-class history includes the greater part of anthropology and much of archæology. Chronologically it varies immensely according to the particular part of the world or the particular people under consideration. Thus the study of pre-class history has latterly been more and more emphasised in relation to the most "backward peoples" of Soviet Asia, a growth which owes much to the energy of the late Professor Marr and his school of Marxian linguistics and to the inspiring feats of Arctic development. Naturally the study of pre-class history is closely linked up with archæology, and in particular with the progress of Soviet archæology. A certain amount

¹⁴ Lenin, *Krakh II Internatsionala*, in vol. XIII of the first Russian collected edition (vol. XVIII of the English collected ed., p. 300), p. 160; and his *Development of Capitalism in Russia*, *passim*. Pokrovsky similarly writes of there not actually being any "pure" historical formations, and adds: "we ascribe this or that social phenomenon to this or that formation on the basis of the majority of its characteristics, of its fundamental characteristics"; *Istoricheskaya nauka i borba klassov*, vol. II, p. 314. Bukharin, in the English collection of essays *Marxism and Modern Thought* (London, 1935), p. 42, has the following passage. "Marx's doctrine of the movement of social-economic formations is far from being an artificial intellectual system. It generalises an enormous practical and theoretical experience. Of course 'economic structures' and their superstructures cannot express all the fullness of the concrete historical stream of full life in all its variety. But . . . these generalisations . . . express the main and decisive relationships, those which determine the routes of historical movement. 'Pure capitalism' is, undoubtedly, an abstraction, though in many cases a very useful abstraction. But 'impure' capitalism is the reality, both as a combination of 'capitalisms' and as 'world-capitalism' in whose pores the relics of pre-capitalist formations are also contained. Its 'pure class structure' is, of course, an abstraction. But the class structure of real capitalism is actually such a structure that the masses are composed of wage workers while the monopolists of the means of production command economy (and the state). The 'pure proletariat' is an abstraction. But the living unity of the mass of proletarians of various qualifications with its outer circumference and with a strong, real core, is a reality which is really struggling for its real rule. Therefore the doctrine of the change of historical and economic formations, as a doctrine of the process of 'history,' adequately expresses the real historical process." Bukharin is now on trial, but these particular views might not be entirely condemned even now, and at least they represent, I think, the prevailing view until the last three or four years.

of excavation has been done in the USSR in the last 15 years, but, even apart from the immensity of the country, great difficulties have been encountered owing to the unsatisfactoriness both of pre-revolution excavations and, it is admitted, of some of the new Soviet excavations¹⁵. That there has been far too little field work is one of the main charges levelled this year against "the wrecking methods" of a whole number of Soviet archaeologists, who are also accused of having pushed the conception of social-economic formations to absurdly abstract extremes and of having converted it into a universal master key for any and every historical problem.¹⁶

On the side of anthropology the starting-point still seems to be Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. The fiftieth anniversary of its publication was greeted with a bulky volume of articles along supposedly orthodox lines, which means that all work done subsequent to Engels must be fitted into his framework or be shown to be not incompatible.¹⁷ Not all Soviet writers, however, have found Engels and Marx satisfactory on the origins of man,¹⁸ and one leading student of pre-class history does admit that later discoveries have shown that Engels could make mistakes.¹⁹ His general treatment of pre-class society as *gens* society has been taken over under the appellation *rodovoe obshchestvo* and has received predominant attention; but at least one Soviet authority has devoted himself mainly to pre-*gens* society, which includes man from his earliest known beginnings down to the end

¹⁵ e.g. A. P. Kruglov and G. V. Podgaetsky, *Rodovoe obshchestvo stepen vostochnoj Evropy* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1935), particularly pp. 14-31. This book summarises and discusses pre- and post-revolution excavations (mainly of the Bronze Age) in South Russia. This year a learned review devoted solely to archaeology has for the first time appeared, *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* (Akad. Nauk; Institut Antropologu, Arkheologu i Etnografii). I have not seen a copy.

¹⁶ See the article on "wrecking methods in archaeology and ethnography" in *Istorič Marksist*, 1937, no. LX, especially p. 79.

¹⁷ *Voprosy istorii doklassovogo obshchestva: Sbornik statei k 50-iyu knigi Fr. Engelsa "Proiskhozhdenie semyi . . ."* (1936, Akad. Nauk). This collection was subjected to a very hostile review in *Istorič Marksist*, 1937, no. LXI, pp. 203-6, but not on the grounds that Engels should be abandoned.

¹⁸ A. P. Sagatsky, "Trud i vozniknovenie obshchestva," in *Problemy istorii dokapitalisticheskikh obshchestv*, 1935, no. I-II, pp. 177-92, where he combats the anti-Engels-Marx views of M. P. Zhakov.

¹⁹ S. N. Bykovsky, *Lenin i osnovnye problemy istorii doklassovogo obshchestva* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1935), p. 73. He also admits (pp. 69-70) that Morgan's periodising is out of date and unserviceable, but he defends Engels against having fully accepted Morgan's scheme of periodisation. Bykovsky has fallen into disfavour this year, but not because of this particular question.

of palæolithic times²⁰ The usual division of pre-class, *gens* society is into matriarchal, patriarchal and village commune stages of society, subdivided according to the predominating means of livelihood and according to locality. But there have been lengthy disputes, particularly in Leningrad circles, whether pre-class society should be accounted one single social-economic formation (with varying stages of development in it) or several different formations, and even whether it is a social-economic formation at all and whether primitive communism was at any rate a general phenomenon.²¹

It has to be admitted that Engels in *The Origins of the Family* . . . did not give any definition of pre-class society as a social-economic formation, but it is maintained that he made it perfectly clear in his argument that he did regard pre-class society as such. The root of the errors of those who deny this lies in their denial of the applicability to pre-class (and non-class) society of the laws governing social-economic formations, in particular of the means of production and relations of production as the basis of development: if in such societies such relations do not exist, what then is the basis of their development?—ideas? spirit? Pre-class society should therefore, on this view, be regarded as one single social-economic formation, based on the same fundamental method of production and the same fundamental system of relations of production—primitive communistic. The specific feature of this society is the absence of developed social division of labour; there is no divorce between labour and the means of production.²²

There are various stages of development in pre-class society, according to changing forms of natural division of labour, especially division of labour between the sexes and between pastoral and

²⁰ P. P. Efimenko, *Dorodovoe obschestvo*, no. 79 of the *Izvestiya Gos. Akad. istorii materialnoy kul'tury*. I have only seen the detailed list of contents of this volume, but not the volume itself. This Leningrad academy was largely the creation of the late N. Y. Marr, and is named after him. Its monographs deal exclusively with pre-capitalistic history, and largely with pre-class history. Efimenko is one of the few Soviet scholars on early man to have survived the violent attacks launched this year against "methods of wrecking" and "sociological schematism" in the study of archæology and ethnography; *Istoriya Marksizma*, 1937, vol. LX, p. 80.

²¹ See particularly Bykovsky, *op. cit.*, on which the next paragraph is based.

²² So Bykovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 44. Emphasis should be put on the word "developed." Other Soviet authorities point to the beginnings of a social division of labour far back at the outset of patriarchal-family relations, particularly in connection with stock-raising, the working of metals, and trade; e.g. the archæologist P. N. Tretyakov, in the composite volume of studies, *Iz istorii rodovogo obshchestva na territorii S.S.S.R.* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1934), pp. 138, 178, 260.

agricultural occupations. Antagonisms and internal contradictions exist, but they are not yet class antagonisms: above all, private property does not exist (or is entirely unimportant) in pre-class society. Yet the later stages of pre-class society—the patriarchal “family” commune, and the village commune, with loose tribal groupings—are marked by a growth of private property: in the patriarchal communal system (which can exist on different concrete economic bases, e.g. on an agricultural or on a pastoral basis) slavery and the first signs of class inequalities arise: pre-class society is beginning to break up. But these elements of new relations of production, based on private property, do not combine to form a new pre-class social-economic formation; they prepare the way for the dialectical leap from pre-class society to a new form of society, based on class antagonisms, i.e. with developed classes and a developed state.

As to the concrete treatment by Soviet historians of the earliest forms of the state in Attica and Italy or in the Near East I have to plead ignorance. That the study of the first class societies has caused great divisions of opinion may be shown by two illustrations: firstly, the utter confusion existing as to “the ancient East,” at any rate in 1933 when it was lamented that some Soviet teachers were teaching it as being slave-owning in structure and others as feudal²³; secondly, the denunciation this year of a Leningrad professor (Bogayevsky) for having, within the course of nine years, written of “Cretan-Mycenæan society” first as feudal, then as an example of the dissolution stage of *gens* society, and finally as belonging to the matriarchal period!²⁴ There have been somewhat similar disputes as to the first form of class society in Russia, but the view of Grekov has prevailed that here slavery, though playing an important role, did not develop within the tribal groupings of patriarchal or territorial communes to such an extent that the new class formation, which was forcibly but slowly born out of the old, was a slave society.²⁵ Here the patriarchal commune merges into loose tribal aggregations of territorial communes, which final, intermediate stage of pre-class society is violently transformed into the class society of feudalism.

²³ *Istoriĭ Marksist*, 1933, no. XXXIII, p. 145.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 1937, no. LX, p. 87.

²⁵ The problem of slavery in Russia during the 9th to the 12th centuries has been much discussed by Soviet historians, particularly in connection with B. D. Grekov's *Rabstvo i feodalizm v Kievskoj Rusi*, published, together with discussions on it, as no. 86 of the *Izvestiya Gos. Akad. istorii materialnoĭ kul'tury* (Moscow-Leningrad; 1934).

Pre-capitalistic class society is divided into the two epochs of slavery and of feudalism; but, as has just been noted in the case of Russia, it does not follow that all societies have to pass through both these forms, or even either of them. The various peoples of northern Siberia and the extreme north-east of Asia were living in various stages of pre-class society prior to their conquest by the Russians, in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, but it does not seem to be held that, in most cases, the effect of the conquest was to hasten on the development of new tendencies to such an extent as to result in a specifically feudal social-economic formation.²⁶

The epoch of slavery means above all the history of classical slavery as known in Greece and Rome, at the end of the republic and during the empire. Much more attention seems to be paid to slavery roughly during the millenium 500 B.C.—A.D. 500 than to earlier slavery in Egypt or the Near East: this is no doubt owing to the relatively greater evidence available for Greek and Roman civilisation and to its influence on the peoples occupying the northern littoral of the Black Sea, as well as on the non-Mediterranean regions of Europe.²⁷ In order to have a slave society,

²⁶ See the interesting paper on pre-class society and hunting in Northern Asia by P. N. Tretyakov, in *Iz istorii rodovogo obshchestva na territorii S.S.S.R.*, particularly pp. 221–34. He refuses to accept the view that the Ostyaks and Voguls, who were among the most advanced of these northern peoples, were already living in a feudal society when the Russians conquered them in the 16th century, and argues that they were still in the patriarchal commune stage: he does not discuss what happened after their subjection to the Russians. The paper is mainly based on the evidence of folk-lore and the accounts of early Russian travellers.

²⁷ Soviet historians are divided in their opinions on the Scythians and Sarmatians, except that they agree in combating Rostovtsev's description of them as feudal in character. The main dispute is as to the degree of influence of Greek and Roman civilisation and whether either Scythian or Sarmatian society can be called a slave society, i.e. a class society. That slavery was prominent, above all along the actual Black Sea coast, is not denied, but the weight of opinion seems to be against classifying Scythian and Sarmatian society as definitely a class social-economic formation: see P. S. Rykov, *Ocherki po istorii Nizhnego Povolzhya po arkheologicheskim materialam* (Saratov, 1936), pp. 84–91, 105–7, cf. *Istoriik Marksist*, 1937, no. LX, p. 87. On the other hand, if we turn to the Khazars, five centuries and more later, there seems to be general agreement that they, like their eastern nomad neighbours and the Volga Bulgars, were far advanced towards a feudal structure of society and that at the height of their power they constituted a feudal state, which exercised an important influence on Kievan Russia: M. I. Artamanov, *Ocherki drevnezhezh istorii Khazar* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936), p. vi, and cf. p. 129; A. G. Prigozhin, in *Izvestiya Gos. Akad. istorii materialnoy kul'tury*, 1934, no. 86, p. 143; B. D. Grekov, *Feodalnye otnosheniya v Kievskom gosudarstve* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936), p. 167.

slavery as a social-economic formation as distinguished from the existence of slavery as an institution within a society, the development of productive forces must have reached a comparatively high level and slavery must form the dominating mode of production, with the result that state-power takes the form of the power of slave-owners: the fundamental division is between the two classes of slaves and slave-owners: slave rebellions are a necessary concomitant of this class antagonism.²⁸

The essence of slavery as a social-economic formation lies in the fact that the slave-owner takes not only the surplus product of the slave in the strict sense of the word but also an important part of the product necessary for his upkeep and the reproduction of slaves. From the legal point of view, this is reflected in the absolute ownership by the master of his slave, substantially as a chattel; from the political and social point of view the development of classical slavery requires access to slave markets through wars, naval expeditions, territorial expansion and development of exchange facilities. There is also involved in it an increasing separation of town and country and an increasing pauperisation and demoralisation of the non-slave, small-scale producers. This last factor combined with the low technical level of the mass of slave labour results, after a given stage of development, in stagnation and retrogression, and the disruption of slave society sets in. It is replaced, as regards Mediterranean Europe, by feudalism, which is characterised by quite different relations of persons in the process of production.

The essence of feudalism in its most developed form lies in the fact that it is fundamentally based on agricultural production (though without excluding handicraft production and merchants' and usurers' capital), organised on the basis of individual, big landowners with monopolistic rights to land, employing the labour of the direct producers who own the means of production and reproduction, except land. The big landowners are frequently as well slave-owners, but slavery is a subordinate feature. Since the landed monopolists do not own the means of production (other than land) of the direct producers, they exercise not merely economic compulsion against the direct producers but especially non-economic compulsion, i.e. open force. Through these two kinds of com-

²⁸ Grekov, in arguing against slavery as the dominating method of production in Russia of the 9th to the 12th centuries, points out that there is no evidence of any slave revolts in Russia, in contrast with the evidence as to various peasant revolts, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

pulsion the feudal form of productive relations is expressed in terms of "pre-capitalistic land rent, i.e. *corvée*, rent in kind, and finally rent in money." Feudal society is thus divided primarily into two classes, the lords, suzerains, and the feudal-dependent peasants. At the same time within the class of the feudal lords there are great differences; there is a ladder of feudal dependence, based on the amount of land owned and the number of vassals. The feudal state is the organised form of power of the landowners ruling over the bonded peasants.²⁹

The epoch of feudalism in Europe extended in general roughly from the "barbarian invasions" to the French Revolution, though ever since the 16th century it had been in process of decomposition as capitalism had been advancing and transforming it.³⁰ In the case of the United Provinces and England the 17th century had already seen great victories won by the bourgeois merchant capitalists and a compromise form of government attained which sufficiently suited economic progress until the development of "machinofacture" early in the 19th century. In the case of Russia, conditions are naturally markedly different. Feudalism is to be dated from the 11th century until the reforms of Alexander II in the eighteen-sixties, and even thereafter the state-structure continued to be largely controlled by the ex-serf-owners, with the result that for Russia the revolution of 1905-6 is the parallel to the French Revolution, the bourgeois-democratic revolution. For Russia, as for Europe, the great stretch of centuries included in the feudal epoch requires subdivision into various stages, according to the permeation of early capitalist forms and to changes in political structure. There does not yet seem to be general agreement as to these stages, though it is recognised that

²⁹ The above two paragraphs are mainly based on Grekov, *Feodálneye otnosheniya v kievskom gosudarstve*, pp. 37-9.

³⁰ Stalin in his remarks on a draft text-book on modern history recommended that it should start with the French Revolution; there should be a very brief introduction outlining the importance of the Dutch and English revolutions, but leaving the detailed description of them to the end of the text-book on the middle ages; *Istoriya Marksizma*, 1936, no. LIII, p. 7. Soviet historians do not, of course, abandon Marx's division of capitalist history into three phases, that of "primary accumulation," that of manufacture "from the middle of the 16th century to the last third of the 18th," and that of "modern industry," "machine-manufacture." (The final capitalist phase, that of finance-monopoly and imperialism, was added by Lenin). But as regards both the state organisation and the "superstructure" and as regards the development of the proletariat as a "class for itself," in most parts of Europe the French revolution and its consequences and the widespread adoption of machines mark the complete break up of the remnants of feudalism.

the hundred years between Ivan the Terrible and Alexey Mikhailovich (roughly 1550-1650) mark the most critical period in the transforming of dependent serfs into bonded serfs, bound to the land and possessed by their masters.³¹ The two and a half centuries from about 1600 to 1861 usually receive the name of the period of "absolutism-bonded serfdom" (*absolyutno-krepostnoy period*), but until very recently Pokrovsky's theory of "merchant capitalism" as the dominant feature of Russian history since 1600 was generally accepted, and this involved a different interpretation of these centuries.³²

In the earlier centuries of the feudal epoch, the Mongol conquest is shown as a brutal reinforcement of the feudalism of the divided Russian principalities. The Golden Horde has been the subject of considerable attention in the USSR, particularly as a result of new archæological excavations in the lower Volga region and of A. I. Samoilovich's studies on the *yarlyki*. The most recent survey that I have seen emphasises the Golden Horde as a special form of feudal state based on two different groups, nomad stock-breeders on the one hand, and settled agriculturists and handicraftsmen on the other hand. It was considerably developed in

³¹ This transition from the "old" to the "new feudalism" has been the subject of much discussion in connection with the views of S. G. Tomsinsky as to the various stages of "feudalism" in the 16th and 17th centuries, particularly in his *Ocherki istorii feodalno-krepostnoy Rossii* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1934), which contains a wealth of valuable new material, whatever may be thought of his general argument.

³² Pokrovsky's theory of "merchant capitalism" was based on *Capital*, vol. III (Chicago, ed. 1909), pp. 380-96. His adaptation of it to Russian history, and in particular his view as to the direct dependence of the political superstructure of Tsardom upon "merchant capitalism" was the subject of much controversy. Pokrovsky, in his *History of Russia from the earliest times* and in his *Brief History of Russia*, differentiated between the epoch of feudalism and the epoch of serfdom (*krepostnichestvo*), the latter was inaugurated in the revolution (*dvoryanskaya revolyutsiya*) under Ivan the Terrible, the essence of which was the transfer of power from the old nobility to a newer type of landowner bound up with "merchant capital"; the basis of the new epoch of serfdom was not the relation of workers to the means of production, but the degree of development of "merchant capital" and exchange. Pokrovsky defended (1928) his theory of "merchant capitalism" by arguing that it tallied with Lenin's views as set out in his early book (1894) *Chto takoe "druzya naroda . . ."* vol. I, pp. 83-4, of the first Russian collected edition of his works. (*Istoricheskaya nauka i borba klassov*, vol. II, pp. 274-7. But he later (1931) admitted the errors of his *Brief History of Russia* in its original form, and modified his views on "merchant capitalism": see the appendix, pp. 282-95, to vol. I of the English translation of the *Brief History* . . . This translation is made from the tenth Russian edition, which differs very considerably from the first Russian edition.

powers of production, and the artisans, traders, and settled agriculturists were very important elements, but the decisive part was played by the pastoral, nomad element, from which were drawn the bulk of the feudal lords. Slavery is admitted as a special characteristic of eastern feudalism, and of the Golden Horde in particular, but it is not allowed to have reached such proportions as to warrant the description of the Golden Horde as a slave social-economic formation.³³

As has been mentioned already, the same is true of slavery in the society of Kievan Russia at the time of the Varangian conquest. Here feudalism did not grow out of a slave society, but out of the breaking up of the patriarchal and village communes with their loose tribal groupings. The latest work of Grekov and his school on the origins of feudalism tend to belittle both the Varangians and the water-route commerce of their times: "the Varangians were only an episode in the history of the society which created the Kievan state": the results of their conquest were conditioned by the level of development in the productive forces of the conquered: the conquered, not the conquerors, should be the primary concern of any historian investigating the origins of feudalism in Kievan Russia. "There is no doubt that we have before us a society, the productive basis of which was founded primarily on agriculture." It was not the Varangians with their war-bands who created feudalism in Russia, but rather the Slav chieftains who infiltrated into the Varangian war-bands but were more pre-occupied with extending and consolidating their landed power than with trade and buccaneering expeditions. Thus behind the conquering exploits of the Rurik dynasty in the late 9th and the 10th centuries there was developing large scale private property in land at the expense mainly of the village commune, and by the 11th century we have in the main regions of Kievan Russia a feudal society.³⁴

The previous pages have shown some of the difficulties in periodising pre-capitalistic history in accordance with the method of historical materialism, particularly in the case of Russia, and they have also shown that Soviet historians are admittedly very far from having reached agreement on many of the most crucial

³³ P. S. Rykov *Ocherki po istorii Nizhnego Povolzhya po arkheologicheskim materialam* (Saratov, 1936), pp. 131-3, and cf. A. Yakubovsky in *Istorichesky Sbornik* 1936, vol. V, pp. 305-13.

³⁴ B. D. Grekov, *op. cit.*, and his article on the origins of feudalism in *Istorichesky Sbornik*, 1934, vol. I, pp. 25-48. S. Bakhrushin has an important review of Grekov's book in *Istoriia Marksist*, 1937, no. LXI, pp. 165-75.

problems.³⁵ This is partly due to the fact that the great majority of them have been engaged upon the study of history since the French Revolution, and especially since the Commune. The earlier ground to be covered is vast and the workers on it have been, and relatively still are, few. But there are also very great difficulties in the way of a sufficiently full understanding of earlier times owing to the nature of the evidence required, particularly if one remembers the large part played by evidence of a statistical kind in Marx's analysis of the epoch of capitalism.

B. H. SUMNER.

³⁵ The discussions on Marxist sociology and Marxist history in *Istorik Marksist*, 1929, no. XII, pp. 189-213, may be cited as additional illustrations of the confusions and disagreements complained of by Soviet historians. Since 1929 much more attention has been given to the study of early capitalism and pre-capitalistic times, principally within the territory of the USSR, but the present drive against "the school of Pokrovsky" and "sociological abstractions" shows that the confusions of 1929 have very largely remained.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF POLAND

PROTESTANTISM in Poland does not represent a single type, for the life of the Evangelical churches in the country has developed in a number of independent groups. This condition of things is bound up with the restoration of the State, and the history of the various churches in three Empires in pre-war times. The new conditions, resulting from national emancipation, have made necessary certain changes in organisation, due chiefly to the new territorial frontiers.

In Western Poland two Union Churches arose, a larger one in the north-west, a smaller one in Upper Silesia. (The status of the latter was guaranteed by the Geneva Convention of May, 1922; and was to last for fifteen years.) The Lutheran parishes of former Austrian Silesia (Cieszyn-Teschen), were linked up right after the war with the larger Lutheran Church, whose headquarters were in Warsaw. Three years later, the Consistorium of this Church took under its wing the scattered Lutheran parishes of Eastern Poland. In the South, one-time Austrian territory, another Union Church (Lutheran and Calvinist) was formed. Finally, the Old-Lutheran parishes of Western Poland formed their own Old-Lutheran denomination.

New centres of church administration have arisen. Where once were Berlin and Breslau, we have now Poznań, Katowice and Toruń; where formerly were Petrograd and Mitau we have Warsaw; where once Vienna, we have now Warsaw and Stanisławów. There are then in Poland seven separate Protestant denominations, whose numbers are as follows:

i. the Lutheran Church, with headquarters in Warsaw, numbering some 470,000 members—of whom slightly more than half are Germans. The chief centres are Warsaw, Łódź, Bielsko and Cieszyn.

ii. the Union Church of Poznań and Pomerania, with headquarters in Poznań, numbering 290,000 members, of whom only a few thousand are Polish.

iii. the Union Church in Upper Silesia, with just over 30,000 members; of whom the majority are Polish in speech and race, and in part Germanised. Headquarters in Katowice.

iv. the Evangelical Church of Southern Poland, numbering 31,000 members, of whom one-seventh Poles and Ukrainians, with its headquarters in Stanisławów.

v. the Old-Lutheran Church of Western Poland, with some 3,700 members; German save for one parish, headquarters in Toruń.

vi. the Reformed Church (Calvinist) in Warsaw, with 10,000 members including some Czechs and Ukrainians in Volhynia.¹

vii. the Reformed Church in Wilno, with some 3,000 members—almost all Poles.²

I

When Poland became free in 1918, we had altogether rather more than a million Protestants in our borders. This number has steadily decreased, chiefly owing to the departure of Germans; and the official census of 1931 gave the figures as 842,000—2.6 per cent. of the whole population. This number may still diminish, as the exodus of German optants has not yet ended. The differences of legal and organisational status seen above represent a variety of spiritual aspirations, and would not be a barrier to collaboration for common ends, were it not for other considerations. We have in our churches two national groups: the one, native-born, Polish; the other immigrant, German. These latter are in part assimilated, but not all. The waves of immigration into Poland came after the Thirty Years' War, and again at the end of the 18th century. Thanks to them, parishes were formed both in North-west Poland—then under Prussian rule in Central Poland, and in the south. After 1850 a third wave followed, this time both in North-west Poland and into the far-away district of Volhynia. Among those settling here were some thousands of Czechs, some of whom also found a home near Łódź. This German element in the north-west had, before 1914, no contact with their fellow evangelicals in the other parts of Poland. As an integral part of the German Protestant world, they now feel keenly all the changes that have come on them, whether as a church or as citizens. One is not, therefore, surprised if they take a different view of the restoration of Poland than their Polish brethren. These latter regard themselves as carriers today of the age-old traditions of Polish reformation days, with the reinforcement these found in the Messianic thought of the 19th century.

Between the two nations there is also a division of ideology. The Poles are nearly all Lutherans, only a few being Calvinists or adherents of a Union Church. From far back they have been a part of their nation; not only in speech and in customs, but also in common sufferings and successes. Among the insurrectionists of 1831 and 1863 one finds eminent Protestant names. During the World War they did their share, giving of their blood and their

¹ The Anglican Communion in Warsaw belongs to this church, but with parochial autonomy.

² Methodists and Baptists are not counted as churches, but have freedom of action as "religious societies."

goods to help create the new State. They thus own to a definite call to share the life and toil of the nation; with the Gospel in their hands, to assist in deepening the spiritual experience of Poland. Having this in mind, they began at once in 1919 to consider ways and means of organising their forces. Though scattered over the whole map, and belonging to different denominations, they nevertheless resolved to come together. In 1923 they founded the Polish Union of Evangelical Societies and Parishes, which has continued to arrange conventions and courses, and has done much to make people acquainted with one another. Corresponding work has been done by the Union of Youth Organisations, which holds a national convention each year. As a help in all this, we must mention the church press. There are five weeklies, five monthlies, two fortnightlies and one bi-monthly journal finding their way to the homes of our Protestant members.

The German Protestants also set about bringing together their people. In contrast to the Poles, who have always sought co-operation, they have tended to nurture exclusiveness, avoiding contacts with their Slav neighbours. They fear either the danger of assimilation, or of the loss of their faith. Keeping apart, they cherish their own creed and speech, as well as their own habits and customs. The result is that in North-western Poland the line of division of churches is also one of nations; just as on the Polish-Czech frontier around Cieszyn the Protestant is uniformly a Pole. This sort of thing used to obtain also in the North-east, where Calvinism was a bulwark against Russianisation.

These contrasts in ideas, as well as a difference of views on the big issue of the relation of Church and State, have been the cause of friction, which has grown since 1934; with the result that what was until then a tendency toward unity and co-operation has now become the opposite.

When Poland was rehabilitated, all the churches had to adjust themselves to a new legal status. Some had been cut off from a mother-church, and had to create new self-government. This was the case of the Union Churches and of the Old Lutheran group. Others, e.g. the Reformed Church in Wilno, had lost some of their parishes to the Soviet Union or to Lithuania. But some had another grave concern, namely, the saving of their philanthropic and educational institutions, after the blows of war. Here the Lutheran Church suffered most, church buildings and homes being swept away and thousands of their members forcibly evacuated into Russia. Some parishes lost three-quarters of their members;

and for the most part only a fraction of them ever came back. From 1920 onwards the task of rebuilding was in process, and of adding new institutions to complete the old. Thanks to the generous assistance of American and Scandinavian friends, many parishes were saved from destruction. What is more, to these same helpers, Warsaw, Łódź and Stanisławów owe the rescuing of the orphanages and homes for the aged and destitute.

The Union Church of North-western Poland was also the recipient of much help. Smaller institutions were closed, but others managed to adjust themselves to the new conditions, and survive all obstacles. New institutions have been added, thanks chiefly to the backing of the Gustav-Adolf Verein. The work of Home Missions here rests in the hands of the Provincial Union for Inner Missions, a counterpart of which exists also in Upper Silesia.

This Home Mission work has become the pride of all the churches in Poland, notably the activities of our Deaconesses. Save for two denominations, every church has its own Deaconess Institutes. The Lutheran Church has four, of which two new ones were added after the war. The Union Church in North-west Poland has two; and there is also a Training School for Sisters in Pomerania, under the Union of Fellowship Groups. In general the deaconesses work in parish or public hospitals—as Sisters, or carry the burden of the orphanages or homes for the aged and destitute. All the Training Schools are in touch with one another, and their leaders meet from time to time for conference.

II.

It may seem to the reader that emphasis has been laid chiefly on our differences. The fact is that from 1919 onwards, there was no lack of effort at getting together and at co-operation. Notable was the conference of representatives of the Polish churches called by Archbishop Soderblom in March, 1921, in Upsala. Thanks to it much friction was avoided; partly because it recognised the spiritual kinship of the Germans of the Union Church of Poznań with their German mother-church. On the other hand, the following resolution was passed:

“The conference cannot deny that the legal dependence of the Union Church in Poznań on the *Landeskirche* in Prussia cannot be maintained, and that the said church ought to set up its own Synod and create its own Constitution. This would make possible a regulating of connections between all Protestant churches in Poland, as well as a common organisation which would promote the work and life of those bodies.”

A second impulse toward common action came from England. In January 1923 Sir Willoughby Dickinson and Dr. Alexander Ramsay were in Warsaw, and they helped to form the Polish section of the World's Alliance for Promoting Friendship through the Churches. This agency became a gathering-point for the exchange of news and views, as well as for further co-operation on the part of all Protestants in Poland.

A third stage was reached, when the Council of Evangelical Churches came into being in Wilno, in the autumn of 1926. In this enterprise the Life and Work Conference of 1925 at Stockholm proved most helpful. Under the chairmanship of Dr. Julius Bursche, acting Bishop of the Lutheran Church, the Council has spent a dozen or more sessions reviewing complaints and matters of moment, for the most part laid before it by the Union Church of North-west Poland. A number of important concessions were then made. Now, however, after years of activity, the very existence of this Council has been threatened. Grave differences have emerged between its members in the field of the relations of Church and State, and of the rights of the churches as such. It did seem as though, with the passing of time, these differences could be smoothed out, or even be reconciled. Early in February 1937 however, both Union Churches of the West suddenly announced their withdrawal; giving as reason "the attitude of the Lutheran Church in Poland to the decree of the President of the Republic defining the relation of the State to the Church." This brings us to the newest phase of events: the efforts of the Lutheran Church to get its legal status regulated in the new Poland, and the success attained at the end of 1936.

It should be said at once that in all their negotiations with the Government, the leaders of the Lutheran Church have acted in harmony with the Constitution and with the principle of ecclesiastical independence. They had no mandate to negotiate in the name of the other denominations. The Lutheran Church was in an exceptional legal position, whose regulation could not be put off. Moreover, the procedure of its leaders was found to be right and proper by the Council of Evangelical Churches, meeting in 1935. What became clear was that, as between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches on the one hand and the Union Churches on the other, there existed far-reaching divergences of opinion. It is these differences which will decide how far we can live and work together in the future.

Before turning to the history of the efforts of the Lutheran

Church to get its status confirmed by the government, we must say one word about a vital matter—the training of the clergy. In 1920, at the suggestions of the Lutheran Church, there was founded in the university of Warsaw a Protestant Theological Faculty—the first of its kind in the Polish language since Reformation days. As the only one in the new State, it seeks to prepare for the ministry candidates sent in by all denominations. For fifteen years now it has graduated each year a group of young men, who are at work in town and country from one end of Poland to the other. The Union Church of Poznań, however, was not friendly to the idea of having its men trained in a Polish institution; so it founded its own Theological Seminary, to give the fundamentals of training; after which the candidates finish their studies abroad. The result is that the pastors of this church are educated on different lines from their colleagues, and in a non-Polish atmosphere. Certain gains may accrue to the parishes from this policy, but there are evident losses as well.

III.

As soon as possible after the new Poland settled down to a peaceful existence, the Protestant churches worked out first drafts of suitable Statutes, and presented them to the government for consideration and approval. Only one of them has so far won this approval, in December 1936. This was the largest of the denominations, the Lutheran Church, which presented its project to the authorities in 1923. The case was made harder by the heterogeneous systems of Church law inherited from pre-war conditions. The parishes of the eastern borders had their own law from 1832; another law, in principle the same, was valid in Congress Poland from 1849; while still other laws, from the years 1861 and 1891, were valid in the Cieszyn area. Both the Russian statutes crippled the freedom of the churches, making its work dependent on the State. They were quite out of date, notably that of 1849. The highest authority, called the Consistorium, had the oversight of all that was done. For that reason its chairman was nominated by the Government, without consulting the church at all. As a rule he was a distinguished Russian general, a foreigner in Poland, who knew nothing of church conditions, having been brought up in the school of Russian autocracy. Any pastor could be dismissed at any time for political reasons. The rights of local self-government in the matter of the purchase or sale of property were severely limited, the civil arm having the deciding voice. The worst thing

about the Statute, however, was its misapprehension of the nature of the Church. It did not recognise connexionalism, and made each parish look after itself. No co-operation of the laymen in the synods was possible, there were neither diocesan nor general synods, and no officers were elected by the Church itself.

Such a law could not stand before the religious and political convictions of today. The post-war project was based on the principle of presbyteries and of synods. It was accepted by the Church Synod of 1923, and at once sent on to the Ministry. With it went another document defining more closely the relations of State and Church. Negotiations went on, with frequent interruptions, for thirteen years; and although the text of both documents, for easily explained reasons, has been modified, the principles laid down in 1923 have been maintained. The Members of the Special Committee, four in number, signed on 27 November 1936 the draft of the second document, which was then published by decree of the President of the Republic. Directly after this, on 17 December, an Order of the Council of Ministers went forth, announcing as law, the General Internal Law of the Lutheran Church in Poland. Thus was ended a long period of effort, marked unfortunately by conflicts waged by German political leaders.

The new Statute became law at the end of the year 1936. The Lutheran Church "enjoys full liberty of confession of faith, and of the celebration of public worship." It is governed "by the clauses of its own Internal Law." It may change these, and get new ones; but these latter must not be in conflict with the laws of the land. Their confirmation is the charge of the Ministry of Religious Cults and Public Instruction. Complete liberty is given to the Church in electing its Boards, from the single parish to the Synod and the Consistorium. It can organise its religious and philanthropic activities, acquire property, sell or mortgage the same with absolute freedom. It owns its cemeteries. It can count on the co-operation of the State authorities in carrying out any or all of its decisions, in keeping with the law of the land. It is free to teach religion to the youth up to the age of eighteen, has spiritual care of the Protestant recruits in the army, and may train its ministry in its own Faculty in the university of Warsaw, at the expense of the State. In marriage matters, it is assured of its own courts, and it is given a measure of relief in the scale of taxation of its properties. For its material needs, the Lutheran Church receives yearly from the State the sum of 297,000 zlotys (i.e. Swiss francs), apart from the provision of pensions for the clergy, and of support for pastors' widows and orphans.

In its turn, the State reserves the right of control in such matters as the personnel of the clergy, property disposal and legal relations. It can raise the question of political loyalties, when a new pastor, a deacon or an assistant is to be elected. So too, in the case of an administrator. Candidates for the ministry, district superintendents, members of Consistorium and the Bishop must take an oath of loyalty to the Republic. The eight Councillors of the Consistorium must be confirmed by the Ministry. On Sundays and Saints' Days prayers are to be said in the churches for the Republic and its President. The official language of the church authorities and offices is Polish. "In case of activities on the part of any pastor or official, which are harmful to the Republic, the Governor of the province concerned may apply to the Consistorium, stating his reasons, and ask for suitable admonition, or even the removal of the offender." The right of such removal rests with the Consistorium.

Church life, the method of election of all officers and the limits of their duties—all this is detailed in the General Internal Law. We should add that laymen are admitted to active participation in a wide range of church activities. Women have the right to vote and to hold office in the parishes and may be elected to the Synod. Out of fifty-four members of the Synod, thirty-six are laymen.

Criticism of the new law has come chiefly from German circles. It is aimed, in the first instance, at the manner of choosing the Bishop, at the clause dealing with removal from office, whether of pastors or of lay representatives, and at the language issue. Now, the manner of electing the Bishop is a compromise between nomination by the government—as in other days, and election by the whole Synod, as suggested in 1923. The clause about the removal of pastors from office is of a piece with the corresponding one in the *Concordat* with the Holy See. It will work no hardship, if those involved show their recognition of the Polish State. The language clause simply puts on paper the usage already accepted. The decree contains further these words :

"In relation to people or institutions applying to the church authorities in a language other than Polish, the said authorities may use in their reply the tongue of the applicant."

Of course the principle of complete freedom in the use of the mother-tongue in parish worship and the sermon is never called in question.

The clergy of both the Polish and the German groups in the Lutheran Church have accepted the Statute. Were it not for political agitation, dragged into church affairs by a German Party

during the elections for the diocesan officers, and for the Synod, the end in view would have been achieved peaceably. Unfortunately, in four out of ten existing dioceses, elections were not held owing to political intrigue. As a result of this the first Synod of 22 June 1937 was not complete, but carried on with only twenty-four members. It elected four Councillors to the Consistorium, three members to the Synodal Committee, and four delegates to the Electoral College, leaving the rest of the places for Germans. The election of the Bishop took place on 3 July, and Dr. Julius Bursche was the choice. This was confirmed by the government. At long last the Lutheran Church has authorities of its own, whose task will be to put the new Statute into effect.

It should be added that the efforts to put the new Constitution into effect are attended with rather strained relationships. No German delegates were present at the second Session of Synod, 14-16 December 1937. In four dioceses no elections had taken place up to the New Year, either of church officials or of synodal delegates. In spite of this, however, a number of resolutions were passed in Synod affecting the inner organisation of the church. The hope exists that, at the next session, the German delegates will be in attendance.

IV.

Scarcely were the affairs of this, the largest denomination in Poland, put in order, when the necessity appeared of adjusting on more permanent lines the relations existing in Evangelical circles in Polish Silesia. (Owing, of course to the conclusion in July, 1937, of the fifteen year Interim ordained by the League of Nations.) For generations this Upper Oderland has been a land of national and political conflicts. An indigenous Polish and Protestant rural population had been cut in two when Frederic of Prussia seized Silesia in 1742, part of them being left under Austrian rule, in the Duchy of Cieszyn (Teschen). When, after the World War, a portion of what had been Prussian Silesia was assigned to Poland—including the larger part of the great Industrial Triangle—there began an influx into it of Poles from various directions. There were engineers, artisans, officials, clerks and business men; among them not a few from the Duchy, notably from the part of it that had just been assigned to Czechoslovakia. The Protestants among them soon found that they were not welcome in the existing Union Church (referred to above), so they set about organising their own Young People's Societies, where they were free to call themselves Polish Evangelicals, in lieu of proper parish communities.

Only thus could they hope to avoid being swallowed up in the sea of Catholicism all about them.³

In order to provide some spiritual shepherding for these small groups the Lutheran Church sent from Warsaw several young men, graduates in theology, who began to hold services in private homes, and in time were appointed by the School Board to teach religion in the common schools. These men had no status in the eyes of the Union Church Synod, which declined to let them have the use of their churches or parish halls, even for special occasions, such as the National Days like 3 May or 11 November. Only after years of antagonism and often unpleasant negotiations did the Polish newcomers attain the rights of membership in the several parishes, and the privilege of using the churches for religious purposes. There was an ulterior reason for their claiming this right—one that is thoroughly justified under one-time Prussian law, namely, that over half of the membership of the Union Church consists of more or less Germanised Poles, of the old indigenous stock already mentioned. Certainly a large part of this group has "rediscovered" its Polish affiliations, and wants to be preached and ministered to not by Germans who have learned Polish but by convinced Polish patriots. Now this is just what the authorities of the Union Church have been out to hinder at all costs. Hence their opposition to the presence of a Polish membership, or of Polish pastors in their midst. For, among some thirty pastors in the formerly Prussian Silesia there was not a single Pole.

But the Union Church authorities went too far. It would almost seem as if they did not admit that the fifteen years was an interim at all. They did not urge or advise their new pastors to learn Polish. These and other facts got wide comment in the daily press, when they became known; and indignation grew as it became clear that these same men, German citizens, were meant to continue in office after the Interim was over. Small wonder that, after years of refusal to interfere in this unhappy dispute—in which as usual faults were committed on both sides, the Provincial Governor, Dr. Grażyński, in collaboration with the Silesian Diet, had to step in at the middle of July and make provision for a new Church discipline. In the place of the autonomous rights exercised for fifteen years, on the basis of a Statute voted by a Union Church Synod at a meeting in Pszczyna (Pless) in June 1923, a new Statute was prepared, and was passed by the Diet in

³ On this cf. "The Drama of Upper Silesia." W. J. Rose, London, 1936, pp. 309 ff.

Katowice on 16 July 1937. Its title is "A Statute for the Provisional Organisation of the Union Church in Silesia." There are nineteen articles, the first of which defines the territorial limits of the Church and the structure of the parishes, while the second declares the independence of the Church of any outside control, and its right to manage its own affairs. Further clauses provide (i) that relations between Church and State are to be worked out by negotiation with the church authorities, and (ii) that until this is done the Prussian Law, as of 1 November 1918, shall remain in force, save for the matter of the change of sovereignty from Berlin (or Breslau) to Warsaw. Then follow regulations as to membership, office-holding, the status of superannuated pastors or deacons, etc. Article 15 declares that "persons not possessing Polish citizenship cannot hold office in the Church, nor occupy positions of responsibility, nor serve as representatives of the Church in any capacity." Until proper Church Councils for Upper Silesia can be set up, a Provisional Church Council, composed of a chairman and six members, is to assume its duties. Four Polish members of this body were at once nominated by the Governor of the province.

The chief task of this Provisional Council will be to organise and set in motion local and provincial church authorities. These too will serve during the transition period only, until the parishes can arrange for proper elections. The right to choose and induct new pastors during this period is not permitted. What is needed, is that the Council should bring the beginnings of order out of what has been a long time of still-stand. The term of its work is suggested as a two-year one, during which, as is hoped, regular legal and self-governing status can be effected.

The Synod of the Union Church has throughout taken a negative and non-co-operating attitude. The President, Dr. Voss, veteran pastor in Katowice, presented to the Governor on 16 July a Memorial, in which he drew attention to the legal status of the existing authorities, and lodged a protest both against the new Provisional Statute and against the motives behind it. He asked for the privilege of negotiating the whole matter, quoting Article 115 of the Constitution. Telegrams in the same tenor were sent to the Ministry in Warsaw. It was as though the Union Church people had been surprised by all that happened; as though they did not realise that a date long since to be expected had arrived. The result was open conflict. The Union Church would not elect members to the Provisional Council, and for three months it could not begin work.

Finally, toward the end of October, the Governor felt that he had waited long enough. He nominated a leading Protestant lawyer in Katowice, Dr. Władysław Michejda—scion of a famous family of yeoman stock from the Duchy of Cieszyn, as Chairman of the Provisional Council; and authorised him to proceed with the task of setting up the new agencies. The new chairman called on Dr. Voss and asked him for the legal and other documents and papers belonging to the offices of the Church. He was refused them, so the police were brought in and they were removed officially. Against this action Dr. Voss again lodged protest, urging that he is still the Head of the Church—an office to which the Church appointed him, and from which no one else can remove him.

Meantime, important changes have taken place in the parishes. The uncompromising attitude of Dr. Voss has meant a good deal of suffering for certain pastors and for their charges. Seven of the former, not being Polish citizens, had to leave the province. In their places the Provisional Council has called Poles: the majority of them men, who have already been at work for some years in Polish Silesia, chiefly as teachers of religion in the schools. The Germans continue to hold their services as before, while the Polish Protestants are now securing what they have striven after for years. Three Germans have been included in the Provisional Council, alongside three Poles. The chairman is to be a German, a pastor of the Union Church.

Long negotiations of the Council with the Governor have brought about an understanding, and in a communication dated 22 December 1937, the results of this were made known. German pastors may remain at their posts, provided they accept the interim Constitution. A Commission, composed equally of Poles and Germans, will be appointed by the Governor, to prepare a new and permanent one. This will assure the parishes of their right to choose their pastors, and to appoint their representatives to Synod. The "union" character of the church will be preserved. German church members may organise their own Evangelical Societies. It is only stipulated that the Chairman of the Provisional Council shall make a declaration of loyalty in respect to the steps taken hitherto, and to the spirit of the new order.

The Council approached Dr. Voss with the question whether he would not accept the chairmanship, but he declined. Thus, after long years of service in this capacity, the veteran German leader ceases to hold office, and remains only as pastor of the German parish in Katowice. In the face of many obstacles the Provisional

Council is at work securing equal rights for all, and caring for the welfare of the church as a whole. Its guiding principle is this: all services, whether public or personal, performed for Germans, should be in the hands of pastors of that nationality, while services performed for Poles should be in Polish hands. In this way there is a hope of healing the breach that has resulted from the policy of the past, and of achieving at least a measure of spiritual unity.⁴

V.

Regrettable incidents of this kind, which no one deplotes more than the Polish leaders, are part of the unhappy legacy handed down by the imperialism of the past, and from which we should all hope to be relieved in future. They must be forgotten as soon as may be, in order that the work of the Kingdom of God may go forward. As a part of this, the adjusting of the status of the other Protestant denominations will now proceed. Matters of such importance should not be hurried through quickly; on the other hand they cannot be put off too long without harm to all concerned.

This is even truer today, when Poland's neighbours both to the east and west have taken up such drastic attitudes toward the Christian religion and its agencies. Neither the effort to stamp out religion altogether, which we have watched for twenty years in Soviet Russia, nor the equally thorough-going plans to replace the Christian faith by a mystical nationalism—which we see being attempted in the third Reich, can do other than fill us with concern for our own people. As things stand, we have less to fear from the former, than from the latter.

In the late autumn of 1937 has come the German-Polish Agreement as to mutual treatment of National Minorities, which may well be considered a further step on the way taken by the Declaration of Non-Aggression of 26 January, 1937. Such a formal agreement should help on the task of achieving the neighbourly relations, we all sincerely desire. How much concrete gain will come from it, only the future will show. Meantime the Evangelical Churches of Poland will continue their task of working for peace and good-will both at home and abroad, welcoming in every way whatever possibilities may come of collaboration with their fellow-believers in other countries.

JAN SZERUDA.

⁴Since the above was written, word has come that, in a letter of 8 February, addressed to the Vojevode, Dr. Voss has accepted the terms of the new settlement, and expressed his willingness to co-operate. This news has been received with satisfaction by the Commission.—ED. NOTE.

THE POPULATION QUESTION IN EASTERN EUROPE

THE economic problems of Eastern Europe are less complicated than the political, in the sense that there is less diversity of conditions, and less baffling confusion between the aspirations of different groups. In the agrarian countries the economic problem is essentially the same, in that the population on the land is now too large to be employed on the land, or even fed by local production. Before the war the same problem existed, but because the region was divided into regions with more or less distinct economic interests and very different social structure, the Habsburg Monarchy, Russia and the Balkan states, the identity of the problem in each region was concealed. Now Eastern Europe emerges as an area with the same essential conditions: its population is still growing rapidly, though its rate of growth is falling, while the outlets for labour migration and the market for food are contracting. Whichever side of the national frontier peasants may wish to be, there is a fairly general unanimity about the desirability of more passports to the United States.

The main question which arises is how far these countries are able themselves to deal with the problem of a falling standard of living. The peasant parties, whose influence on political affairs seemed so deeply rooted in the period after the war, have now lost hold and in most of these countries are in opposition to the Governments, though their organisations still survive; in Poland, at least, under very severe repression. Most of the peasant parties have no definite policy in the economic sphere, except perhaps in Bulgaria; in Yugoslavia their pre-occupation with national aspirations seems to preclude any interest in economic problems. Reviewing their economic and political activity, one begins to doubt whether the peasant parties, which mean of course the democratic forces, are able to deal with the land question. So long as that question meant the peasant against the landowner, or the redistribution of the land, the peasant parties played a constructive part; now that the land question means land shortage as such their power to deal with the situation seems very small.

Output per head in Eastern Europe is certainly falling; and of this there may be two explanations. One is that it is the result of contraction of international trade and the cessation of migration. The other is that there is a tendency inherent in agricultural

communities with a low real income per head, to fail to accumulate capital on a sufficient scale to maintain output per head, because they hoard or invest in non-productive assets. Clearly it is very important to decide which of these is the true cause, because the interpretation of events will determine the sort of adjustment which can be made. If it is the first, the contraction of trade, which is responsible for the decline in income, then there is no reason why these regions of Europe should not change over to the other types of production—to industry or to branches of agriculture for which the demand is elastic. An expansion of international trade in food products in Europe might alone be enough to remedy the situation. On the other hand, if the failure of production to keep pace with population arises from the defects of the land system, then the chief hope of recovery will be in reorganising farming, on collectivist lines, as that might be regarded as the chief correction of the tendency to over-invest. For Poland, on the other hand, it is possible that neither of these courses offers any hope of improvement: there it is said that there are three possible adjustments to the present situation; one, mass migration; two, mass industrialisation with the use of foreign capital; and three, mass starvation. This implies that these countries cannot do anything of their own power to improve their economic situation.

Before examining the causes of land shortage, two questions must be answered:—

- (I) How far output per head is falling.
- (II) How the density of farm population influences employment.

I

(i) To make any index number of output is difficult, because there are no figures for three of these countries for the number of people dependent on agriculture (i.e. the farm population). Figures exist for Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria: not for Poland, Roumania or Yugoslavia; and for these last three it is necessary to base an estimate on the rural population. (For Yugoslavia even this is not known, but as we have good results for Bulgaria, we can assume that its results are similar.)

In 1931 the numbers on the land were everywhere larger than in 1921, as compared with the pre-war period, except in Czechoslovakia, where the number has declined by 280,000 or 6 per cent.; a very rapid decline in the numbers on the land in the Western Provinces has been partly compensated for by the increase in Slovakia (a 5 per cent. increase) and Ruthenia, where the rate of

growth of farm population is about the same as that of the farm population in Eastern Europe (about 18 per cent.). (The proportion of farm population declined from 40 per cent. in 1921 to 32 per cent. in 1931.) In Hungary there has also been an advance in industrialisation; the farm population has increased very slightly by 50,000, or about 1 per cent.; the proportion of farm population in 1930 fell to 50 per cent. of the total, as compared with 55 per cent. in 1920.

Thus though both Czechoslovakia and Hungary have regions of dense population and rural employment, these two countries do not suffer from agricultural over-population in general. Capital formation takes a proportion off the land at a rate which is comparable to that of Western Europe in the last ten years, and the rate of population growth is falling fast.

In the agrarian countries, on the other hand, the rate of increase of the total population is faster, and the farm population has very nearly kept pace with it. Unfortunately, there are no statistics except for Bulgaria. These show that the farm population has increased from 1910 to 1926 by 20 per cent., by 35 per cent. from 1910 to 1935, and the proportion of the total population (74 per cent.) remains the same. Since 1926 the rate of increase of the farm population has been somewhat slower; about one-quarter of the natural increase on the land has gone to the towns.

In the other countries the rate of increase of the rural population has been about the same, about 15 per cent. in the years 1921 to 1931, about 20 per cent. from 1921 to 1935. In Poland the proportion of rural population to town population fell from 75 per cent. to 73 per cent. in 1931; in Roumania (the Old Kingdom) from 79.2 to 77.2 per cent. There is no reason to think that the farm population has increased at an appreciably slower rate, though its proportion to the rural population may have fallen slightly.

The rate of increase of population is still as fast as it was in the pre-war period, because migration has ceased. In Poland the rate of natural increase is now one-third less than it was in the decades before the war; but about one-third of the natural increase of population migrated overseas in the pre-war period; this outlet now is closed and in consequence the rate of population increase is as fast as before the War.

(ii) This increased number of people has to find employment in much the same area of land. The cultivated area in these countries has increased slightly as compared with the pre-war period, by taking fallow land or unproductive land into cultivation. In Bulgaria and Roumania and Poland the cultivated area has increased

5 or 6 per cent. since 1925, when they recovered the pre-war level, in Yugoslavia by 15 per cent. But this does not mean much : before the war all the good land was already cultivated, and the land now taken into cultivation can only be of inferior quality.

(iii) This increase in population in itself would not be serious if it were possible to realise the yield per acre. Yields per acre are very low and could easily be raised 20 to 30 per cent. with better methods. In Poland, Bulgaria and Hungary yields of wheat average about 11 quintals to the hectare; Roumania has even lower yields, about 8 to 9 quintals, the same as the yield of the United States. (In England the yield per acre is roughly twice as high, 22 quintals, though in Denmark and Holland it is higher still.) But in two of these countries—Poland and Roumania—yields have fallen since the pre-war period, and most of these countries' yields have fallen since the crisis. Consequently the volume of production has not kept pace with the growth of the farm population, except possibly in Bulgaria, for which comparisons of production are difficult.

Thus, though we cannot say with any certainty what the decline in gross physical output per head has been, we can be sure it must be something like 10 per cent. since 1921.

This is remarkable because the main feature of economic development since the war has been the very rapid rate of increase in the productivity of labour in agriculture. In overseas countries this has been mainly due to mechanisation in wheat and extension of the area; but even in European countries without great technical changes there has been rather a large increase in yields.

Changes in the crops grown show the effect of population growth on the standard of living. Maize output has increased in Roumania and Hungary, potatoes in Poland by about 20 per cent. These are more intensively cultivated crops, producing more calories to the acre but showing a lower standard of nutrition. (If livestock production had increased in those regions, the bigger output of maize would mean an increase in the output per man; as it does not, the crops must be grown for food; the increased output of maize is a sign of growing poverty. To substitute maize for wheat means a fall to a lower standard of feeding: the League of Nations report on nutrition has emphasised the consequence of the maize dietary.)

Thus we can conclude that even before the general depression these countries were struggling to maintain the income per head of their farm population.

(iv) On top of these conditions there came the general depression in agriculture. Its most lasting result has been a decline in the

share of the national income taken by farmers in all countries : the decline has been general, owing to the stability of agricultural output since 1929 in the face of falling prices. The decline in purchasing power has been most severe in the exporting countries : in the importing countries tariff policy has maintained the farmers' share in the national income.

Even before the crisis the peasants in Eastern Europe already suffered from the tariffs imposed on food exports by the Danubian food importing countries. The terms of trade were turning against them before 1929 and the income per head of the farm population was already much lower than income per head of the town population. Thus even before the changes in income levels due to the world price fall, the disparity in incomes within these countries was abnormally large. (Of course the difference in social structure must be borne in mind ; the non-agricultural population is small, and a large part of its income is based on monopoly profits, representing the earnings of a small class of capitalists.) Wages alone in industry and agriculture would not show such a large divergence.

Since 1929 the disparity of incomes has increased. This effect can be shown very clearly in the case of Bulgaria. In 1926 the rural population represented 80 per cent. of the total population and took 60 per cent. of the total income ; in 1934 it took 78 per cent. of the total population and 50 per cent. of the income. Thus the ratio of income per head of the rural and urban population changed from roughly 1 to 3 to 1 to 5 ; (in 1926 the average income per head of rural population was 6,908 leva, compared with 19,760 leva per head of urban population ; in 1934 it was 3,307 leva compared with 16,986 per head of urban population.)¹

II

The high density of farm population stands in the way of adjustment. The fall in incomes could be met by reducing the number of farmers or at least the number of farmers growing corn : if the peasants could move into industry, or if they could move over to other branches of food production for which the demand is more elastic—such as fruit, vegetables or the various oil plants, a natural remedy would be found. But this adjustment is extremely difficult. In non-peasant countries the problem is not generally understood.

¹ *The National Income of Bulgaria 1934-35*, Tchakaloff, Publications of the Statistical Institute for Economic Research, Sofia, 1937, No. 2.

In England the opinion is very commonly held that "the peasant" can stand a good deal in the way of wage reduction, because in the event of a price fall he can live off the farm.² This sort of assertion is made owing to the habit of regarding peasant agriculture as somehow outside the scope of the economic laws which determine the activity of commercial farmers. The view that peasants do not suffer ignores the effects on capital accumulation and the growth of population; it is true that a peasant on a largish farm, with a reserve of savings and with a small family, can contract for a time his purchase of industrial products without serious suffering. But the peasant holding in Eastern Europe is a small area of land and must be shared out among a number of children in each generation. In some regions the limits of subdivision have been reached already. Moreover, the maintenance of output depends on maintaining the capital: in all regions except the very remote the crisis drove the peasants deeper into debt, and forced them to sell more farm produce rather than less. (This result can be shown to have occurred in Bulgaria.) Contrary to general belief, most peasants in Eastern Europe, except in the very remote regions, are far from being subsistence farmers: even in Bulgaria 35 per cent. of the farm output is sold on the market.

In consequence of the fall in income per head the rate of capital accumulation is checked; there is not a sufficient volume of savings—or at least it cannot be mobilised on a large enough scale—to stimulate industrialisation. The fact that labour is getting cheaper does not stimulate the growth of industry. Population growth in itself does not cause the transition to industrial society.

The result is that in all these countries there is a large body of surplus labour on the land, surplus in the strict sense that it could leave the land without reducing the volume of production, not surplus merely in the sense that it would be unemployed if production were mechanised.

For Poland and Bulgaria estimates have been made of the labour requirements of the crops grown, and on this basis it is estimated that about one-third of the population is surplus. These methods of calculating labour requirements are rather crude, but serve because the main product is corn cultivated with very primitive methods. Labour requirements for the cultivation

² For example, Woytinsky in *The Social Consequences of the Economic Depression 1937*, p. 197. "By reversing the century-old trend of evolution and withdrawing as far as possible from the market, agricultural smallholders were better able to survive the depression than their more wealthy neighbours."

of field crops in Denmark (cereals, potatoes and roots) measured in labour hours are roughly half what they are in Bulgaria, i.e. the cultivation of these crops would need twice the amount of labour without machinery. In fact the density of farm population in Bulgaria is about three times that of Denmark—96 to the 100 hectares—and about 50 per cent. higher than it is in Central Europe—96 as compared with 60 farm population to the 100 hectares.

Since the farming system in Eastern Europe is much more extensive than in Central Europe, we can conclude that densities more than 70 to the 100 hectares of farmland indicate surplus population.

In the agrarian countries of Eastern Europe the density of farm population is lower than 70 only in the Danubian province of Yugoslavia, the former Voivodina, in the Banat province of Roumania and in Bessarabia. These are relatively prosperous regions.

Regions of very high density are Southern Poland, Bukovina, Transylvania, all Yugoslavia except the former Voivodina, and Bulgaria. These are all regions of extreme poverty, because they are regions with poor soils and low yields.

This is, of course, a situation which could not be found in Western Europe. In Western Europe regions of densely settled farm populations are those with good land and special crops, e.g., the Rhineland or Württemberg, or very capital-intensive methods, as the Swiss Lowlands; hence there is no correlation between density and income per head. The fact that a region is densely populated only shows that it pays to utilise the soil more intensively. But in Eastern Europe the figures of density are significant simply because land is the chief form of capital, and the less land a peasant has, the poorer he is.

According to the difference of output per head we can distinguish four regions:—

- (1) The Western European level: 30 quintals per head, Bohemia.
- (2) Good corn regions, about 15 quintals, Hungary, the Banat, the Danube Province of Yugoslavia (i.e. Voivodina), Western Poland.
- (3) Regions with about 10 quintals: the Old Kingdom of Roumania, Bessarabia, Central Poland.
- (4) Regions with under 8 quintals per head, Galicia, East Poland, Bukovina, Transylvania, all Yugoslavia except the Danube Province, Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, and Bulgaria.

The starvation limit is reached when there is only 1 hectare per head, which produces about 8 quintals of corn (about 17 cwt.). This is the level of output in the fourth group.

Even where the average income per head is somewhat higher than the minimum, in provinces like the Old Kingdom of Roumania and Central Poland, it is so low that the peasants with less than the average amount of land per head must be close to the starvation line. We have no means of knowing how many there are. In Hungary, though the average income per head is much higher than in the agrarian countries, the distribution of income is more unequal: about one-quarter of the population are near the starvation line.

Looking at the present distribution of farm population, it appears clearly impossible to attribute the fall in income per head merely to the contraction of trade in food products in Europe, or to the division of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The same economic conditions as now exist, labour surplus and capital shortage, already existed before the Monarchy was divided. The Monarchy was not an economic unit in the sense that it was self-contained: it had a heavy passive trade balance; it was borrowing capital from Western Europe, and at the same time it was exporting labour to the United States. As a rule in the nineteenth century international movements of labour and capital went together to regions where both had a high productivity owing to their relative scarcity in relation to natural resources, and when investment was made in these conditions it had the prospect of certain return; but investment in Austria-Hungary was not likely to earn a high return, since there were not the same prospects of expansion. From the mountain frontier districts the stream of migration went on steadily from the 'eighties onwards, a sign that industrialisation was not going on fast enough to relieve the pressure on the land. In the Hungarian Plains the peasantry lived comparatively well; these were the regions of surplus production for export.

Certain areas, therefore, were suffering from surplus labour supply in the pre-war period—these were mainly Galicia, Croatia, Transylvania, Slovakia, regions which have now been transferred to other states, which have not proved able to absorb their surplus labour better than Hungary did. Galicia was joined to Central and Eastland Poland, which employs some of its labour on the estates of Central Poland, but which suffers from over-population. Slovenia and Croatia have been joined to Serbia, and Transylvania to Roumania, that is to regions which already suffered from population pressure. Slovakia seems to have gained so far as its farm population is concerned: its agricultural population has only increased 5 per cent., and the loss of employment on Hungarian estates must be

more than compensated by the increased physical output per head resulting from higher yields, and the high price of corn paid by the crop monopoly.

Should these regions of redundant labour supply be described as over-populated? Mere redundancy of labour in a particular industry does not indicate a state of over-population. If we say that there is surplus labour, all that is meant is that the farm labour is surplus to a given system of production, and if the system could be changed, the labour would cease to be a surplus. In fact, the difficulties in the way of changing the farm system are considerable. First, soil and climate are unfavourable to the kind of intensive farming which is successful in Western Europe. To raise yields, irrigation schemes are necessary, which would require large scale capital investment. Secondly, the high tariffs in Western Europe stand in the way of expanding the production of poultry, eggs or pigs, which would be technically easy.

Thus the possibility of increasing employment and raising the standard of living in Eastern Europe depends mainly on the possibility of increasing migration to overseas countries. Wider markets in Europe itself would be a means of raising output per man in the better regions, and foreign borrowing for irrigation works would certainly open the way to improvements in farming technique: but without migration, it seems impossible that the scope of changes of this kind could relieve the pressure of population growth in the most densely settled regions.

DOREEN WARRINER.

PHILHELLENISM IN EUROPE, 1821-1828

PHILHELLENISM is a phenomenon which appeared in different countries at different times throughout the 19th century, but at no time has it been so widespread and intense as during the Greek Revolution. The birth of a nation—or even the re-birth—is undoubtedly a most dramatic and appealing moment yet there were circumstances peculiar to the times that made Europeans acutely sensitive to revolution and many of them more sympathetic to the Greek than to that of other nations. Greece was indebted to Metternich and the Holy Alliance, to her own ancestry and classical traditions of European culture, and to the strong Christian element in early 19th century civilisation.

Repressed liberalism was at work in every country. The system set up at the Congress of Vienna, which suppressed popular movements wherever they occurred, crushed revolutions in Naples and Spain, and established the political tone of officialdom, tended to make liberals more keenly alive to the meaning of a struggle for independence. National consciousness had been rudely awakened during the French Revolution and the Wars of Liberation, a social conscience was gradually developing under an enlarging conception of "rights," and the social philosophy of "the greatest good of the greatest number" was steadily taking shape. Political inhibitions resulting from the Metternich system and the thralldom of the Holy Alliance burst their bonds in enthusiasm for Greece. The romantic imagination of poets and painters was set afire; the piety of the religious was stirred; the feelings of humanitarians were aroused; the sympathy of liberals was awakened. The strength of reaction during these years produced strong, though checked, opposition which found one good outlet in the cause of Greece.

The political, humanitarian and religious aspects of the struggle made the strongest appeal in Germany, while in France the claims of Greece to the gratitude of the cultured were more prominent. There the papers and magazines are evidence of the increasing interest in the study of classical Greek and the presence of Greek scholars, such as Korais, enlarged the scope of these studies to include modern Greece. In every country the very name and associations of this country were inspiring to scholars, travellers, artists—in fact to anyone who had any pretensions to culture. As a country she was more universally known than any other.

She was 'also fortunate in another way. The neo-pagan philosophy of natural rights came to be expressed in Christian formulæ, so that Europeans looked upon the Turkish domination as a humiliation to Christendom. The tyranny of the "abominable" Turk was a challenge to all Christians. One of the most frequent and fiery forms of appeal was made to fellow-Christians against the Mohammedan oppressor who charged the Greek a tax just to be allowed to keep his head. Yet, curiously enough, little response came from religious bodies as such, with the notable exception of the Society of Friends. Greece thus benefited from both the Christian and the non-Christian elements of early 19th century thought; she was assisted by her glorious pagan ancestry and her Christian present, by the developing social philosophy of natural freedom for the individual, and to the repressive tactics of reactionaries.

The fear of Carbonarism and revolution was strong, yet many who adhered to the conservative point of view upheld Greece on the ground that the Turks were not her true rulers, but foreign tyrants whose odious rule had blighted the fair land of Hellas for centuries. The Greek Revolution was not an attack on the European concert of Powers; it was therefore not sinful but heroic.

BEFORE 1826

Events in Greece excited a natural sympathy among its compatriots abroad; those in Holland, Italy and Russia sent what they could of stores and money. By 1822 it was reported that during the previous year about £8,000 had been collected from among the Greek community and their friends in Holland alone.¹

Switzerland and Germany were the first countries in which committees were formed. Stuttgart, formerly thought to be the first city to establish such an organisation, was a close second to Bern. A Greek committee was already in existence in the latter before 3 August, 1821, when Stuttgart inaugurated hers, and before Professor Krug started an agitation for a similar committee in Leipzig.² August, 1821, was only six months after Alexander Ypsilanti's abortive attempt to start a revolution in Moldavia and Wallachia and five months after the Archbishop Germanos of Patras in company with two Greek primates, Zaimis and Londos, had

¹ *Archives of the London Greek Committee*, vol. 1, Paleologo to Bowring, Amsterdam, 11 April, 1823.

² Rothpletz, E., *Bernische Hilfsvereine für die Griechen*, 1821-1829, Basel, 1932, 6.

raised the standard of revolt at Kalavryta, a comparatively short time for news to travel and public opinion to compel action. Nor did Bern stand long alone. By November, Zürich, Basel, Lausanne, Burgdorf and many of the Swiss cantons had followed suit. These various committees acted independently until December, 1822, when they appointed Zürich as the central Swiss committee under the leadership of its president, Johann Heinrich Bremi, professor of ancient languages and a canon of the church.³

At first all action had to be carried on without the official cognisance of the government. Appeals appeared in Swiss papers—in the Bern *Der Schweizerfreund*, 4 September, 1821, and in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 8 and 15 September—and a letter was sent to the Government of Bern stating that assistance to Greece should be made the affair of all but the official censor. Members of the Diet and of the police were timid and feared to offend representatives of foreign Powers, particularly Austria, so they forbade public appeals, but evidently they were not necessary, for the committee carried on and subscriptions were raised. In 1822 a pamphlet was published, *Der Griechenverein zu Bern an seine Mitglieder zu Stadt und Land* without permission of the censor, but not suppressed. The appeal was careful to dissociate the intentions of the committee from political motives; religion, European kinship with Greece, Bern's ancient tradition of charitable work, all made it necessary to raise further funds to relieve the sufferers. Three reports of the Bern Committee appeared later. The first, from 1 August, 1821, to 31 December, 1822, gave 5,062 francs as the sum collected from the city and canton of Bern, from workmen, school children, societies and private persons. The second, covering 1 January, 1821, to 1 July, 1824, reported 8,392 francs from various corporate bodies, literary organisations, students' corps, and Bible societies. The third, 1 July 1824 to 31 December 1828, accounted for 19,782 francs—in all over 30,000 francs.⁴ This committee dissolved in June, 1829, a record of longevity and continuous effort that compares very favourably with other Philhellenic committees. Similar activities were going on in nearly every city and canton of Switzerland.

The work of the German committees coincides with that in Switzerland. For south Germany, Stuttgart took the lead and for the region further north Darmstadt, and, as in Switzerland,

³ *Archives*, Vol. 1, F², Bremi and Schulters of the Zürich Comm. to Lord Erskine, 25 March, 1823.

⁴ Rothpletz, E., *Bernische Hilfsvereine*, *passim*.

nearly every city of any size had its own organisation. The purposes of the first German society to be formed in favour of the Greeks, at Stuttgart in August, 1821, were described in a letter published in the English papers. The society had declared war on the "Grand Turk," had held a meeting, elected a committee, subscribed considerable sums and announced the intention of sending a sacred battalion to aid Greece to become free. They also sent a volunteer to ask the Greek Senate whether it preferred money or men.⁵ On the whole the German Philhellenes placed more emphasis on ultimate Greek freedom and less on the temporary relief of suffering than did those in most other countries. German liberals had more recent memories of their own Wars of Liberation and were well acquainted with the committee system of carrying on propaganda and raising money.

German papers all over the country reflected the enthusiasm. According to the *Morning Chronicle*⁶ they "teemed" with accounts of associations formed and subscriptions raised in every quarter. The humblest peasant was said to have come forward with his mite to aid the victims of Turkish oppression and barbarity.⁷ English newspapers, especially those that were trying to overcome the lethargy towards Greek affairs in this country, reported philhellenic activity in the German states. For instance, an account in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* was quoted; numerous "female associations" had been formed on the model of those set up in various places during and after the Napoleonic wars, and youthful interest was said to extend from the universities to students in academies and lower schools. In one instance the pupils of a certain gymnasium opened a subscription in which the smallest contribution amounted to a month's pocket money.⁸ From the *Nürnberg Gazette* was reprinted the astonishing and improbable news that a "great court" had issued instructions to its diplomatic agents in foreign parts, according to which, individuals who wished to proceed to Greece, to the theatre of war, and who presented themselves to ask for passports, might obtain them without its being considered requisite to interrogate them as to the object of their voyage.⁹

Among German liberals who sponsored the movement, university professors and scholars are prominent. Ritzel, Neander and

⁵ *The Times*, 30 August, 1821.

⁶ 11 September, 1821.

⁷ Blaquiere, E., *Letters from Greece*, London, 1828, XIX, XXIII.

⁸ *Morning Chronicle*, 11 September, 1821.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 9 November, 1821; see also *Morning Post*, 10 September, 1821.

Niebuhr headed subscription lists, while Professor Tiersch, the philologist, founder of the Institute of Munich, and author of a Greek grammar and works on Greek archæology, published a series of articles in the *Augsburger Zeitung* in order to prove to the doubtful that the Greek Revolution had nothing in common with much dreaded carbonarism and offered no threats to the established order.¹⁰ Likewise another liberal, Professor Krug, a philosopher of Leipzig, and past president of the *Tugendbund*, an organisation suspicious to the authors of the Carlsbad Decrees, appealed in 1821 for the establishment of committees of aid.¹¹ The repressive absolutism of the political régime failed to prevent concrete expressions of sympathy in the German states as it did in Austria. There the Greek community dared not even make a public appeal for funds to relieve the distress of refugees passing through.¹²

One of the best known and most influential of all European Philhellenes was King Louis I of Bavaria, father of the future King Otto of Greece. His sympathy and generosity made Munich one of the most active centres of propaganda and relief work. He encouraged Greek studies, the publication of Greek news, gave money, assisted refugees, allowed his officers unlimited leave of absence to serve in the war, and was generous in the matter of educating Greek children. Edward Blaquiere, a man active in the English movement for Greek relief, remarked: "One scarcely knows whether most to admire the noble independence with which this monarch has openly espoused the Greek cause, in opposition to the well known sentiments of the Austrian cabinet, or the generous and princely manner in which his devotion to the cause has been displayed."¹³

During 1827 King Louis gave 100,000 francs in addition to sums contributed previously, and also in addition to funds being collected in Geneva.¹⁴ Nor did his interest flag as the struggle grew more and more protracted. As late as 1828 he expressed so strong a sympathy that he said to a Russian Secretary of Legation that if he had a seaport he would send some thousand men in aid of that just cause.¹⁵

¹⁰ *European Magazine*, vol. 81, May, 1822, 438.

¹¹ Isambert, G., *L'Indépendance Grecque et l'Europe*, Paris, 1900, 243-244.

¹² Sherman, J., *Memoir of Wilham Allen*, Phila., 1851, 354; *Life of W. A.*, Phila., 1847, vol. 2, 62, October, 1822.

¹³ Blaquiere, E., *Letters*, 61, 24 February, 1827.

¹⁴ *The Times*, 12 June, 1827, G. J. Eynard to Sir James Mackintosh, 10 June; see also Isambert, G., *L'Indépendance Grecque*, 244.

¹⁵ For. Off., *Bavaria*, 58, Lord Erskine to Sec. of For. Affs., Munich, 11 April, 1828.

Supplies of every kind and in considerable abundance were sent to the theatre of war which helped the Greeks to carry on until the arrival of assistance from England in 1823 and 1824, and until Eynard of Geneva organised more systematic assistance in late 1825 and 1826. Many of the supplies were military and not all of them were intended solely for the use of the Greeks themselves, but for the Europeans who volunteered to fight. These volunteers were numerous; many went out as individuals and more in organised groups. Suggestive items are to be seen in the German and Swiss papers of 1821 and 1822 concerning the military enthusiasm: a published letter from Lubeck told of a German legion formed at Hamburg to aid the Greeks, with a general subscription opened to defray expenses. Many officers of distinction were reported to have accepted commissions.¹⁶ News also came to England that six hundred citizens of Bonn had formed a subscription and that about two hundred, mostly students, had enrolled to march against Turkey.¹⁷ In a report read to the London committee for the relief of the Greeks in September, 1823, it was said that since 1821 eight expeditions had gone out from Germany, in all four hundred and forty-one men, including officers and soldiers "of all arms," physicians, surgeons, and mechanics. This did not include individuals who had wandered their own way. The supplies of the expeditions comprised hospital stores, military equipment, and other necessary materials. Surgical instruments, medicines, and sixty mattresses were specifically listed, besides instruments of all kinds, machinery for making such instruments, and all the necessities for a train and parts of field artillery, a large quantity of copper, iron, steel, and every article necessary for the above purposes, above five thousand stand of arms, accoutrements for eight hundred men, complete clothing and other necessities for one hundred and fifty men, ninety-two musical instruments, six drums, barrels of gunpowder, lead and flints, mathematical instruments, the best maps to be had in Paris, and one beautiful ensign embroidered by the German ladies as a present to one of the expeditions. A sum of 200,000 francs had been collected in Germany.¹⁸

It is not the intention here to examine in detail the deeds and misdeeds of all these expeditions, but some knowledge of their fortunes and misfortunes is necessary, as they affected the course

¹⁶ *The Times*, 30 August, 1821, and 2 September, 1821.

¹⁷ *Morning Chronicle*, 9 November, 1821; see also *Morning Post*, 10 September, 1821

¹⁸ *Archives*, vol. 3, D² and E².

of Philhellenism in central Europe. A Philhellene corps was founded in Greece in 1822, made up of men who had gone out from many countries: from Germany, Switzerland, France, Poland, Italy, and England. The disillusioned and embittered account of one of their number shows the heterogeneity of one of these "corps," or "regiments," or "battalions" as they were variously called. On 1 September, 1822, one of the expeditions landed at Kalamata, having sailed from one of the chief ports of embarkation, Marseilles. They were of all nations and types—fortune seekers, adventurers, military men, craftsmen, professional men, political exiles, some with money and many without. Among them there was no suitable leader and no one in Greece took any interest in them. The vain hope that they might be placed in Greek regiments was disappointed because Greece had no regular troops, only klephts and their followers. Only Prince Mavrocordato offered the means to construct a corps, but even he did nothing. Finally they were placed along with some Greek soldiers under the command of a German General Normann and hurried into battle against the Turks, so that most of them lost their lives in their first encounter on the plains of Arta. It was a pitiful miscellaneous collection of men who lacked training, leadership, and all necessities—equipment, uniforms, and all other supplies.¹⁹ In the autumn of 1822 the best known German expedition went out, under the Greek Kephalas. Although Kephalas was requested by the Executive of the Greek Government to assure his officers of gratitude for their generous and disinterested offers of service, in reality they were not welcome. The Government had no money to pay them and no desire to introduce additional military bands who might challenge their authority. These men became simply another body of roving, unattached men with ambitions for glory, excitement, and reward and were bitterly disappointed when none of these were forthcoming. The Government said that its poverty prevented it from taking advantage of their services, but consented to assign them a house for barracks and a small ration of daily bread. Even this meagre supply of food soon disappeared and they complained to the Greek Senate. That body replied honestly if somewhat ungraciously that no one should have ventured out to Greece without the means of supporting himself; that if they had been invited by the Government they might have some excuse for expecting support, but as they had come on their

¹⁹ Mauvillon, F. W. von, *Reise eines deutschen Artillerieoffiziers nach Griechenland*, Essen, 1824, *passim*.

own account they should seek aid from those who had sent them.²⁰ Many who were able to do so returned home, but others remained in Greece to sustain themselves precariously, later joining another Philhellene regiment formed in 1824. It was not until February, 1824, that the business was entirely settled, the men sent home or provided for in Greece, and the supplies they had taken with them released. These had been kept by the Greeks at Hydra. One of the requests made to an agent of the London committee, Colonel Leicester Stanhope, who passed through Switzerland and Germany on his way to Greece in 1823, was that he obtain them—cloth, clothing, medicine, surgical instruments, two thousand rifles, seven hundred cartridge boxes, fifty-three arquebuses, musical instruments, and one thousand rifles sent at the same time by the committee of Aarau, Switzerland, for the use of the Greeks themselves. Five thousand francs given by the committee of Darmstadt were also unaccounted for. The supplies were released by the efforts of Stanhope, but there is no record of the money.²¹

European volunteers were unquestionably a nuisance in Greece, and undeterred by the experiences of the first arrivals they continued to go out, carried on their petty squabbles over rank and authority, fought duels and acted independently, for all wanted to command and none to obey.²² When Byron arrived in Greece in 1824, he was exasperated at the stupidity of those persons who had sent such men out to Greece, men whom he said knew nothing but etiquette, stickling for ceremonies and regulations observed among their own despotic sovereigns, as ignorant as they were proud.²³ Stanhope urged the London Committee not to send out any more volunteers, as these persons, usually adventurers or enthusiasts, became disillusioned and embittered and were not only useless but an actual menace in Greece.²⁴ A few outstanding men may be mentioned as exceptions such as General Normann,

²⁰ Millingen, J., *Memoirs of the Affairs of Greece*, London, 1831, 23-35; *Archives*, vol. 8, L², Schott to Bowring, Stuttgart, 14 May, 1824; vol. 4, Schott to Bowring, Stuttgart, 7 September, 1823; vol. 3, S¹, Darmstadt Comm. to Bowring, Darmstadt, 17 September, 1823, Stanhope, L., *Greece in 1823 and 1824*, London, 1824, 14.

²¹ *Archives*, vol. 6, Z, Stanhope to Bowring, Messalonghi, 11 February, 1824; vol. 4, R¹, Zürich Comm. to Stanhope, Zurich, 19 October, 1823.

²² Anninos, B., "Philhellenes of the Period 1821," *Historical Notices*, 1925.

²³ Parry, W., *The Last Days of Lord Byron*, London, 1825, vol. 1, 31, 10 February, 1824.

²⁴ *Archives*, vol. 5, Q¹, Stanhope to Bowring, Messalonghi, 18 December, 1823.

Colonel Fabvier, Thomas Gordon, and especially Sir Richard Church and Admiral Cochrane. However justified the Greek Government may have been in failing to appreciate the volunteers, their reception undoubtedly did a great deal to cool the ardour of their friends at home, as Colonel Stanhope noted on his trip across the Continent in 1823.²⁵ The effect was still evident when the Duke of Wellington passed through Germany on his way to Vienna and St. Petersburg in 1826, he found that there was no feeling in favour of the Greeks, since they were considered to have conducted themselves with great cruelty towards those who had gone to their assistance.²⁶ It required the organising efforts of Jean Gabriel Eynard of Geneva to revive interest.

The efforts expended by the German and Swiss Committees to send out expeditions left them unable to meet other demands made upon them. In the spring of 1823 a large number of Greek refugees found themselves at the mercy of European charity. About one hundred and fifty to two hundred of these who had taken refuge in Odessa to escape the devastations in Moldavia and Wallachia had remained there approximately one year, then obtained permission from the Russian authorities to return home via Brody in Hungary. As the Austrian Government refused them passage, they secured passports for Germany and France, with Marseilles indicated as the port of embarkation for Greece. At the beginning of the winter they set out and those who survived the misery and fatigue of the journey arrived at Frankfort-on-Main in utter destitution. Collections of food and clothing by Germans and Swiss kept them for some time while negotiations were under way to secure permission for them to pass through either France or Holland for the return journey to Greece. The French Government was not eager to have these Greeks on her territory any more than she was to welcome transient Philhellenes. The pretext given in the case of the refugees was the same as that previously made when Philhellenes wanted to obtain visas from Switzerland—the probable lack of cash among them would make their passage an unpleasant problem. The case of the Philhellenes had been brought to the attention of the Director of Police at Bern and on 28 October, 1822, he directed that in future the passing through Switzerland of these men would be curtailed since the French ambassador, Talleyrand

²⁵ *Ibid.* vol. 8, L², Schott to Bowring, Stuttgart, 14 May, 1824: "Nos travaux ont presque cessé en faute d'intérêt du public, lequel, quoique injustement, est indigné du traitement que la plupart des Philhellenes ont trouvé en Grèce." See also Stanhope, L., *Greece*, 14.

²⁶ Foreign Office, *Russia*, Wellington, 65-154.

was unwilling to visa passports via France.²⁷ It may be noted in passing that despite this obstacle Marseilles continued to be the port of embarkation for many persons on their way to Greece. Talleyrand was also instructed to refuse visas to the refugees on the pretence that they were not Greeks returning home at all, but adventurers who had joined other enemies of the existing order.²⁸ Louis XVIII and his ministers were on the side of the angels. The Swiss and Germans were in despair as they could not afford to support the refugees. They wrote to the London Greek committee which had recently been formed to seek material assistance or at least intercession with France. William Smith, M.P., a member of the Committee, was appointed by it to present letters received from Basel and Zürich to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Canning, to see if he could be induced to act. He answered Smith's inquiries to the effect that while no obstacle would be placed in the way of their return home or of their landing on British soil, i.e. at Malta, that no direct aid could be offered nor any guarantee given for protection against Turkish warships. After further intercession on the part of another member of the Greek committee, Mr. Hume, Canning agreed to seek permission for the Greek refugees to embark at Marseilles in a body.²⁹ Whether or not this intercession was actually made, the French Government gave the permission, much desired since those of Sardinia and the Netherlands had both refused.³⁰

During these negotiations with the French Government the committee which had been formed in Paris was of assistance as an intermediary. This was established by the "Société de la morale chrétienne" for the assistance of the Greek refugees in 1823 and was supported in its work by the pen of Benjamin Constant and by noted liberals such as the Duke of Rochefoucauld, Liancourt, General Sebastiani, and Guizot.³¹ However, it accomplished little; the ultra-reactionary policies of the Villèle ministry and the cautious

²⁷ Rothpletz, E., *Bernische Hilfsvereine*, 10, Swiss frontiers to be closed to wandering Philhellenes, Police Director v. Wattenwyls to Secret Council, Berne, 24 and 27 October, 1822.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁹ *Archives*, vol. 1, H. Memo., Geneva, 17 March, 1823 and copy of a letter from F. Desperay, Director of Police to M. le Chargé d'Affaires de la Confédération Suisse, Paris, 5 February, 1823, quoting the refusal of the French Government; vol. 1, E², Zurich Comm. to Lord Erskine, March 25, 1823, and Schulters, Sec. of the Zurich Comm. to Lord Erskine, 28 March, 1823; vol. 1, L³, Barker to Bowring, Thetford, 13 April, 1823; vol. 3, F, Minutes of 12 April, 1, Minutes of 25 April; M, Minutes of 31 May.

³⁰ Rothpletz, E., *Bernische Hilfsvereine*, 13; *Archives*, vol. 3, F¹, Schott, Pres. of the Stuttgart Comm. to Bowring, 15 August, 1823.

³¹ *Archives*, vol. 1, Secy. of the Soc. to Bowring, Paris, 23 April, 1823.

pronouncements of the conservative papers held philhellenism in check until about 1824-1825. With the growth of the power of the liberal party under the leadership of Broglie, Constant, Casimir-Périer, and Chateaubriand, Greek sentiment became stronger: and after the accession of Charles X in September, 1824, the ministry itself inclined more towards Greece, until finally liberals and royalists alike united in advocating private intervention. In February, 1825, the "Société philanthropique pour l'assistance des Grecs" was founded in Paris and was made the central French committee for Greek assistance. Another which had considerable influence on the course of French Philhellenism was that of Marseilles, for it was from that city that persons from many countries embarked for Greece, a good many of them in financial straits even before leaving. It was there that expeditions were fitted out and that a brig was equipped for the use of Admiral Cochrane.

In July, 1825, the *Journal des Débats* published a "Note on Greece" by Chateaubriand, which he himself called a prospectus of a subscription in favour of the Greeks. In this Chateaubriand openly advocated Greek independence; he appealed not only for private assistance, but for a firm stand by the Powers of Europe.³² Chateaubriand's name is one of the most prominent of the French pro-Greek writers, but he was by no means alone. The intellectual harmony between the two countries made France a most enthusiastic centre for a revival of Greek studies, and this æsthetic taste for the beauties of Greek thought and language paved the way for more active intervention. The Greek Korais had established himself in France to encourage the study of ancient and modern Greek; French travellers and literateurs such as Pouqueville, Raffenet, and Fauriel published accounts of the country, translated its songs and legends; and after the outbreak of the war French poets, historians, and dramatists popularised her cause. Alexandre Guiraud and Gaspard de Pons led the way, to be quickly followed by many others, among them distinguished writers like Alfred de Vigny, Lamartine, Alexandre Dumas, and the historian de Sismondi. The fall of Messalonghi in April, 1826, enlivened sympathies and increased literary productions; Victor Hugo's *Les Têtes du Serail* was one direct outcome.³³ Dramatic productions, fêtes, concerts, recitations of modern Greek poetry, and house to house canvassing

³² See the *Morning Chronicle*, 29 July, 1825; and also Malakis, E., "Chateaubriand's Contribution to French Philhellenism," *Modern Philology*, August, 1928.

³³ See Biré, E., *Victor Hugo avant 1830*, Paris, 1895.

by society leaders marked the height of the enthusiasm. One play, *l'Argent* satirised ladies whose husbands played on the rise and fall of the stock market and who rode about in elegant carriages collecting centimes in small boxes.³⁴ Innumerable brochures, letters, and articles appeared between 1821 and 1828³⁵ and newspapers filled many columns with the affairs of Greece. From the beginning the liberal press represented by the *Constitutionnel* and *Courier Français* tried to interest its readers, while the *Gazette de France*, a Catholic paper, and the *Drapeau Blanc* were outspokenly Turkish in sentiment. The *Journal des Débats*, a loyalist organ, tended at first to be non-committal, giving items favourable to both Turks and Greeks, but it gradually became more pro-Greek in tone. Chateaubriand was particularly influential in the conversion of the press until practically all papers, regardless of party or creed, became philhellenic.³⁶ By 1825 the French nation was almost unanimous in its support of private aid to the belligerents.

Subscriptions, headed by the Duke of Orleans were collected from all parts of France and other contributions in food, clothing, and munitions were sent out to Greece. General Roche was appointed by the committee to go himself to direct its efforts, and the son of the Greek hero Canaris was brought to France to be educated.³⁷ As reported in *The Times*, the subscriptions from Paris and the rest of the country up to 31 December, 1825, amounted to 239,649 francs, or £9,600 sterling; of this the Paris committee gave to General Roche 6,688 francs, spent 70,646 francs on an attempt to establish in Greece an arsenal and a corps of artillery, used 75,000 francs for clothing and other materials, and paid 4,600 francs for the maintenance and education of 576 young Greeks.³⁸

1826 AND AFTER

One of the donors to the Paris fund was Jean Gabriel Eynard of Geneva. It is with the name of this one man that the story of European Philhellenism is largely concerned after the beginning of 1826. Practically everywhere in Europe where a committee was

³⁴ See Asse, E., *L'Indépendance de la Grèce et les poètes de la Restauration*, Paris, 1898, *passim*, and Isambert, G., *L'Indépendance Grecque*, 29-32 and 219-220.

³⁵ See Bengesco, G., *Essai d'une notice bibliographique sur la question d'Orient*, 1821-1827, Brussels, 1897, for list.

³⁶ Isambert, G., *L'Indépendance Grecque*, 219-226.

³⁷ Isambert, G., *L'Indépendance Grecque*, 225; Debidour, A., *Le General Fabvier, Grèce en 1825-1829*, Paris, 1904, 260.

³⁸ *The Times*, 15 September, 1826.

established after this time, or where an old one continued to function, Eynard was the inspiring genius, the directing agent, or at least the link that connected it with other centres. He was well known among diplomatic and banking circles and was a personal friend of Count John Capodistrias. In 1815 he had attended the Congress of Vienna as one of the Geneva delegates, after which the Grand Duke of Tuscany charged him with the reorganisation of the shattered finances of that state and appointed him to go to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. No one could have been better suited to direct the affairs of the Greeks on the Continent.

When on 4 September, 1825, the Geneva Committee was set up, it took the place of that in Zürich as the leading Swiss organisation and through Eynard helped to co-ordinate the work done by Philhellenes throughout Europe, which after 1826 was much more unified than before and consequently more effective. He contributed both by donations to committee funds in different cities, of some of which he was made a member, and by advice to stimulate activity and to direct it. Moreover much of the assistance thereafter sent to Greece was done through the two committees which he was instrumental in establishing at the scene of war.

The Geneva committee was supported by the leading citizens of the town and, although there were only 25,000 inhabitants, soon collected between 55 and 60,000 francs. Eynard himself gave 6,000 francs and also sent an additional 25,000 francs to Paris, of which 6,000 was to be spent for the establishment of reliable communications with Greece in order to assure accurate information untainted by unfriendly politics. The means chosen was the sending of two young men, Marcel and Romilly, from Geneva with the approval of the Paris committee. During the year 1826 Geneva collected 61,013 francs 90 centimes and disbursed in all 221,181 francs, the balance having been contributed by other cities.³⁹ A good deal of the money donated during this and the following two years came from towns of Switzerland and Germany—Rolle, Basel, Zürich, Neuchatel, Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Stuttgart, Frankfurt-on-Main, Strasbourg, Bonn, Heidelberg, Coblenz, Bremen, Darmstadt, Crefeld, and others. Without the stimulus of the example of the citizens of Geneva and of Eynard it is doubtful whether any such amounts as those forthcoming could have been secured. At times the Geneva committee was given carte blanche for the disposal of the money, with requests for reports, and at

³⁹ Rothpletz, E., *Der Genfer Jean Gabriel Eynard als Philhellene*, 1821-1829, Zürich, 1900, 44.

others specifications were made, such as the relief of Messalonghi, or the redemption of enslaved Greeks. 1826 was the most active year, but in 1827 and 1828 collections continued. A few additional figures will suggest the extent of the subscriptions raised in 1826 Lausanne, 60,000 francs; Zürich, 25,931 francs 49 centimes; from the town itself and 7,505 francs from country places; Neuchatel, 4,000 francs; Berlin, 300,000 francs especially for the purchase of food supplies and enslaved Greeks and during 1827 an additional 335,000 francs; the committee in Munich under the auspices of King Louis, who gave 43,097 francs in person, 149,000 francs; Brussels to the end of 1827 over 35,000 francs; and The Hague, 21,000 francs—in all about 2,500,000 francs to the middle of 1827. Many friends of Greece in Sweden, Denmark, and Russia came together and some of the money was sent through Eynard, who travelled frequently from country to country and even subscribed himself in order to encourage further endeavour. A device carefully planned by Eynard and recommended by him to numerous cities brought in large sums. It was a campaign in which the city in question was divided into areas with local teams; a large number of subscribers were urged to give a few sous weekly. Not all the cities adopted the suggestion, but it was highly successful where tried and brought in a steady flow of money for about eighteen months. Bern forbade a public appeal on behalf of the weekly subscriptions for fear of offending the Holy Alliance, but consented when requested by Eynard to allow the private distribution of circulars.⁴⁰ Paris refused to undertake the weekly subscriptions since many of the members of the committee there resented what they considered as unwarranted assumption of authority on the part of Eynard. Co-operation with him was not always smooth, since they claimed that he was diverting to the Geneva funds money which should have been distributed through them.

It was feared by the European committees that money sent to Greece would fall into the hands of certain lavish Greek chieftains and be wasted, so most of it was spent on food and other supplies. During the early part of 1826 solicitude for Messalonghi concentrated most efforts on the relief of that beleaguered city and large quantities of food and munitions were ordered to be sent there through three reliable Greek mercantile houses: Stefano in Zante, Jerostathy in Korfu, and Semiani in Ancona. About 108,000 francs worth of these reached Messalonghi by careful evasion of the Turks before the town fell, and when that happened

⁴⁰ Rothpletz, E., *Eynard*, 43.

the foresight of Eynard had planned the diversion of other supplies on the way to the Greek Government.⁴¹ At the same time other shipments were dispatched to that government for distribution among other needy parts of the Greek population, while money was contributed for the equipment of ships and expeditions. When the British Admiral Cochrane left for Greece in 1827 he was given a brig laden with provisions and materials calculated to last four months. Again this was due chiefly to Eynard, who was keenly aware of the weaknesses of the Greek navy and their need for vessels; he collected in all about 269,000 francs—80,000 from Paris, 140,000 francs from himself and other private sources, and 49,000 francs from London.⁴² In a letter to Sir James Mackintosh, intended to stimulate the flagging interest of the English, Eynard stated that besides the support given to Cochrane, that between January and June, 1827, several cargoes had been sent to the naval committee, a considerable sum was dispatched to pay crews and for other needs, another sum to pay troops embarked on Cochrane's vessels for special purposes, money for powder, balls, and other munitions, shoes and money to the other committee for the land forces,⁴³ and money and provisions for starving families. He estimated that more than 900,000 francs in specie had been sent in addition to the provisions, which included, he thought, enough bread and munitions to last until the end of August.⁴⁴

It was necessary to exert great precaution in the reception and distribution of money and supplies in Greece on account of the Turks, party strife, and lack of centralised authority. The two commissions referred to in the above letter were appointed to sit at Nauplia and Poros, the first for the benefit of the army and civil population and the second for the navy. Eventually both were combined at Nauplia, as a town less subject to danger and intrigue than Poros. They were appointed chiefly with the consent of the Geneva and Paris committees and at the request of Lord Cochrane; their members were both Greeks and other Europeans—Colonel Heideck, German, M. Baille, French, M. Gosse, a Swiss physician, M. Xeno, a Greek merchant, and the three

⁴¹ Rothpletz, E., *Eynard*, 33.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 52.

⁴³ For money and supplies sent to General Church, see the *Papers of Sir Richard Church*, vol. 4, 33, letters from Viaro Capodistrias to Church and Jerostathy in 1825 and 1827 concerning funds for the army, largely handled by Eynard.

⁴⁴ *The Times*, 12 June, 1827.

admirals Cochrane, Miaulis and Tombasis.⁴⁵ Through the efforts of these committees European Philhellenism was more effective after 1826 than before, when efforts lacked concentration and direction.

Up to 1 June, 1826, 3,376,231 pounds of flour, zwieback, rice, corn, cheese, and 150,000 pounds of powder and lead were sent. Yet in 1827 the resources of the committees were considerably strained when the siege of Athens was in progress. Colonel Heideck wrote in despair: "All our resources are exhausted; I have advanced my last dollar; our Committee is in debt. We no longer know how to bear up under the evils which begin to overwhelm us." Eynard replied that the situation would be relieved, since he counted on 515,000 francs being at the disposal of the local committee by 1 June, and ten ships were being dispatched, loaded with maize, flour, and other provisions from Ancona, wheat from Odessa, powder and coals from London, bullets and sail cloth from Leghorn.⁴⁶ The year 1828 saw a decrease of contributions, as the charity of Europe was well nigh exhausted, but some Continental committees, such as those of Bern, Berlin, Geneva, Paris, continued to function and King Louis of Bavaria had not lost heart. The Treaty of London in 1827 leading to the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 replaced private intervention by governmental, and the remaining Philhellenes laid down their tasks with a sigh of relief.

VIRGINIA PENN.

⁴⁵ Rothpletz, E., *Correspondence entre deux philhellenes*, passim; Rothpletz, E., Eynard, 60-67, *Papers of Sir Richard Church*, vol. 25, 145, for accounts of General Church.

⁴⁶ *The Times*, 14 August, 1827.

MYKHAILO DRAGOMANOV AND THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

ON 20 June, 1935, fell the fortieth anniversary of the death of Michael Dragomanov, the well-known Ukrainian scholar and politician, who exercised a great influence on the development of the Ukrainian national movement in Russia and, to a considerable extent, also in Austria, from the last decade of the 19th century down to the Revolution of 1917. In order to understand Dragomanov's exact place in the history of the Ukrainian movement, it is necessary to evoke, however briefly, the historical surroundings in which Dragomanov grew up and worked.

He was born in 1841, in a well-to-do country family belonging to the landed gentry in the province of Poltava, much in the same environment as his famous fellow-countryman Gogol. The provinces of Poltava and Chernigov, which only shortly before constituted the so-called "Hetmanshchina," were the only part of the Ukrainian territory which enjoyed, to the end of the 18th century, a political autonomy with the elected Hetman at its head, its own army, administration and finances. Though the Russian Government, taking advantage of the unsuccessful rising of Mazepa, curtailed this autonomy systematically and reduced Ukraine, at the end of the 18th century, to the status of an ordinary Russian province, the country retained for quite a long time its distinctive character of life, its old traditions and, above all, its old culture, which even at the end of its autonomous period stood so high, compared with that of Russia as reformed by Peter the Great, that British travellers, for instance, were unanimous in praising it and comparing it to the conditions of life in a contemporary English province.¹ The ruling classes of the Ukraine of the Hetmans, the old Cossack nobility, not satisfied with their own very good schools (the Academy in Kiev, and colleges in Chernigov, Pereyaslav and Kharkov) sent their sons to West European Universities, while common people had schools and "hospitals" for poor and orphans in every village. The famous Academy in Kiev was a centre from

¹ Joseph Marshall in his *Travels in the years 1768-1770*, London, 1772, and especially Ed. Dan Clarke, who travelled in Ukraine in 1799 and gave a description of his stay there in his *Travels in various countries of Europe, Asia and Africa*, London, 1811.

which the culture radiated not only to the Ukrainian provinces under Russia and Poland, but to the whole East of Europe and the Christian Balkans. Ukraine furnished to Russia teachers, bishops and high officials : it is enough to recall here the names of Theophan Prokopovich and Stephen Yavorsky, who led the Russian Church during the reign of Peter I, Alexis and Cyril Razumovsky, Count Zavadovsky, Count Hudovich, Prince Bezborodko, Troshchinsky, and Prince Kochubey, who acted as advisers to the Russian Tsars, from Elizabeth to Alexander I.

But while absorbing the cultural forces of Ukraine for the use of the Russian Empire, the Russian Government endeavoured to assimilate Ukraine and reduce it to the level of other Russian provinces. The economic independence of Ukraine was systematically destroyed by cutting the country from direct intercourse with abroad and turning it into a colonial market for the new Muscovite industry. Along with administrative centralisation, the Russian Government attempted a cultural assimilation of Ukraine. The first victims of this policy were the Ukrainian Church and Ukrainian schools. The pulse of the national Ukrainian life visibly weakened ; and only ethnographers and antiquaries, true to the fashion brought over from Western Europe with Romanticism, tried to rescue and preserve for posterity the traces of ancient traditions, especially the folklore.

It seemed that the Ukrainian nation was condemned to disappear from the pages of history and to be assimilated by the Russian nation. That it was not so, is due in the first place to the influence of Western European ideas—of Romanticism, with its interest in the common people, of Liberalism, of the ideas of political and social emancipation which gradually spread among the cultured representatives of the Ukrainian gentry and came in contact with the still slumbering nation and historical traditions. These two currents met and helped each other to produce what is known as the Ukrainian renaissance. Its components were in the first place members of the Ukrainian aristocracy, while its outward expression was modern Ukrainian literature which made use of the popular idiom—the *Travestied Æneid* of Ivan Kotlyarevsky (1789)—as opposed to the artificial learned language saturated with Latin and Church-Slavonic words and expressions, and also the development of historical and ethnographical studies. The period of the Napoleonic wars, and of the upheavals connected with them, revived the political aspirations of the Ukrainian aristocracy. In the first two decades of the 19th century Ukraine was

covered with a network of secret political societies, Masonic lodges which were in close relations with similar societies in Russia and Poland. The reaction which followed the failure of the Decembrist rising of 1825 and the suppression of the Polish insurrection of 1830-1831, also subdued the Ukrainian separatists. The final equalisation of the Ukrainian aristocracy in rights and privileges with the Russian quieted down the Ukrainian Fronde, but did not put a stop to the Ukrainian national movement. The leading part in the national life passed from the aristocracy to a new social class which received in Russia the general name of "intelligentsia," and which consisted of the "déclassé" elements of the same aristocracy, of state officials, of persons exercising liberal professions and representatives of the clergy and, later on, of the peasants in so far as they succeeded in obtaining education and reaching a higher social level. This class, similar to the Western European "bourgeoisie," was distinguished by its tendency towards democratic reforms and general political and social emancipation. The specific political conditions in Russia contributed to the rapid radicalisation of the Russian as well as the Ukrainian "intelligentsia." Their interests and aims being rather similar, though in Ukraine the national element was naturally stronger, they joined their efforts. Soon, however, there manifested themselves great divergences due to the different psychology and different national and cultural traditions of the Russians and the Ukrainians.

The programme of this phase of development of the Ukrainian national movement is embodied in the statutes of the "Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius" in Kiev (1846-1847). It dreamed of a free federation of all Slavonic peoples and put forth, as the practical aim, propaganda of a social and cultural emancipation of the popular masses. The chief interpreter of the ideas of the Brotherhood was Shevchenko, a poet of genius, himself a liberated serf. His "Kobzar" (1841) remains to this day a national poetical Gospel of the Ukrainians. The Russian Government lost no time in putting an end to this movement. From that time began the persecution of the Ukrainian national movement by the Russian Imperial government which, with short intervals, lasted until the Revolution of 1917.

This persecution forced the Ukrainian patriots to look to the Russian liberal and revolutionary movements for help. At the time of the general political revival following the Crimean defeat, the Ukrainians worked hand in hand with representatives of liberal Russia. The Russian "intelligentsia" of Moscow and St. Peters-

burg received with enthusiasm the Ukrainian poet Shevchenko on his return from exile in the Caspian desert, as a martyr for freedom. The best Russian publicists and journalists, such as Aksakov, Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky in Russia, and Herzen in his *Kolokol* in London, wrote on behalf of the Ukrainians, defending their right to use the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian literature. Turgenev translated into Russian the Ukrainian stories of Maria Markovich (Marko Vovchok). The well-known Russian revolutionary Bakunin declared that, as the Ukrainians would probably form an independent nation of 20 millions they could, of course, enter into an alliance with either Poland or Russia, whichever they chose, but that they must remain independent of the hegemony of either of them.²

The Ukrainians' own aspirations at that time were very modest. The well-known Ukrainian historian Kostomarov, in his letter to Herzen published in *Kolokol* (No. 61, 1860), wrote that the Ukrainians were grateful to Alexander II for his intention of abolishing serfdom, and merely wished that it should be complete, embodying all political and social rights for the peasants and removing all obstacles in the way of the development of the Ukrainian language and its use in schools. "More than that," wrote Kostomarov, "we do not expect for ourselves, beyond the wishes that we have in common with the whole of Russia." In the review *Osnova* published in 1861-62 in St. Petersburg by former members of the "Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius," the Ukrainians did not go beyond these modest wishes, and the entire activity of the Ukrainian patriots was concentrated on the organisation of Ukrainian schools and the development of Ukrainian literature.

The general reaction produced in Russia by the Polish rising of 1863 also dealt a heavy blow to the Ukrainian national movement. The Russian Government, urged by its chauvinistic press, saw the spectre of Ukrainian separatism as a result of a "Polish intrigue." In 1863 it was forbidden to teach Ukrainian in the schools, and to print Ukrainian school-books or popular books for uneducated people. Even the Ukrainian translation of the Bible was forbidden. Numerous Ukrainians in Kharkov, Poltava and Chernigov were arrested and sent into exile to the Northern provinces of Russia. The result of these repressions was only that the more active elements among the Ukrainians joined the ranks of Russian revolutionary parties, in the hope that general political freedom in Russia would

² Letters of M. A. Bakunin to A. I. Herzen and N. P. Ogarev, Geneva, 1896, page 431.

also bring national freedom to Ukraine. In the persons of Lyzohub, Kybalchich, Zhelyabov, Kravchinsky and many other well-known members of the revolutionary party "Narodnaya Volya," the Ukrainian intelligentsia paid a heavy tribute to the Russian revolutionary movement. At the same time, deprived of legal possibilities of developing their national culture within the bounds of the Russian Empire, the Ukrainians transferred the centre of their literary and national activities to the neighbouring Galicia, where, under the protection of the Austrian Constitution, it was possible to publish Ukrainian books, and to found literary and scientific societies with the help of the local Ukrainian population. After ten years of reaction, the Ukrainian national movement once more raised its head in Kiev.

It was at this period that on the arena of the Ukrainian national life appeared a young professor of History in the University of Kiev, who had already travelled all the way from cosmopolitan Liberalism of the usual Russian type to Ukrainian nationalism, based on the Western European ideas of general progress. Dragomanov often emphasised in his autobiography the fact that one of his uncles had been a member of the secret society of "United Slavs" in the first quarter of the 19th century. His father, who had spent 24 years in St. Petersburg, knew French and English well enough to be able to translate French and English poets, and held opinions that were "a mixture of Christianity, 18th century philosophy, Jacobinism and democratic Cæsarism." Thus Dragomanov inherited liberal and humanitarian ideas which later on underlay his political "Weltanschauung." These ideas were strengthened in him during his school-time in Poltava under the influence of Liberal teachers, who succeeded in implanting in him not only a taste for historical studies, but also the love of political freedom and hatred of social iniquity. On the other hand, Dragomanov grew up under the influence of Ukrainian surroundings in the little provincial town of Gadyach. National Ukrainian traditions, Ukrainian language, Ukrainian folk-songs, folk-tales, legends, festival rituals—all this gave him a thorough knowledge and understanding of Ukrainian folklore and ethnography, which helped him in his subsequent scientific studies in this domain. The happy harmony of family surroundings and school influence, so rare in the life both of Ukrainians and of Russians, left its imprint on Dragomanov's moral and intellectual personality: his clear and wholesome mind, free from complexes, from the introspective indecision and inward

disharmony that were the curse of generations of Russians. He entered life with a healthy, well-balanced and harmonious nature. At the beginning, as we have said, the cosmopolitan turn of mind, in its common Russian variety, predominated. Even though he admired Shevchenko, his ideal was Herzen with his *Kolokol*, and he preferred Walter Scott's historical tales to those of Kulish. As distinct from most of his countrymen, Dragomanov came to embrace the cause of Ukrainian nationalism not through theoretical and speculative considerations or emotions, but in trying to meet the practical necessities of the Ukrainian popular masses.

As a student of Kiev University, Dragomanov took an active part in the organisation of the so-called "Sunday Schools" for town workers. Because pupils of these schools knew no other language than the Ukrainian, it was necessary to teach them in their own language, and compile Ukrainian school-books for them. Nominated in 1863 docent of History in the University of Kiev, Dragomanov divided his time between his historical studies and his pedagogical and journalistic activities. At that time was inaugurated in Ukraine the "zemstvo," or local elected self-government. Among other things it had to build up a system of elementary schools for the population. The question arose, in what language should this elementary instruction be carried on, in Russian, only partly understood by the population, or in Ukrainian? The question was taken up by the Press and debated at length. Dragomanov wrote in the papers and reviews of St. Petersburg in defence of Ukrainian, on the ground of educational expediency. This brought him in touch with the Ukrainian patriots in Kiev. At the same time his studies in comparative religion and mythology of the Aryan peoples led him to studies of Slavonic folklore in general and Ukrainian in particular. Together with Professor V. Antonovich he undertook a scholarly publication of Ukrainian historical songs, and in 1874-75 there appeared two volumes which included Ukrainian historical songs to the end of the 17th century. With this publication Dragomanov made his name among European scholars: the *Athenæum* and the *Saturday Review*³ gave the opinion of English scholars, who greeted his books as a valuable contribution to studies in European folklore.

Ukrainian scholars in Kiev had no chance of associating and working under their own colours; so they organised a complete investigation of Ukrainian archæology, philology, folklore, statistics

³ *The Athenæum*, 29 August, 1874, No. 2,444, and *The Saturday Review*, Vol. 39, June, 1875.

and national economy, and art, under the auspices of the South-Western Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in Kiev. In a short time they developed brilliant scientific activity, and could show the results of it to the European scholars assembled in Kiev for the Archæological Congress of 1874. W. R. Morfil in the columns of the *Athenæum* and G. Roleston in the *Saturday Review* gave a high appreciation of the result of this work; and Alfred Rambaud wrote in the *Revue des deux Mondes* that the Ukrainians were "picking up the *membra disjecta* of their nation." Dragomanov was one of the most active members of this learned body. While continuing his work in his own branch of historical research, that of Roman history—*The Position of Women in the First Century of the Roman Empire* (1870), *Tacitus and Roman History* (1871)—he published at the same time, besides the two volumes of *Ukrainian Historical Songs*, a volume of *Ukrainian Folk Legends and Tales* (1876) and a whole series of studies in Ukrainian folklore, literature and history, besides his articles in different reviews in defence of the Ukrainian language and the right of the Ukrainians to use it in schools, in church and elsewhere. During his travels abroad on behalf of his historical studies, Dragomanov met Western European scholars and contracted a lasting friendship with such men as Gaston Paris, W. R. Morfil, De Gubernatis, Elisée Reclus⁴ and others. He began to contribute to French, English and Italian scientific reviews,⁵ writing on Ukraine and its national aspirations. In his own country Dragomanov became, together with Professor V. Antonovich, one of the leaders of the Ukrainian national movement. His political views tended towards a wide decentralisation of the Russian Empire on the basis of national autonomies, a liberal constitution and a parliamentary system. Within the limits of Ukrainian life, Dragomanov stood for a thorough education of the population by means of good schools, good popular books and the development of Ukrainian literature on Western European lines.

The achievements of the Ukrainians in Kiev in the first half of the seventies alarmed the Russian authorities in St. Petersburg, inspired by the reactionary elements from Kiev. It was suggested that the Ukrainian scientific movement involved not only the danger of separatism but also of revolutionary Socialism. Drago-

⁴ The volume *La Russie d'Europe* in the Elisée Reclus' *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, Paris, 1880, contains a contribution by Dragomanov: the statistical, ethnographical and political part of it was written by him.

⁵ *The Athenæum* published his article "Ostap Veresai: The Last Menestrel of the Ukraine," and his reviews of several new books on Ukrainian folklore.

manov became the object of special hatred and denunciations on the part of the reactionary press. As a result of this there was a new wave of repressions: the Kiev Section of the Imperial Geographical Society was dissolved, liberal papers were suspended, and a special decree (1876) forbade the printing of Ukrainian books, Ukrainian performances in theatres, the singing of Ukrainian songs at concerts and the import of Ukrainian books printed in Galicia. These measures were followed by personal persecutions: many Ukrainians were dismissed from posts held by them in the universities or in the state service, and some were banished to remote Russian provinces. Dragomanov was also dismissed from the University and only escaped banishment by leaving Ukraine for abroad. Ukrainian patriots in Kiev entrusted him with the establishment of an Ukrainian review in Europe, to acquaint European public opinion with the aspirations and wrongs of Ukraine. He was promised regular financial help, in addition to the assistance of some Ukrainians who had left the country at the same time. Dragomanov founded an Ukrainian printing office in Geneva and started the review *Hromada*, in Ukrainian, and also issued a series of pamphlets in European languages on Ukraine. In all his publications Dragomanov championed political freedom for Russia and social reforms and national autonomy for the non-Russians of the Empire. He severely criticised the hypocrisy of the Russian policy: "They declare war on the Turks for the 'liberation of the Balkan Slavs' while other Slavonic peoples under Russian rule—Poles, Ukrainians and White Russians—have not the most elementary national rights." Dragomanov was a warm admirer of the British political system, and always said that English democracy, the oldest and the strongest in Europe, should serve as an example to other nations, especially to his own country. Later on, in his lectures at the University of Sofia, he used to say that the future belongs to the British: among the other peoples in the world, the British nation stands out by its love of freedom, its respect of human dignity and its readiness to defend right and law. He also attached much importance to the so-called "zemstvo" in Russia as the first step from local self-government to a sound constitutional and parliamentary system. One of the principal books which he wrote during this period was a monograph entitled *Historical Poland and Russian Democracy* (1882). Here Dragomanov made a critical examination of the revolutionary movements in Russia together with the Polish and the Ukrainian problems and the principle of decentralisation for Russia. This book was followed (1884) by a

programme of political and administrative decentralisation of Russia on the basis of wide local autonomies. This programme was elaborated to the smallest details. He called it "A Free Union (*Vilna Spilka*). An attempt at a political and social programme." At the same time Dragomanov completed his *Ukrainian Historical Songs* by editing in Geneva in 1883-1885 two more volumes, comprising the songs of the 18th and 19th centuries.

While Dragomanov was conscientiously carrying out the task entrusted to him by his political friends in Kiev, and, in doing so, grew more and more radical in his views, the political atmosphere among the Ukrainians underwent a great change. The general political reaction which set in after the murder of the Tsar Alexander II, the breaking up of revolutionary parties, and harsh repressions against Ukrainian national organisations in Kiev, Odessa and other towns, depressed and disheartened the Ukrainian patriots. They lost all hope of attaining anything for Ukraine by way of revolutionary conflict. Some of them, as for instance the old historian Kostomarov, tried to "reconcile" the Russian Government with the Ukrainians, by telling it over and over again, in the columns of different Russian reviews, how unfounded was its fear of Ukrainian patriotism: "All that the Ukrainians wish," he said, "is to be able to develop their literature and to teach the peasants their own language in the elementary schools and in the church." Many Ukrainian patriots, putting aside their political interests, confined themselves exclusively to literary or artistic activity, availing themselves of the temporary relaxation, in the years 1882-84, of the Draconian measures against everything Ukrainian. Under these conditions Dragomanov's activity in Geneva seemed to his former political friends not only unnecessary and undesirable, but actually dangerous, because it provoked and constantly irritated the Russian authorities. Misunderstandings arose between them and Dragomanov, until a complete breach followed (1885). On the other hand Dragomanov did not satisfy the still extant revolutionary elements. He said himself that, though a Socialist in his opinions, he was sure that the realisation of socialist ideals was possible only by gradual development after a high standard of culture had been attained, in other words by evolution and not by means of sanguinary risings. Dragomanov severely condemned the terroristic tactics of the Russian revolutionaries, and was accused by them of being an agent of the Russian government. For a time, owing to all this, Dragomanov felt very isolated and lived in retirement, chiefly engaged in his folklore studies. Some of them were

published in Galicia, others in Kiev, in the review *Kievskaya Starina*—of course under a pseudonym.

Soon, however, he found a new field for his practical activities, to which he was drawn by his nature and his very active temperament. At the end of the seventies he entered into close relations with some Ukrainians from Galicia, mostly young students, and found among them faithful followers and disciples. In his numerous letters and articles in the reviews founded by them, Dragomanov criticised severely the reactionary, inert and superficial nationalism of the then leading Ukrainian political party in Galicia, the so-called "Narodovci." He called for active political work based upon the principles of progress; for the realisation of the constitutional rights which, though existing in theory, practically did not exist in Galicia. He recommended, above all, concentration on the education of the popular masses, mostly peasants, on their organisation and political training. Under his influence and theoretical leadership there was founded in Galicia the so-called Radical Party, which made a great appeal to the peasants and secured the election of representatives both to the local Diet and to the Reichsrat in Vienna. Invited in 1889 to occupy the Chair of History in the University of Sofia, in Bulgaria, Dragomanov continued to influence the Radical Party in Galicia from Sofia, as he had done from Geneva, and to take an active part in the literary and political life of Galicia by contributing to reviews and papers, especially the monthly review *Zhytte i Slovo* founded in Lvov and edited by his pupil, a very gifted Ukrainian poet and scholar, Ivan Franko. At the same time he published his valuable scientific papers on folklore and comparative religion in the *Mélusine*, a French review edited in Paris, and also in the Bulgarian *Sbornik za narodni umotvoreniya*. To this period belongs his book on the history of European Constitutions (*Stari chartii volnostei*), beginning with the English Magna Carta. This book was published both in Ukrainian and Bulgarian.

Dragomanov's books found their way to Ukraine and were very much read, especially by the new generation. The growth of the radical movement in Galicia gave hope and encouragement to this new generation in Ukraine, and they lent their moral and material support to this movement in the hope that national achievements in Galicia would also benefit the Ukrainians in Russia. Some of the older generation of the Ukrainian patriots reproached Dragomanov for his neglect of the nationalistic side of the Ukrainian movement, and accused him of attaching too much importance to mutual relations with the Russians when Dragomanov insisted on

a more intimate contact with the Russian Liberals.⁶ But the young generation from the beginning of the nineties followed Dragomanov, and his influence became decisive in both parts of Ukraine, Austrian and Russian.

Dragomanov was still comparatively young when a grave illness brought him to his grave; he died in Sofia on 20 June, 1895. But he had the great moral satisfaction, shortly before his death, when at the end of 1894 his followers in Galicia celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of his literary activity, of seeing that the whole Liberal Ukrainian "intelligentsia," both in Austria and Russia, unanimously acknowledged him as their leader.

Numerous collective messages, sent from all the more or less important centres of Ukraine by representatives of the younger generation, laid stress on the fact that it was Dragomanov who had "raised the Ukrainian national movement from a purely literary and ethnographical basis to the level of political and social questions, and connected it with the problems of national economy and international justice." "It was Dragomanov," they said, "who declared that the Ukrainian national movement could have no future nor become a political power so long as there was no political liberty in Russia." By political liberty he understood also national liberty for nations other than Russians. Evidently Dragomanov expected the decentralisation of the Russian Empire and the federation of the nations comprising European Russia to benefit the Russians as well.⁷ The part played by Dragomanov in working out a new ideology for this phrase of the Ukrainian national movement is very well expressed in these declarations of his contemporaries.

At the beginning of the 20th century these ideas of Dragomanov were officially accepted by all Ukrainian parties both in Austria and Russia, and formed the basis of their respective political programmes. Autonomy of Ukraine within a Russia reconstructed on the federative basis was proclaimed by the Ukrainian National Fraction in the First and Second Dumas, and it was embodied in the programme of all Ukrainian political parties next to the demand for wide social reforms. The same points were put forward by the Ukrainian Central Rada at the beginning of the Revolution of 1917. On the other hand the Ukrainians in

⁶ They had in mind especially his two books: *Chudatski dumky pro ukrainsku natsionalnu spravu* (1892) and *Lysty na Ukrainu Nadnyprzansku* (1894) in which he maintained that the Ukrainian national movement was cosmopolitan in its aims and national only in its form.

⁷ Pavlyk, M., *M. P. Dragomanov*, Lvov, 1896, pp. 66-ff.

Austria demanded the reconstruction of Austria as a federation of nations on the basis of a stricter observance of the equality of rights, and the unification of Ukrainian territories (East Galicia, Bukovina and Carpathian Russia) into one Ukrainian autonomous land.

The events of 1917 and the Bolshevik movement in Russia mixed up the cards for Ukrainian politicians. New circumstances demanded new solutions. Ukrainians were at once confronted with a double task: that of building up a new Ukrainian State amid a very complicated international situation, and introducing radical social reforms in the conflagration of a revolution unprecedented in history. Destructive Bolshevik currents, spreading at first among the Ukrainian peasants and workmen, paralysed the creative political elements in Ukraine, and these elements succumbed under the wholesale pressure of Red Moscow. Russian federation and social reforms, two important principles advocated by Dragomanov, were realised in a form from which the soberest and most faithful of his followers shrank back with revulsion. After the new Ukrainian State finally succumbed in 1920 in an unequal struggle with the Soviets, there began in the minds of Ukrainians, especially of political emigrants, a deep crisis of political conception, a fundamental re-estimation of values that is still going on to this day. The whole activity of Dragomanov has been subjected to a new critical discussion: he is being severely criticised for his excessive Russophilism; bitter reproaches are heaped upon him for his neglect of the idea of an independent Ukrainian State. But his critics are completely lacking in historical perspective: they commit the error of judging a politician in the light of historical events that took place much later. Dragomanov was, and could not help being, bound up with his time. His political ideas and his work were the result of the preceding evolution of Ukraine in the course of the 19th century. In "accusing" Dragomanov one should therefore "accuse" all his contemporaries, as well as the former generations of Ukrainians who gave up the idea of political independence of Ukraine; but he failed to see the elements which could bring about and maintain that independence. It was Dragomanov's view that even if Ukrainian independence could be brought about by a favourable configuration of outward forces and political events, in order to maintain it the country needed sufficient creative forces; these he failed to see at that time.

True, there were in Dragomanov's teaching and in his work some errors which we see clearly now, and which were also pointed out by some of his contemporaries. Such, for instance, was his preaching

of cosmopolitan ideas in a land and among a people that were bereft of the most elementary national rights. Such was his negative attitude towards the Church and the clergy in Galicia. On the other hand, Dragomanov's political ideas and his activity were imbued with a noble idealism and a deep love of his country and people. His high ethical principles are a peculiar characteristic of his whole personality. "A clean job demands clean hands", "No purpose, however lofty, can excuse foul means"—such were his favourite maxims. In his case these were no mere words, but rules of conduct in public and private life. He demanded the same from his followers and adversaries. His high ethical standard had an extremely valuable educational influence on the Ukrainian national movement, which displayed, at least before the Revolution, an exceptionally high ethical level. All the shortcomings of Dragomanov's political doctrine are explained in the light of his surroundings; and they are redeemed by the services which he rendered to his people and his country, as a champion of political and national emancipation not only of Ukraine, but the whole of Eastern Europe. As a scholar, by his valuable works on folklore and history, he greatly contributed to Ukrainian science and literature, and made his country known to wider circles in Western Europe.

D. DOROSHENKO.

VUK KARADŽIĆ (1787-1864)

VUK STEFANOVIĆ KARADŽIĆ, the energetic reformer of the Serbian alphabet, resolute champion of the national language as the literary language, equally talented as a man and as a writer, and the most notable collector of folk literature, came of an old family of Hercegovina which in the 18th century had settled near Loznica, in Western Serbia, in the same district from which came the family of the famous geographer, Jovan Cvijić.

His education was rudimentary and unsystematic. As a child he had private lessons in his village; he then attended one school after another: private schools, monasteries, and public schools in the neighbouring districts of Austria, but he did not complete a course at any of them, partly on account of ill-health, partly because of the primitive nature of the educational system, and lastly because he was already nearly grown up by the time he attended school in Austria. He began his career as secretary to two leaders of the Serbian revolt against the Turks, which began in 1804, and then, with the little technical knowledge that he had acquired, he became a Governmental official of the newly created Serbian state. When in 1813 the Turks put down the Serbian insurrection, Karadžić, with many other Serbs, emigrated to Austria, and went to Vienna with one of his relatives, who had an important political mission. In this time of trouble fortune was kind to him. He had written an article about the situation in Serbia in 1813 for the one and only Serbian newspaper, which was published at that time in Vienna. This article passed into the hands of the learned Slavist Jernej Kopitar to be censored. Kopitar was a Slovene who, under the influence of the Romanticists, was doing much at that time to further the study of the spoken national language, and was equally interested in national folk literature. Vuk's article, which unfortunately has not been preserved, pleased him, and he came into touch with the young writer. The gifted Karadžić impressed him very favourably. Realising his talents and the acuteness of his intellect, Kopitar himself undertook the difficult task of developing the man and preparing him for intellectual and literary work. In the very first years of their connection, he encouraged him to compile a small grammar of the language spoken by the simple people, and to begin the publication of the popular ballads. From the year 1814, when Vuk's first books were printed, he was entirely under the influence of Kopitar, who developed his ambitions, and brought him into contact with famous *savants* and literary men,

who either came to Vienna or who were interested in the new and interesting material which Karadžić was publishing.

Karadžić, together with Kopitar, engaged in the struggle for the reformation of Serbian orthography, the simplification of the alphabet, and the introduction of the pure national language into Serbian literature, in place of the mixture of the Church Slavonic and Russian languages with Serbian. As early as the year 1818 he published his large Serbian Dictionary, together with which there appeared a grammar of the Serbian language, the first real grammar of the national speech—much better than the small one of 1814 with which Vuk Karadžić began his career, but in which he still adhered to certain old traditions. In many articles and polemics he obstinately and perseveringly defended his main point of view, until he was successful in getting his ideas gradually accepted by the younger intellectual and literary generation. In the year 1847, in his translation of the New Testament, Karadžić showed in a masterly way the beauty and aptness of the national language for literary purposes, and in the same year his young friend and follower, Duro Daničić, later greatly esteemed as a Serbian philologist, published his *War for the Serbian language and orthography*, with which he finally decided the struggle in Karadžić's favour. In 1847 there appeared two other excellent literary works in the national language, the classical *Gorski Vijenac* (The Mountain Garland), by the Montenegrin bishop Petar II Petrović Njegoš, and the fresh lyric poems of Branko Radičević, which in a short time had a very great influence on poetic creations among the Serbs.

Kopitar also interested Karadžić in the collecting and publishing of popular ballads. Because these ballads were sung throughout the whole nation, and because they were distributed by *guslars*, who went from village to village singing them in public places, our people did not regard this task seriously. Even Karadžić regarded it at the beginning merely as a diversion. It was only when these ballads met with such enormous success in the whole of contemporary literary Europe, that he and the Serbian public realised the great importance of his having set himself to this task. When he heard that John Bowring was translating his ballads into English, he was delighted and wrote in 1827: "Can a greater reward for my efforts ever be hoped for?" From the year 1814, when he began the publication of his material, Karadžić produced, during his lifetime, three editions of popular ballads, selected very carefully and judiciously. The first edition appeared in 1814-15, in two volumes, the second in 1823-24, in four volumes, and the third between

1841 and 1862, again in four volumes. A large State edition, with Karadžić's unpublished material and his collections as prepared by a special committee of authorities on the subject appeared in 1891-1902 in nine volumes. After the World War, in the new State issue, 1932-35, these same volumes were again published. In addition to the popular ballads Karadžić published a volume of very entertaining folk tales, and a volume of proverbs and enigmas, which received a very warm welcome from the public. In the manuscripts left by Karadžić a large amount of material for a description of national life was found, with the special committee, under the noted philologist F. Miklošić, published in 1867 in a separate volume: *Life and Customs of the Serbian Nation*.

Karadžić also wanted to write a contemporary history of Serbia. He realised the historical significance of the rising against Turkish rule in 1804, and of all that Serbia had experienced, and he with her; but he was unable to compose it himself. One reason for this was the severity of the censorship both in Serbia and Austria. Karadžić was materially dependent on Prince Miloš Obrenović, who did not allow anything unpleasant to be written about his rule. For this reason Karadžić left certain periods entirely untouched, and in other cases often omitted certain very important details. He had absolutely no historical learning; hence all that he published about the events of the First Insurrection, and about Miloš Obrenović himself, is much more in the nature of memoirs, both from the point of view of its contents and its style of writing. But Karadžić, thanks to his material, enabled the celebrated historian Leopold Ranke to write his inspiring book: *Die Serbische Revolution* (1829), which was extremely successful both in the intellectual world and among the reading public. Karadžić himself published a very interesting historical-ethnographical description of Montenegro in the German language: *Montenegro und die Montenegriner* (1837), and a semi-historical and semi-political work of small dimensions: *Die Christen in Bosnien* (1853).

Both in time and ideas, Karadžić belongs to the period when Serbia was struggling for freedom, from the beginning of the 19th century onwards. He passed his youth amid the movement of liberation from the Turkish yoke, from the physical domination of the foreigner. Later he himself, with that revolutionary instinct that was within him too, was to turn his attention to the new struggle: the freeing of Serbian intellectual life. His struggle against the traditions of the "Slavo-Russo-Serbian" language was, in fact, the bold exploit of a liberator, for which energy and self-

confidence were necessary, and that power of perseverance which is rare among Slavs. The son of a purely peasant country, he grew up with it and breathed its atmosphere, unhampered by the doubtful erudition of the schools of his day, he fought on in the conviction that literature, as a means of education, must serve the whole nation, and has in it its root. That nation itself, by its poetry, had given proof enough that it could appreciate the beauties of literary art, and in the language of that poetry it had expressed its feelings and thoughts with an eloquence that could not be denied.

The chief principle of Karadžić's creative work was "from the nation for the nation." It is strange that our educated class was so long incapable of striking out the right path. Although the 18th century was important as the period of enlightenment; although our people themselves felt keenly the need of intensive work in national education, which had become so backward, yet with regard to many things there was no real understanding among them. Elementary education in Bosnia, Hercegovina, Old Serbia, and Macedonia, which were at that time under Turkish rule, and to a great extent also in Serbia itself and Montenegro, was on an altogether primitive scale; only the Serbs under Austria possessed secondary schools at all, and these were organised on wholly foreign lines. In those days the Serbs were entirely without any higher education. The Serb intelligentsia, educated for the most part in Budapest, Vienna, and in German schools, found that they had to make the difference in their social position apparent not only by their outward mode of life, but also by their language and the kind of books they read. Literature had scarcely any contacts with the common people. The learned Archimandrite Lukijan Mušicki, the "Serbian Horace," a man full of love for his people, nonetheless sang his odes in classical forms, and in a language which was as foreign to the public as all ancient culture is. Although we can understand the difficult position of a poet who wanted to adapt his works in accordance with the models which were then regarded in Europe as the best, yet it seems very strange to us that a man of real intellect should not have felt such an enormous gulf between himself and his people. Even the renowned Serbian rationalist Dositej Obradović had far less influence on wide circles than is generally thought, although he endeavoured to maintain direct contact with the people, and to speak to them in their own language and style. This restrictive influence was above all due to his failure to shake off the bad linguistic traditions of his age. Karadžić was the first to strike the right path. He was the first to make

literature more accessible to the people, and to make the people play their part in its development. When the older biographies wrote of him as the "father of Serbian literature," this was not a mere compliment. It was a literal fact.

Connected inevitably with the question of the literary language were the questions of alphabet and orthography. The Serbian alphabet, tracing its origin to the Old Church Slavonic and Russian alphabets, had a whole collection of letters for which there did not exist (or no longer existed) corresponding sounds in the Serbian language, and which on the one hand complicated spelling, and on the other hand made teaching more difficult. Moreover since the greater part of the people who could read and write had no real education and knowledge, they used these letters at random, and consequently brought about a state of chaos with resulting difficulties in many directions. Karadžić was not the first to feel the need of making a practical examination of the language and rejecting all that was superfluous: nor was he the first to establish the principle of Adelung, "Write as you speak." Many such questions were discussed among scholars at the beginning of the 19th century, and particularly among Slavists. In the correspondence between Dobrovský and Kopitar the subject was often mentioned. But Karadžić was the one and only man among European scholars to pursue the subject systematically and energetically and to achieve his object. In his alphabet every Serbian sound has its own particular symbol: for 30 sounds there exist only 30 letters. For one sound there are never two letters; and no one letter can be pronounced save on strictly phonetic lines. In the struggle that Vuk carried on to effect this reform, he had to contend with many difficulties. He met with less opposition in the matter of the literary language than in that of orthography. The national language of other nations—even of the greatest—had long since asserted itself in their literatures; it had also become established in Slav literatures; and people who watched the development of other literatures were well aware that they could not oppose such a movement with success. For that very reason, however, their opposition towards Vuk's reforms was the more heated. If the introduction of the national language had already separated the Serbs from the Russians, with whom they wished to have as much as possible in common, they did not wish the reformed alphabet and orthography to widen the gulf still further.

This struggle, which was purely one of principles—a literary-philological struggle—from the very beginning acquired a certain

political aspect, more or less disguised, but nevertheless unmistakable. The Serbs distrusted Austria's attitude towards them with regard to religion: during the whole of the 18th century Austria had wished either to convert the Orthodox Serbs to Catholicism or to impose on them ecclesiastical union with Rome; hence the Serbian people had looked more and more to Orthodox Russia for support in order to maintain their religious freedom. Vuk Karadžić's reform seemed dangerous to many people, firstly because it came from Vienna, where he lived most of his life; secondly, because the man who helped and defended him most was Kopitar. For though Kopitar's Slavistic knowledge was esteemed, his motives were suspected: he was considered a zealous Catholic and a good Austrian. When Karadžić took over from the Latin the letter *j*, which had not previously existed in the Cyrillic alphabet, that innocent letter was declared to be the first step in a new attempt to impose Catholic propaganda on the Serbs! In contrast with the radicalism of Kopitar and Karadžić stands the conservatism of the cautious P. J. Šafařík, who though a learned Slavist, and at that time professor and director of the Serbian Lycée in Novi Sad, did not recommend the radical reforms, giving as his reason the fact that he was a Protestant. In actual fact, Šafařík was a man of naturally gentle disposition and did not wish for bitter conflicts. Under such conditions the struggle was not easy. It was obvious from the beginning that the reformers could not meet with immediate success, and they must wait for time to calm the excitement and clear away suspicions and calumnies. Vuk Karadžić was fortunate enough to live to see his work accepted by almost all Serbs, and himself personally freed from that unpleasant campaign.

Though not to the same degree as in the alphabet controversy, Karadžić was a radical reformer in the question of orthography also. It is true that he adopted phonetic spelling, but he did go so far in his application of it as, for example, Professor A. Belić today, and the new official orthography of the Yugoslav Ministry of Education. For example, he did not write *bekstvo* or *voćstvo*, as they do: his reforms were more moderate. Etymological orthography prevailed among the Croats until 1890, but then, chiefly owing to the influence of Prof. T. Maretić, the phonetic system which corresponded to Karadžić's method was officially recognised.

Apart from this struggle for the use of the national language and for the simplified alphabet and orthography, Serbian learning and literature are indebted to Karadžić for another achievement: he was the first of all Southern Slavs to begin a systematic collection

and publication of everything that had been created by the mind of the people. The idea of undertaking this task was not his own, but it was he who conceived it in the right way and made of it part of his life's work. He and his collections become known in Europe at the right moment, when the romantic cult of creative national genius was at its height; and they were dragged into discussions about the character of epic poetry and the origin of the Homeric epics, as a kind of discovery. They appeared, moreover, at the moment when, on account of the risings that had begun in the Balkans, firstly the Serbian, and then Greek and Albanian, the interest of Europe, satiated with the Napoleonic struggle, had begun to turn to the Balkan Peninsula. The Serbian popular ballads were not only an exotic form of literature and a new contribution towards the solution of the problem of epic poetry, but an extraordinarily interesting literary branch, amazing in their wealth of motives, force of diction, and the warmth with which each heroic action is described. The greatest figures in contemporary literary Europe became interested in this branch of our literature, beginning with Goethe, Walter Scott, Merimée, Pushkin, Mickiewicz, and many others. By his work and success, Karadžić inspired similar activity in other countries, and in particular in progressive circles in Bohemia and Poland; and among the South Slavs he became an undisputed model. Slovenes, Croats and Bulgarians freely recognised him as such, and rightly. Nothing would be more unjust than to imply that Karadžić was only indirectly responsible for the success of the popular ballads. It is true that his merit is due primarily to the fact that he brought this rich national material to light, and that afterwards it spoke for itself; but one must not think that Karadžić was merely a collector. He has had many successors in the task of collecting and publishing national ballads, but, according to general opinion, not one of the new collections has the same value as his—and this simply because nobody has had, as Karadžić had, the genuine gift of selection and his critical eye. There are many subjects, for example that of the ballad about Saint Sava becoming a monk, which he says he heard or even took down in notes, but which he had not yet come across in the form of a good ballad. A talented man, and himself a man of the people, he had a real fellow-feeling for the national creative instinct, and did not allow himself to be deceived, as other collectors were later, into thinking that he should take for national everything that was created by more than one man, or which was not yet polished by fairly long usage.

Modern Serbian literature was even more indebted to Karadžić.

If he was not actually the creator of Serbian prose, he at least gave it new life. The old Serbian literature, of exclusively ecclesiastical origin, had prose which, formed on Byzantine models, appeared interesting enough, but which was too artificial and had no real influence on prose outside the church. In Serbo-Croat mediæval literature, which developed chiefly in Dubrovnik and on the Dalmatian coast, prose was the least cultivated and certainly the weakest branch of writing. Serbian prose of the 18th century suffered on account of the incorrectness of the language and a tone not properly adjusted towards the public. Today, when we read the writers of that period, we always have the impression of something unnatural and badly composed; we seem to see a cassock beneath which peasants' leggings have been pulled on, and over all some old stained tail-coat. Karadžić was the first to begin to write naturally, fluently, purely, without pose, without false elegance, without affectation. Such prose has its own beauty of style, and that by no means small. Thus his narrative is broad, and typical of the intelligent peasant, its logical connection is excellent, it is plastic, picturesque and direct, and runs smoothly on, with no sudden and jarring turns. Even today, after a whole century, it retains its freshness. Professor T. Maretić, of Zagreb, based his *Gramatika i Stilistika Hrvatskoga ili Srpskoga Književnog Jezika* (Grammar and Style of the Croat or Serb Literary Language) (1899) principally on Karadžić's writings.

Karadžić performed yet another service to the nation. Even more important than the success of the national poetry was the fact that he inspired the Serbs with self-confidence, and opened the eyes of the intelligentsia, who had been educated in foreign countries and had acquired an inexplicable lordly disdain for the simplicity of the common people. The success of the peasant revolution in Serbia in the struggle against the Turks, and the success of the popular ballads, caused the peasant element to be regarded with greater esteem, and bore witness to the new orientation in Serbian political and intellectual life. By the cult of national poetry, rich in examples of the notable exploits and heroic self-sacrifice Karadžić brought to life at the same time the veneration of these examples of manliness and heroism. The greatest Yugoslav literary and artistic works of recent times were inspired by the study of his collections—notably Mažuranić's *Death of Smail-Aga Čengić*, Njegoš's *Mountain Garland*, Meštrović's temple of Kosovo, and many others.

The reading of Karadžić's works brought together, at the dawn

of 19th century nationalism, the greatest men of our whole nation. The nationalism of the leader of the Croat renaissance, Ljudevit Gaj, first developed in Graz in a circle inspired by Karadžić's works, above all, by the national ballads. Karadžić was held in high esteem by the Croats. The poet Stanko Vraz, a Slovene by origin, the foremost critic among the supporters of the Illyrian movement, wishing to dedicate one of his works to a famous Slav, decided in 1839 in favour of Karadžić, judging his name to be the "most brilliant." When Gaj introduced the *što*-dialect in his periodical *Danica*, Karadžić welcomed the step, realising its national importance and deciding that only "by this means can we be united." With one literary language and one literary spelling the Serbs and Croats would form the basis of becoming one nation "like the Germans of Roman and Lutheran doctrine." But, like his friend Kopitar, Karadžić did not support the Illyrian movement, whose aim was to include all the Southern Slavs under that ancient name, which Napoleon had revived in a political sense when he formed in 1809 *Les Provinces Illyriennes*. In Karadžić Serbian feeling was stronger than that of this new union, in which, according to his opinion, the name of Serbia would disappear.

On his journey through Croatia in 1838 he wrote to his friend Kopitar: "In Zagreb the enthusiasm among the Illyrians is very great; much greater than their intelligence." It seemed a romantic aspiration rather than an actual fact. He was, however, quite ready to co-operate with them: he made preparations to compile a new alphabet in Latin characters, changing some letters of which he did not approve (č ć ž š ě), and in the periodical *Kolo* he published his letter to the Croat philologist Vjekoslav Babukić about the question of orthography. In 1850 eight distinguished writers and philologists, Serb, Croat and Slovene—J. Kukuljević, D. Demeter, J. Mažuranić, V. Pacel, F. Miklošić, S. Pejaković, and D. Daničić, collaborated with Karadžić to draw up rules for a uniform system of orthography in the Serbo-Croat language, starting from the idea "that a single nation must have a single literature." Karadžić, being considered the greatest authority on the language, was chosen to form these rules, and they were accepted.

It must, however, be acknowledged that Karadžić, as an ardent Serb, did an injustice to the Croats, although unintentionally. In the Serbo-Croat language the interrogative-relative pronoun *quid* appears as *što*, *ča* and *kaj*, and the three chief dialects are accordingly divided into the *što*-dialect, the *ča*-dialect, and the *kaj*-dialect. The territory where the *ča*-dialect is spoken is identical with that

which the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos allotted to the old Croatian state in his work : *De administrando imperio*. For this reason Karadžić assumes that the Croats only speak the *ča*-dialect, and all who speak the *što*-dialect are Serbs; while he counts the people who speak the *kaj*-dialect as Slovenes. This point of view, although narrow, could be defended to a certain extent because of the fact that the historical boundaries correspond to the linguistic ones, and it would probably not have met with such bitter protests from the Croats if Karadžić had not given his article the title : *Srbi svi i svuda* (Serbs all and everywhere), and if he had not told those Croats who did not speak the *ča*-dialect that they "had no national name," and that they would gradually grow accustomed to adopting the name of Serbian. This looked like some sort of open national propaganda directed against the Croats, and it wounded many of them deeply. Even today it is not quite forgotten : Karadžić is often regarded by the Croats as the representative of Panserbism, and in Serbo-Croat polemics, which were frequent and bitter in the second half of the 19th century, and sometimes at the beginning of this century, his name is mentioned indignantly by the Croats in this connection. Karadžić attempted in 1861, in another article, *Serbs and Croats*, to explain his point of view. He did not enter into political considerations, but on the basis of linguistic (and insufficient) facts, he again asserted that only those who spoke the *ča*-dialect could with "justice" call themselves Croats, and those who spoke the *kaj*-dialect were "those who had already grown accustomed to that name." If that linguistic division should not be accepted, then, said Karadžić, a division based on religion could be established; all those of the Orthodox religion should call themselves Serbs, and all Catholics Croats. Many of our philologists have studied the theoretical side of this question, and some of them, men of great authority, at one time supported the same theory as Karadžić (Miklošić, Daničić, Rešetar), while the new theory of Jagić's school, which examined these questions with fuller material and on a broader basis, did not gain acceptance. From the practical point of view, however, things have worked out in favour of one of Karadžić's alternatives. Today, apart from small exceptions in Dubrovnik and Kotor, the Serbs and Croats are actually divided according to religion : the Catholics are Croats and the Orthodox are Serbs. It is almost ironical that the only official organisation to bear the name of Yugoslav is that of the Moslems of Bosnia and Hercegovina, who are conscious of their Slav origin, but who as a whole do not

wish to be called either Serbs or Croats. In the general situation in the kingdom of Yugoslavia the earlier rôles have now been reversed. Previously the Serbs, with Karadžić, held back from adopting the name "Illyrian" and Illyrian ideology, fearing that their name "Serbian" might disappear in that general title; today a great many Croats proclaim their national Croat individuality, in order that it may not be lost in the general term "Jugoslav."

One hundred and fifty years have passed since Karadžić was born, and 100 since he was at the height of his achievement. In Serbo-Croat literature, apart from Saint Sava no man has appeared whose work was more fruitful, whose traditions have lasted longer, and who, despite so many obstacles, has gained wider recognition. His victory was indeed the victory of the national idea, expressed through the language and the national spirit. This victory of the national idea brought with it, in the 19th century the century of Romanticism, the first triumphs of reviving Serbian nationalism. Karadžić's work and achievements are today common national property. The Serbs today, without exception, write in his alphabet and have the satisfaction of seeing that both Russians and Bulgarians, in their efforts to simplify their orthography and alphabet are partly inspired by his example. The national language is incontestably the literary language; only in place of the southern dialect in which Karadžić wrote, more and more ground is being gained by the eastern dialect, to which that famous critic Jovan Skerlić in 1913 wished to give the final victory. The southern dialect is now used exclusively only by the Croats, who have adopted it mainly through books, and a small part of the Serbs from the provinces of Bosnia, Hercegovina and Montenegro. Karadžić's collections of national folk literature are read more than any others even today, and have not been replaced.

Karadžić never had more than a school education, and he was never erudite, but he did more than any academic society for Serbian literature and for the whole of Slav learning. In Dubrovnik in the 18th century there existed complete little academies for the cultivation of the language, imitated from Italian models; but all of them together did not achieve as much as he alone. It is evident that neither would Karadžić have achieved these results if fortune had not brought him into contact with Kopitar in Vienna, and if he had not found in him a teacher, friend and co-operator. The combined efforts of these two men created works unparalleled in the history of the Balkan and Slav nations.

V. ČOROVIĆ.

MAXIM KOVALEVSKY

Maxim Kovalevsky was typical of much of the best of his time. A recognised European scholar, one of the leaders of liberal thought, he held in many ways a central place in the public life of his country, and played his part as one of the eminent figures in that period which saw the institution of the Duma.—ED.

AMONG the political and social figures that moved in the life of Imperial Russia in the last twenty years Professor Maxim Kovalevsky was a most outstanding figure and held a very special position. Comparing the place of Turgenev with the role played by Maxim Kovalevsky in the work of the union and mutual understanding of Russia and the West, Professor V. Speransky said: "Just as Turgenev remained to his dying day the acknowledged ambassador of Russian public opinion at the court of European culture, so Kovalevsky at the height of his public life became the acknowledged representative of western civilisation in his native land."

Kovalevsky was well fitted to be a worthy representative of his country. He was an academician, a university professor (first in Moscow, then in St. Petersburg), a professor of the Polytechnical Institute, a member of the Duma as well of the Council of State, editor and publisher of the long-established magazine *Vestnik Evropy* (Messenger of Europe) and the newspaper *Strana* (Country). He has more than a hundred and fifty scholarly works, books and monographs to his credit and he played a leading part in the most varied progressive Russian organisations. He was a very popular figure in Russia.

He was well known in Western Europe and was well acquainted with its life. For a long time he lived abroad, gave courses of lectures in several universities, worked in the libraries and archives of the chief centres of learning, was president of the International Institute of Sociology, and was in touch with a number of the most outstanding scholars, politicians and writers, both of the Old and New Worlds. He not only wrote in Russian, but also in English, German, French, Swedish and Italian, and always used first-hand local materials and sources. It was not in vain that the well known French sociologist, René Worms wrote in his obituary of him: "In all his work Kovalevsky approached the study of phenomena from the historical point of view, and, holding in mind the farthest phase of evolution, he strove to make clear in the

most careful way the forms and stages of its development. He had a philosophical mind, formed in the school of the positive philosophy of Auguste Comte; but its realistic bent was at the same time impregnated with idealism. In the eyes of the West—in Europe as in America—Kovalevsky in his own personality represented Russian learning in the field of social study; on the other hand, in Russia, he represented the best of western European thought in the same field. In this way," ends Worms, "Kovalevsky was a connecting link between two worlds—the Western and the Eastern."

I.

What were the conditions which produced such a unique, "universal" personality among the Slavs? Maxim Kovalevsky belonged by birth to an aristocratic and wealthy Ukrainian family. Having private means, it was not necessary for him to earn a living, and therefore he was not bound to work under the orders of others and was not moulded by external influences alien to his own nature. Though far from doctrinaire or sectarian, he deliberately kept apart from definite political parties and circles. By nature a typical individualist, he was thus able to preserve and develop his own personal talents and achieve to the full during his life that which so few succeed in achieving—spiritual freedom. Independence of mind and spirit was one of Kovalevsky's characteristic traits.

In 1873 having passed out of the University of Harkov, Kovalevsky remained there, attached to the Faculty of Law, and set about equipping himself as fully as possible for an academic post. First he went to Germany and in the University of Berlin attended the lectures of the famous Professor Gneist, Professor Nitzsch, Brunner and Adolf Wagner; then he went to France and in Paris worked at the Sorbonne, and attended the lectures of Edouard Laboulaye in the Collège de France; and of E. Boutmis and P. Jannet in the École des Hautes Études, and studied methods of historical research under the guidance of Professor Boutaric in the École des Chartes. After that he travelled to London where he worked in the British Museum and in government archives for his thesis on unpublished papers and protocols on cases relating to inheritance in the 12th to 14th centuries. He had an introduction to John Lewis in London from Professor Vyruhov—a positivist, living as an emigrant in Paris and publishing the *Journal of Positive Philosophy*. He easily settled down in London, made some very interesting contacts, and, having joined

the Athenæum, obtained a definite standing. In his hitherto unpublished memoirs, which I possess, Maxim Kovalevsky with a delicate keenness of observation and his own special humour, gives the characteristics of those whom he visited in London. He talks of his acquaintance with the writer George Eliot and the poet Browning, the philosopher Herbert Spencer, Sir Henry Maine, Karl Marx, Olga Novikov, Frederick Harrison and others. The result of his academic work in London was his masterly thesis: "The History of Police Administration and Police Courts in English Shires," and his doctor's thesis on "The structure of society in England at the end of the Middle Ages," for which he received the title of Doctor of Constitutional Law. In 1880 Kovalevsky, then twenty-eight, became a Professor at the University of Moscow.

His subsequent life can be divided into three periods spent in Moscow, abroad and in St. Petersburg, which give the key to an understanding of his special position in public life as a kind of "arbiter." He passed the first ten years (1877-1887) in Moscow. I entered the University of Moscow in 1885; by that time the personality of Maxim Kovalevsky had become well defined, and he was acknowledged by all as a first-class European scholar and an excellent lecturer. There was not a single lecture-room in Moscow University which could hold his audience, and he had to deliver his lectures in the great hall. His lectures on the comparative study of foreign legislature were attended not only by students of law but by students of philology, science and medicine. Kovalevsky already possessed a fully developed manner of delivery which he retained to the end of his life. He spoke clearly and distinctly; his exposition was excellent and often enlivened by wit and humour.

With his professorial activities, Kovalevsky did a great deal of scientific work. He concerned himself with questions of method in scientific historical research, and published a book entitled *The Comparative Historical Method in Jurisprudence, and the approach to the study of the History of Law*. He paid considerable attention to comparative ethnography in relation to law in general and customary law in particular. At this time he was deeply interested in the beginnings of Aryan law, that is, in ascertaining the order of the emergence of ancient legal institutions. To fill up the gaps and examine disputed points was possible, according to Kovalevsky, by a detailed knowledge of the customary law of such Aryan nationalities as, like the Ossets, had up to the present time preserved in their customs many traces of the stages of development through

which they had passed. What could not be learned from ethnographical research, would have to be ascertained by a study of the comparative history of Aryan legislature. For this purpose Kovalevsky made a number of journeys to the Caucasus, to Ossetinia, Mingrelia, Georgia and Daghestan, taking notes of national legal customs and making himself thoroughly familiar with those of the Caucasian mountaineers. The voluminous materials collected during these journeys were used in two works which brought their author a great reputation and were translated into foreign languages: *Contemporary custom and ancient law* (2 vols.), and *Law and custom in the Caucasus* (2 vols.). If to these books are added his work on *Primitive Law* and a number of monographs and articles, we shall find we have materials of all kinds on the higher methods used and on questions of parallel research of contemporary national law and early law of ancient times, so far as it is possible to judge of the latter from the evidence that has reached us.

At the same time Kovalevsky interested himself in communal agriculture and published a book *Communal Husbandry, the reasons and consequences of its decline*.

Much of Kovalevsky's time was absorbed in the activities of academic societies: he was, for instance, secretary of the Moscow Juridical and Ethnographical Department of the Society of Amateur Naturalists, Anthropologists and Ethnographers. He also took part in the editing and publishing of the *Legal Herald and Critical Survey*. This journal, aiming at ascertaining by objective criticism the most recent developments in Russian and foreign learning, was, in the words of its editor, "successful in everything except finance," and owing to a deficit it had to be discontinued. For the future historian this journal will be a valuable source of Russian social science. It contained articles by such outstanding scholars as Muromtsev, Korsh, Fortunatov, Storozhenko, Klyuchevsky, and Kareyev.

Kovalevsky was at home on Thursdays. As a genial host he entertained a large circle of friends, professors and acquaintances. Among the writers were Leo Tolstoy, Turgenev, Gleb Uspensky, N. K. Mikhailovsky, P. D. Boborykin, Melgunov, Zlatovratsky, S. A. Yuriev, and members of the editorial boards of *Ruskiya Vedomost*¹ and *Russkaya Mysl*.² Among the professors his closest friends were A. I. Chuprov, I. I. Yanzhul, I. Ivanyukov, Y. Gambarov, V. Miller, the Princes Sergius and Eugene Trubetskoy and Vladimir

¹ The organ of liberal professors of Moscow University.

² At one time the organ of Peter Struve.

Soloyev. Kovalevsky could always start a discussion on some academic or political theme which would be taken up by others, who often expressed authoritative views in free and natural conversation leading to a full and diverse elucidation. Newcomers and foreign scholars and, in general, eminent public men further enlivened these meetings and made them more interesting. I remember the French scholar A. Leroy-Beaulieu, the Scottish Mackenzie Wallace, the Czechs K. Kramář and Thomas Masaryk, and others.

The Ministry of Public Instruction regarded Kovalevsky with suspicion; his critical attitude to the government policy of the time rendered him, in the eyes of the authorities, a "dangerous man." Taking advantage of students' riots, which had been wrongly attributed to his influence, the Ministry forced Kovalevsky to leave the University "as a person opposing the Russian régime."

The dismissal of Kovalevsky aroused great indignation among professors, students and Moscow society. His memory outlived his stay in the University though, for years after, Professor V. Speransky thus describes the almost idolatrous attitude to the absent professor: "For us, the students of Moscow University of the nineties, Maxim Kovalevsky was always a bright, encouraging memory. When our best and leading professors pronounced his name, there was a warm and vibrant note in their voices."

II.

Maxim Kovalevsky spent about seventeen years abroad. He was not an *émigré*, as he lived in exile of his own free will, retaining the right freely to return to Russia; but not being allowed to lecture in any sort of higher educational institution, he felt cut off from his favourite work, and visited his native land only on personal or business matters. Maxim Kovalevsky possessed accomplishments which helped him rapidly to adapt himself to western European life. He wrote and spoke fluently four European languages: English, French, Italian and German, and had some knowledge of Swedish. He had as excellent a knowledge of classical Latin as he had of medieval. I found among his papers manuscripts in the latter written by him in a rapid hand without any alterations. He also had an excellent knowledge of ancient Norman, a language which he found indispensable in his study of old English monuments. His knowledge of languages made it possible for him to deliver lectures in France, England, the United States, Italy and Sweden.

Six months after his dismissal he was invited, at the suggestion

of the well-known Russian mathematician, Sofia Kovalevskaya to deliver a series of lectures in Stockholm on the origin of the family and property. While in Stockholm his relationship to Sofia Kovalevskaya, which at first was merely one of friendship, was strengthened and nearly led to their marriage. This union did not take place, and it is hardly likely that it could have been a happy one, as both had characters of too great individuality and strength.

From Stockholm Kovalevsky was invited to Oxford, where he delivered a course of lectures on the history of Russian law.

At last in 1889 he went to France and acquired a pleasant little villa with a delightful garden in Beaulieu on the shore of the Mediterranean. The surroundings were very pleasant—the town was small and quiet, and having an excellent library near at hand, Kovalevsky was able to work without hindrance. To this period belong his chief works: *The origins of contemporary democracy* (4 vols.), *An Economic History of Europe* (4 vols.), and *From direct rule by the people to national representation*. At the same time Kovalevsky devoted considerable attention to questions relating to sociology as a science—to use the words of Auguste Comte, “of the order and progress of human communities.”

Maxim Kovalevsky was elected to the International Institute of Sociology, became a constant contributor to the *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, and gave material support to this publication. As a result of his interest in sociology, in the most limited sense, appeared his *Contemporary Sociology* and the two volumed *Sociology*.

In his villa at Beaulieu, Kovalevsky offered generous hospitality to his friends and acquaintances, some of whom were even invited there in his absence. In 1898 the writer Chekhov was staying with him and they both sat for the well known painter O. E. Braz. The portrait of Chekhov was presented to the Tretyakov Gallery, while that of Kovalevsky was acquired by me from Braz for the University of Moscow. Representatives of the Russian colony and members of the French academic world used to gather at his Paris home on the Avenue de l'Observatoire. Among his Russian friends was the well known scholar I. I. Mechnikov.

Academic work and lecturing in foreign languages was not enough to satisfy Kovalevsky, and he longed to lecture in Russian to Russians. That is why he threw himself with such energy and pleasure into the work of organising a Russian School of Social Sciences in Paris (1900). The aims of this school were very wide, but the possibility of achieving them was limited. There was

neither a fixed income, nor a staff of professors, nor even a sufficient number of adequately trained students. Frankly speaking, this institution brought him more trouble and worry than satisfaction. At the opening of the school he delivered a speech of thanks and welcome to all who had helped him to found it, and with his peculiarly delicate irony he at the same time thanked all his *rich* friends "for their advice" and all his *poor* colleagues for their material support. Actually, his adherence to this cause was touching—he spend his own money on it, was the person responsible for it to the French authorities, and was the unpaid and permanent lecturer on some subjects which lacked professors. E. de Roberti, Y. Gambarov, E. Anichkov were on the staff.

III.

In 1904 there arose in Russia a strong social movement, a forerunner of the introduction of a constitutional system of government, and Maxim Kovalevsky returned to his own country. He delivered lectures, explaining the meaning of national representation, took part in various conferences and, finally, after the announcement of the Manifesto of 30 October, 1905, he was elected a member of the new Imperial Duma. He entered on a new phase of his life, and during the next ten years he was in the centre of the public life of Russia.

Kovalevsky drew the attention of the First Duma, which was entirely absorbed in home affairs, to foreign policy. "I assume," he said, "that the Duma, as the representative institution of the Russian Empire, cannot ignore its relations to the other nations of Europe, and in its reply to the Emperor's address should give expression to its general opinion as to what foreign policy Russia wishes to follow." This suggestion did not receive the approval of that Duma, but Kovalevsky's attitude on this question and his references to Western European history and legislation made a very pronounced impression on the minds of the peasant members.

Professor V. Kuzmin-Karavayev, who was a member of the First Duma, relates that when suitable candidates for responsible ministerial posts were being discussed, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the only one that was settled unanimously, everybody agreeing: "Who but Maxim Kovalevsky could deal with foreigners."

Kovalevsky was elected to the Council of State³ in 1907 by the Academy of Sciences and the Universities. This part of

³ The Russian Upper House.

Kovalevsky's work has been described in an excellent article by his colleague in that Chamber, the well-known lawyer and academician, A. F. Koni, which appeared in a symposium dedicated to his memory and published by me. He was a very active member. When important legislative projects, discussed in both Houses, came before the legal commission dealing with them, he regularly spoke on behalf of the Left Academic group to which he belonged, and his opinions were very much valued as those of a learned jurist. Memorable were his speeches and explanations on the rights of legislative institutions and the conditions of their work, on relations with Finland, on fines imposed on workmen, on the rights of authors with regard to condemnation and liberation, on agrarian policy and on the relations between Church and State. He supplemented his considerations not only with eloquent examples from history and western legislative systems, but also with his own very interesting comments. In his logical expositions, says A. F. Koni, Kovalevsky invited his hearers "*non indignari, non admirari, sed intelligere.*" "In his speeches you could see his desire to get to the bottom of the problem, to clear it of false appearances which obscured its true character. . . . Legislation has not so much to work on instituting the new, as on the dispersion of old prejudices and errors. An appearance of truth brings more harm than real truth brings good. . . . When called upon to defend some statement not in keeping with the real facts, he condescendingly applied to it the French phrase *une contre-verité.*"

At this time I happened to come into personal contact with Maxim Kovalevsky in connection with the legislative work of the co-ordinating commissions, which had to settle the differences of the Upper and Lower Houses of the Duma, of which I was a member for ten years.

At the same time Kovalevsky returned to academic work. He lectured in Petersburg University, at higher courses for women, in the Polytechnical Institute, and at last was allowed to give a course of sociology at the Psychoneurological Institute. In this period he also published a number of books: *Constitutional Law, A General Study of the State, A History of Political Thought of Modern Times, Genetical Sociology, A History of Great Britain, Democracy and its Political Doctrine*, and many articles in *Vestnik Evropy* (Messenger of Europe). The French Institute elected him a corresponding member, and the Russian Academy of Sciences made him an academician.

He was Chairman of the Anglo-Russian Society, which aimed

at closer co-operation between England and Russia. His successor in this post, Professor Paul Vinogradov, in his speech in memory of Kovalevsky concentrated his attention on one aspect "of his many-sided nature"—his attitude to England and the English people. "Kovalevsky," said Vinogradov, "was a convinced Anglophil (but not an Anglomane); in his outward appearance, manners, outlook there was no suggestion of a desire to imitate the English; having become acquainted with England not through books but through actual contact, he could discriminate between the fundamentals of her political system and the inevitable imperfections of her historical tradition."

In 1914, while on his yearly visit to Karlsbad, he was detained as a civilian prisoner. It was only after seven months that he was set free, but the long captivity had undermined his strength. He returned in February, 1915, by way of Roumania. Representatives of varied political opinions and classes took part in a big banquet given in honour of the occasion.

His fatal illness came on Kovalevsky suddenly, and he could not believe that he might die. His mental and spiritual powers were so strong that he said to me incredulously: "Is it really time for me to die? It seems to me that there must be some mistake, which will be cleared up, and then everything will go on as usual. . . ." He died as he had lived above all a teacher. His last words were: "One must love God, freedom, equality and progress."

There are men who pass across the stage of life with dignity and brilliance. Reading their books, hearing of their activities or enjoying their speeches, one longs to know them personally. Later, however, there is disillusionment, for when one comes close to them their human failings stand out too clearly and the hero's make-up is rubbed away. This was not so with Maxim Kovalevsky. He even gained in his private life, in close contact, for he was a noble, understanding and faithful friend, colleague and teacher. He always understood the shades of difference in the thoughts of others and had patience with them. He never oppressed anyone with his outstanding knowledge and talents, and he made any contact with him easy and pleasant even for his opponents.

For us, Russian emigrants, the life of Maxim Kovalevsky can serve as a lesson and as a consolation. For a time exiled from Russia, he brought back to his native country the experience and wisdom of Western Europe without having lost a single purely Slav trait of heart or brain.

EVGRAF KOVALEVSKY.

CURRENT RUSSIAN LITERATURE

VI.—SOME RECENT NOVELS

THOUGH the USSR seems to be still passing through a period of literary slump referred to in these notes some time ago, several novels worth noting have appeared there in the course of the last eighteen months. We propose to give here an account of three of them: one by such a well-known writer as Valentin Katayev, and two by comparative newcomers in Soviet Russian literature—Yury Herman and P. Pavlenko.

Katayev's *Beleyet parus odinoky*¹ is hardly a novel in the strict sense of the word. Its autobiographical elements are so obvious, that it reads like an account of the author's own childhood in which some imaginary episodes have no doubt been interpolated. Its title has been taken from the initial line of Lermontov's famous poem, and, instead of a motto, it has the reproduction of the well-known picture of Albert Marquet showing a sailing boat in a harbour (the boat's sail is, however, not white but brown)². The hero of the book is little Petya Bachey. This name alone is evidence of the autobiographical character of the book: Bachey was the name of Katayev's mother, who died when he was a child. Several facts in the lives of the author and of his little hero coincide: Petya's father, like Katayev's, is a teacher, and, like Katayev himself, Petya is sent to the Fifth *Gimnazia* in Odessa. The action is set in Odessa in 1905, when Katayev must have been about his hero's age, that is nine years old. The background of the novel and the element which links together its episodes and its heroes' adventures is the first Russian Revolution: we catch glimpses of the *Potemkin* mutiny, of a Jewish pogrom, of street fighting and strikes in Odessa. One of the characters in the book, with whose destiny Petya's life becomes accidentally involved and who supplies some of its most dramatic moments and episodes, is Rodion Zhukov, a sailor from the *Potemkin*, who returns secretly from Rumania, is chased by the police in the steppes of Bessarabia, hides himself in a coach in which Petya, his father, and his little brother Pavlik, are returning from their summer holidays, boards in Akkerman the same steamer, is found out by a plain-clothes policeman, and jumps overboard

¹ Translated into English under the title *Lonely White Sail* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1937.)

² This unusual "motto" is not reproduced, as far as I know, in the English edition.

(providing Petya with some unforgettable and exciting experiences) to be picked up by a fishing boat in which are Petya's friend, little Gavrik, and his grandfather, a fisherman. They live in a hut on the sea shore. Zhukov is brought there, delirious with fever, but soon his whereabouts are discovered by the police, and with Gavrik's brother, Terenty, a railway fitter and a member of the Bolshevik party, he escapes through the catacombs. For a long time he lives in hiding, engaged in clandestine revolutionary activities, then is arrested, and once more escapes with the help of Terenty, Gavrik and Petya (this is perhaps where Katayev has allowed his imagination to intrude upon the autobiographical framework of his story), this time sailing for abroad in Gavrik's grandfather's boat.

The interest and the charm of the book do not lie, however, in the adventures of Rodion Zhukov about whom Katayev has already written a story before, but in the fresh and delightful presentation of the two boys—one belonging to the middle-class, or rather the intelligentsia, the other a "proletarian"—and in their half-childish half-grown-up adventures and experiences, the grown-up element being introduced, especially in Petya's case, by the Revolution which suddenly encroaches upon their peaceful and (in the case of Gavrik not altogether) carefree existence. Here and now the author forgets that he is showing us the 1905 Revolution through the eyes of nine-year old boys, and there are passages—for example about religion and the Church—which must jar readers' ears whatever their views; but these are few, and against them can be set such wholly delightful pages as the opening ones describing Petya's last day on a seaside farm in Bessarabia; those dealing with Petya's school entrance examinations when he is deeply disappointed by not being allowed to recite to the end his favourite poem of Lermontov about the "lonely white sail"; or those describing his indulgence in the street game of "buttons" of which Gavrik is a recognised champion, this fit of gambling involving him in theft, lying and other misdeeds; or their wanderings about Odessa in the days of the Revolution, Petya unwittingly carrying cartridges in his satchel, which he thinks to be Gavrik's spoils at "buttons." These and other scenes have about them an accent of freshness and spontaneity and show a real insight into children's psychology. The book belongs to Katayev's best. Recently it has been made into a play which is said to be even better than the book. Knowing Katayev as a clever and experienced playwright, we can quite believe it.

Yury Herman's *Nashi znakomye* (*Our Acquaintances*)³ is, on the contrary, a real novel, somewhat old-fashioned in manner and construction, very long, trying to be very true to life and for the most part succeeding in this object. Beginning with the title, which apparently is meant to convey the idea that people in the book are such as any reader can meet in everyday life in the Soviet Union, it has almost throughout it that accent of quiet and unobtrusive veracity, although towards the end one might suspect the author of a certain amount of deliberate idealisation. The author is a newcomer in Soviet literature. *Nashi znakomye* is his first important work, and it has at once won him a considerable reputation. Whether he will live up to it in his other books, remains to be seen. The only other story of his which we have seen (published after the greater part of the novel had already appeared in a periodical, though it may have been written before) was surprisingly insignificant and unpleasant in its false sentimentality. There is a certain amount of sentimentality (as well as of slipshod writing) in *Nashi znakomye* too. It is the story of an attractive Soviet girl, Antonina Staroselskaya, a dreamer in search of a meaning of life, which she finally finds in social work and in a marriage (the third, the first two having been failures) to a Cheka official⁴ who twice crosses her path before she really comes to know him.

The story begins in 1925, during the Nep period (there is a clearly perceptible undercurrent of hostility in the author's portrayal of Nep conditions), with Antonina, a sixteen-year old girl, being left all alone in life on the death of her father, an accountant in some Soviet institution. She gives up school, sells her father's belongings and starts looking for work. In the course of this search, at one of the labour exchanges, she makes the acquaintance of a famous and popular actor and falls in love with him—dreamily and romantically. After a performance, for which he gives Antonina and a friend of hers free tickets, he takes them to supper in a luxurious restaurant, and this constitutes the culminating point of Antonina's romance, for on the following day the actor goes away leaving Antonina to her dreams of him. She meets him years afterwards when she is already married for the second time, only to discover that, contrary to what she thought, she no longer loves him. After the interlude with the actor, she drifts, gradually and more or less unwillingly,

³ Translated into English under the title *Antonina* (London, G. Routledge & Sons, 1937)

⁴ Incidentally, although the Cheka has long since ceased to exist, the word *chekist* is still used in Soviet literature.

into marriage with Skvortsov, a sailor in the Soviet merchant marine whom she met on the day of her father's funeral. Skvortsov is engaged in smuggling activities, and Antonina becomes his unwilling accomplice. When Skvortsov is caught by the G.P.U., Antonina is summoned and questioned by Altus whom she had casually met before and with whom she is later to find her happiness. Skvortsov is sentenced to three years of hard labour, but Antonina is let off. She finds work as hairdresser's assistant, but continues to lead the same half-dreamy, half-real existence, hardly conscious of its purpose and vaguely aware that some such purpose must be found. A neighbour of the Skvortsovs, Pal Palych Shvyryatykh, a former waiter, *maître-d'hôtel* and director of restaurants under the old *régime*, now in charge of one of the Soviet canteens, takes an interest in Antonina, is fascinated by her quiet charm and falls in love with her. An oldish man, who has lost in the Revolution not only his actual fortune but also his dream of becoming a landowner and settling for the rest of his life on the land, he is at bottom not bad, and is full of gentle solicitude for Antonina and for Fedya, her son by her marriage with Skvortsov. In his platonic friendship Antonina finds an escape from her solitude. Skvortsov, whom Antonina had divorced in the meantime, returns after having served his term of hard labour and Antonina has not the heart and the will to refuse him. For a time they live together; then Skvortsov is run over by a car. Just as she had drifted into marriage with Skvortsov—because there seemed to be nothing else to do—so now she drifts into marriage with Pal Palych. Outwardly their marriage is happy at first, Pal Palych is full of love and tenderness for Antonina, while she, though not loving him, owes him a debt of gratitude. Inwardly however, she is still dissatisfied and tormented by vague longings. She has a stupid affair with one of Pal Palych's former customers, a representative of the old bourgeoisie. It ends in a repulsive scene during which Pal Palych beats his rival almost to death, while Antonina realises that her behaviour was stupid and undignified. She is reconciled to Pal Palych, their life once more assumes its smooth course, and they contemplate a journey to the Crimea when suddenly this frail structure of Antonina's existence is upset by the unexpected visit from Tatyana, former caretaker in the house where Antonina lived and Skvortsov's former lover, and now manager of a stockbreeding farm somewhere in the country. For a few days Tatyana, the new and changed Tatyana, stays with Antonina and after seeing her off the latter decides not to return to Pal Palych. Instead she goes to her new friend Zhenya Sidorova and her husband

(who works on the same housing estate as Pal Palych) and starts upon a new life. This escape from Pal Palych and the atmosphere of quiet smugness concludes the first two parts of the novel. The third tells of Antonina's regeneration through study and work and of the ultimate happiness she finds in her marriage with Altus. The dreamer becomes a socially useful member of community without losing her charm. It would be hardly right to describe this novel as an outstanding literary production, but the quiet and unassuming veracity of its tone, the old-fashioned slowness of its tempo, the attractiveness of its chief heroine and the "humanity" even of its negative characters, make it pleasant reading. The author succeeds in making the reader look upon his characters as his real "acquaintances." Whether Yury Herman is capable of creating anything of greater significance, it is at present impossible to foretell.

Both *Beleyet parus odinokiy* and *Nashi znakomye* are novels of personal life, even though set against a wider social background. Pavlenko's *Na vostoke* (*In the East*), another recent best-seller in Soviet Russia, represents what is described as "national defence literature" (*oboronnaya literatura*) and is being specially cultivated there. It has no individual hero in the literary sense, while in a different sense, nearly all its numerous characters, drawn lightly with a few strokes, are represented as heroes in their own walks of life (with the exception of the enemies of the USSR). One of its ideas is that small and seemingly inconspicuous doings are just as "heroic" under the circumstances as the most startling feats. The real hero of Pavlenko's book is the Soviet Far East with its spirit of enterprise, daring and enthusiasm. The book has a definite propaganda object and value, inasmuch as it portrays the building activities and military preparations on the Soviet Far Eastern frontier in anticipation of a Japanese aggression. The first two parts of the novel (which starts in 1932) deals chiefly with peaceful activities, with the construction of new towns in the Siberian forests, the working out of new and daring projects by the younger Soviet generation which the author characterises in the following words: "And so they came out in hundreds of thousands and in millions in order to keep pace with the Revolution, lagging not a step behind it. Their fathers had burnt out estates, had held scores of fronts, had lost their wives and become disused to their children, and the sons were building towns and creating stable families, were becoming used to sleep eight hours and eat three times a day." A whole

galaxy of builders, explorers, kolhoz managers, military commanders, OGPU officials, etc., passes before our eyes, while we also get glimpses of the frontier skirmishes and of the Chinese and Korean guerrilla leaders, as well as of the Japanese and White Guard spies who cross the frontier from Manchukuo. Gradually, however, military activities and military preparations come to the forefront. Part IV of the novel, the action of which is set at some future though not very distant date ("the year 193 . . ."), describes the war between the USSR and Japan, started by the latter and won by the former. Tokio is bombed and destroyed from the air, the Japanese fleet is defeated by the Soviet submarines and the Japanese attack on land fails because of the mysterious and deadly electrical weapon invented by the Soviets; the rising of the Japanese workers and the rising in China combine to make the military defeat of Japan complete and final. The last part of the book describes the feverish building of a new town, called Sen-Katayama after the well-known Japanese revolutionary, which is to house 70,000 Japanese, Chinese, Korean and Manchu war prisoners as well as its Russian builders and which is to symbolise the triumph of international brotherhood. One of the episodes in this last part of the book is the trial in Sen-Katayama of the chief villain of the novel, the old and astute Japanese arch-spy Murusima, but strangely enough the outcome of the trial is not mentioned. Pavlenko's book, which partakes both of a chronicle and of a military Utopia, gives some very interesting glimpses of Soviet life and activities in the Far East, but it shows traces of hasty writing, and its episodes dealing with the Japanese and White Guard spying activities are unconvincing and smack of a cheap thriller, despite the attempt to give them an accent of authenticity by introducing the so-called "Bratstvo Russkoy Pravdy." It is interesting to note that despite the widespread belief that internationalism has given way to nationalism in the USSR, Pavlenko's novel which has received enthusiastic official welcome and encouragement, has little use for Russian patriotism and lays great stress on the old Bolshevik idea of world revolution (the book was published in 1937) and the coming collapse of the old capitalist world. England is taken to symbolise this old world: "Whole nations were dying before one's eyes. Political systems established in the course of centuries crumbled to pieces. England was tossing in agony and the young nations, her labourers, stood by with their mouths agape with joy and happiness. With England a whole epoch in the history of mankind was dying away. If it were possible to impersonate political *régimes*, we would have seen a decrepit

gentleman posing as a diplomat and educator who after his death turned out to be a mere secondhand dealer and usurer. . And as always happens in the life of men, no sooner had this enterprising merchant died than a hungry shoeblack emerged and on the strength of a certain similarity in their biographies claimed to be the historical successor of the deceased" The "hungry shoeblack," claiming British succession according to Pavlenko, is Japan When one of the characters of the novel says : " There are a million Communists in Europe—the war will be to the end," he expresses the international idea underlying Pavlenko's book.

GLEB STRUVE.

OBITUARY

JOZEF UJEJSKI

ON 8 July, 1937, came the sudden death of Jozef Ujejski, Professor in the Pilsudski University in Warsaw and Vice-Minister of Education for Poland. From a small group of men, who have toiled with profit at getting an understanding of the history of Polish literature, we have lost one who had done much, but who was not permitted to complete his work. Death took him when, as yet, only half the harvest of his rich experience had been gathered.

He was an active member of groups at work on complete editions of Mickiewicz and Slowacki respectively: and he left unfinished the central task of his life, on which he had been engaged for many years, his *History of Polish Messianism*. The volume he published in 1931 included only its earlier phases. Only those can appreciate the nation's loss, who know the value of that monograph; whose fortune it was to be thrust into the shade by the more popular book *On Conrad Korzeniowski* (1935).

Ujejski belonged to the students of literature who are mightily gripped by their subjects of study, who avoid scattering their energies, and who consistently hold to a once chosen path. His greatest interest was Polish Romanticism. For thirty years he devoted himself to its manifestations, with unbroken energy and zeal. He essayed its problems as the stubborn Alpinist essays an unapproachable peak, gave his mind to minor studies connected with it—covering the works of the Three Bards, of Norwid and others; in order to get ready for a composite picture of what was most lasting in the Polish romantic movement, and of what distinguished it from corresponding trends in other lands. Sketches on “Kordjan” on “Anhelli,” on “The Undivine Comedy” on “Konrad Wallenrod,” often in the form of greatly compressed, but carefully thought out “introductions” in the National Library series, provided the stages that should lead up to the supreme effort. (As relevant to the main theme we should also note his studies on Malczewski (1922) and his book on Hoene-Wronski (1925).)

Though, as a philologist his training was sound, he was not the kind of man to be content with a commentary on some literary product. Ujejski was one of those who look on literature as a manifestation of the human mind and spirit, as the expression of social processes. In other words he was first of all a psychologist

and sociologist, at work in the field of literature. His social theories were clad in traditional garments, which in no way means that the results he achieved were not far-reaching. In his investigations of the content of literary works—particularly of those revealing the corporate life of Polish romanticism, he left the mark of his own method of research. Others seek in this sort of study only a starting point for propagating their own social theories: Ujejski toiled at research for its own sake, with an objectivity that astonishes us. The results of it all were put into books that made no display, and that have in some cases been forgotten, e.g. the first-class *A Glance at the Social and Religious Currents in the Emigration after 1830-31*, hidden away in the Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences.

But Ujejski was not less notable for his deep and peculiar psychological interests. As a man of firm ethical ideals, who held to a single line of action and said openly what he thought, he was fascinated by the problem, how the views held by people have moulded the personalities of those who proclaimed them. The result has been a number of unusual literary portraits, unusual because of the unusualness of the subjects. Individuals who disturbed his peace of mind by their enigmas, people who were at war with themselves, and who swung back and forth between two problems were the ones who appealed most to Ujejski's imagination. These he resurrected for us with all their greatness and littleness, with their sublime and their silly qualities.

Others might confine themselves to the study of those whom the Poles revere as saints—not so Ujejski. As we see from his book on Conrad he would choose people less known, or even slighted, and pick out the values in them that are real and eternal. He did not always succeed, for one cannot always keep one's balance between worship and irony: but he could always reveal the existence of tragic conflicts in the lives of those he studied, which alone would justify his investigations.

Right here we come on the true-blooded humanist, in search of universal values in all their manifestations: the scholar who uses the text before him in getting to know the creative powers of some one born in another age, and trained under other cultural conditions. Hence his own words in the Book on Conrad:

“Being myself under the spell of his greatness, I have accepted it in my work as an axiom, and I have simply wanted to give those who also feel it as I do, some bits of information. I have sought to bring home to them things connected with his work, to make it easier for them, not as

poetasters, but as human beings, to realise him, and to think their way through him."

These simple words express most directly and beautifully the essential nature of Ujejski's life and of his work.

J. KRZYZANOWSKI.

JAROSLAV BIDLO

ON 1 December, 1937, Jaroslav Bidlo died in Prague. He had lectured at the Caroline University since 1900 on the history of Eastern Europe and the Balkans, first as Privatdozent, and later as professor. He was near his seventieth birthday (*1868), and approaching the end of his academic career. He was one of the most prominent members of the Staff of the Faculty of Philosophy. His University colleagues, with the members of many scientific institutions, mourn his passing. Prof. Bidlo was a member of the Czech, Polish, Yugoslav and Roumanian Academies, and of several other learned societies at home and abroad. He was also connected with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies as a corresponding member.

His scholastic activity encroached on two fields. During his study at the University of Prague he began working on the religious history of Bohemia during the 15th and 16th centuries. He examined the relation of the Czech Reformation to other Slavonic countries, particularly to Poland. His great interest in that subject led him to write his main work *Jednota bratrská v prvním vyhnanství* (The Unity of Bohemian Brethren in their First Exile). In the four volumes published between 1900 and 1932 Bidlo made a study of the life of the members of the Unity who, in the year 1547, were compelled by Ferdinand I to leave Bohemia and emigrate to Poland. He had shown the place that the Polish branch of the Unity occupied in Polish religious life, and its contribution to solving the controversies between the Polish Lutherans and the Calvinists. He brought his narrative up to the year 1595. He was well trained in theology, and was thus able not only to sketch the course of events but also to explain dogmatic questions. His deep interest in the history of the Unity prompted him to publish the sources which the Brethren themselves had begun to collect in the 16th century. It was the famous collection of *Acta Unitatis Fratrum*, preserved in Herrnhut in Saxony. In 1915 and 1923, under Bidlo's direction two big volumes were published by the Maticе Moravská in Brno, containing treaties written in Czech in the 15th and in the first half of the 16th century. To his great work on the Unity

he added a series of shorter studies and editions of sources. Thus he gained the reputation of being one of the foremost experts on the history and doctrine of the Unity.

The subject on which he lectured at the University was connected with another group of his articles and books. Bidlo was convinced that the study both of Medieval and Modern History of Eastern Europe and of the Balkans must be based on a thorough knowledge of the history of the Byzantine Empire and Byzantine civilisation. His university lectures introduced the students to remote fields and, what is more, pointed out the connection of medieval and modern life in that part of Europe with the legacies from Greek philosophy and civilisation. He was well acquainted with the rich literature on Byzantine history and profited from it. He himself, in 1917, wrote a small book on *Kultura Byzantská* and only towards the end of his life did he begin to prepare his lectures for publication. The first part appeared in the third volume of *Dějiny lidstva* (History of Mankind) which is being published under the direction of Bidlo's University colleague, Dr. Josef Šusta. Bidlo further lectured on characteristic periods of Slavonic history, to offer his students a chance of acquainting themselves with methods of research in that field. Attached to his lectures on Modern Russian History is the work *Dějiny Ruskav 19. století* (History of Russia in the 19th century). He saw that the study of general history in Czechoslovak secondary schools should be maintained at a high scientific level and, together with Dr. Šusta, he prepared textbooks that were introduced into the majority of schools and made him known all over the country.

University activity and scientific interest led Bidlo to a thorough examination of the question whether it is possible to write the history of the Slavs from a single point of view, without regard to political and religious divisions. His first attempt at this was an article *O historii Slovanstva jako celku* (On the History of Slavonic Peoples as a whole). Having reached a positive answer, he published a survey of the subject, which had already appeared in 1912 in a collection of monographs (*Slovanstvo*) written by various authors and dealing with the past and present conditions of Slavonic peoples. Encouraged by the success of this first experiment Bidlo, continued his studies, and in 1927 he published a new version of this survey, under the title *Dějiny Slovanstva* (History of the Slavs). A fragment from this work appeared in No. 25 of the *Slavonic Review* (vol. IX), under the title *The Slavs in Medieval History*, and provided its readers with the means of judging Bidlo's methods.

In the last years of his life another problem occupied his mind.

He was working on the question, as to what should be included in the complex of the History of Eastern Europe. He lectured on this subject at the Seventh Historical Congress in Warsaw in 1933 and published his lecture in the sixth *Bulletin d'Informations des sciences historiques en Europe Orientale* under the title of "Ce qu'est l'Histoire de l'Europe Orientale." Europe according to Bidlo was divided into two large zones, the first with the focus on ancient Rome and its legacies, and the second which was evolving under the influence of Constantinople. To the first, the Western section, belonged those lands which, in the Middle Ages were under the authority of the Pope. To the second, the Eastern one, belonged the peoples of the Orthodox faith. Bidlo even tried to divide the History of Eastern Europe into various epochs showing that their character sufficiently distinguished them from the rest of Europe. His new thesis weakened the old belief that the history of the Slavs can be considered as a compact unity, and stressed the division of the Slavonic peoples into two large groups, which may be called quite generally, Catholic and Orthodox. It gave rise to various discussions and criticisms, against which Bidlo defended himself in the article "Remarques à la défense de ma conception," published in the above mentioned *Bulletin*.

Absolute accuracy as far as could possibly be obtained was the keynote of all Bidlo's writings. He was a research worker who considered that his duty was to ascertain facts as reflected in the sources. When he had done this he felt that his task was finished. His place was among those historians who were convinced that in history and social sciences it is possible to use the methods of natural science. In his literary activity there were neither oscillations nor changes. At first sight the first fruits of his research resemble the works of his last years, but a little reflection shows that his horizon widened, thanks to systematic and thorough reading of everything that had any connection with his subject.

OTAKAR ODLOŽILÍK.

STANOJE STANOJEVIĆ

(24: VIII: 1874 – 30: VII: 1937)

ONE of the principal representatives of Yugoslav, or more especially Serbian science, Dr. Stanoje Stanojević, Professor of National History at the University of Belgrade, died last year at Vienna, after an operation.

Stanojević came of a prominent Serbian family at Novi Sad

(then in South Hungary) and there passed through the Elementary and Secondary Schools. He then went to the University at Vienna in 1896, when he obtained his D.Ph. with the thesis "Die Biographie Stefan Lazarević's, von Konstantin dem Philosophen, als Geschichtsquelle" (*Archiv für slavische Philologie*, xviii, 1896). He afterwards continued his studies at Leipzig, Moscow, Petrograd and Munich. After spending one year teaching at the Serbian Secondary School at Constantinople, he was chosen in February 1900 to be lecturer at the Belgrade High School and in 1903 became a professor at the same school. In 1905, when the High School was changed into a University, Stanojević was chosen as lecturer, and in 1919 became professor there. In 1915, after the occupation of Serbia, he was attached to Petrograd University, where he lectured for about two years. During the years 1917 and 1918 Stanojević lectured for some time at the Sorbonne in Paris.

While still a student he began to publish articles and pamphlets on Serbian medieval history. His first works attracted the attention of Serbian, Russian and German scientists. Their number increased from year to year, until he became one of the chief experts on Balkan medieval history, especially for the mutual relation between the Balkan nations and Byzantium. Nearly all Stanojević's works are in this field. Besides publications in Russian, French and a great number of Yugoslav periodicals, most of his works were published in the editions of the Russian Academy of Sciences and especially those of the Serbian Royal Academy of Sciences. Of his numerous works it must suffice to mention only the more important: *Byzantium and Serbia* (I. The Balkan Peninsular till the 7th century, 1903; II. Slav Colonisation in the Balkan Peninsula, 1906); *History of the Serbian Nation* (third ed., 1926); *The Struggle for the Independence of the Catholic Church in the Nemanjid State*, 1912; *The Struggle for the Spiritual and Political Unification of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes*, 1917; *La civilisation du peuple serbe au moyen âge*, 1918; *Le rôle des Serbes de Hongrie dans la vie national du peuple serbe*, 1919; *The Assassination of Francis Ferdinand*, 1923; *The Serbo-Turkish War*, 1912; *St. Sava*, 1936; *Studies in Serbian Diplomacy* (vol. I, 1928, vol. II, 1935). On the eve of his death the Serbian Royal Academy started to publish his great work, *The Political and Cultural History of the Serbian People in the Middle Ages*, in which he intended to give the result of his 40 years of scientific work. Unfortunately, it was not completed; after his death only the first section on the sources of Serbian history in the Middle Ages was published.

Stanojević had a special ability for the organization of scientific work. He succeeded in bringing historians together in the Yugoslav Historical Society, and was the founder of its *Journal*. He also edited a big series in 20 volumes; *The Serbian People in the 19th century*, of which eight had already appeared during his lifetime. Before his death, as its editor, he started to publish a large collection of *Biographies of Famous Men*. Special mention must also be made of his work as editor of the *National Encyclopædia of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes* in four large volumes with 164 collaborators—the first work of its kind in Yugoslav scientific literature.

DRAGOSLAV STRANJAKOVIĆ.

EVGENY ZAMYATIN

EVGENY IVANOVICH ZAMYATIN, who died in Paris, in March, 1937, at the age of 53, was one of the major figures in post-revolutionary Russian literature, not only as a writer in his own right but also as an influence with a number of younger writers. By profession he was a naval engineer, and his mathematical mind and studies left a clearly discernible trace in his works with their tendency to geometrical patterns. He was educated at the Naval Engineering Department of the Polytechnic Institute in St. Petersburg, from which he graduated in 1908. As did many of his contemporaries, he took an active part in the revolutionary movement as a member of the Bolshevik section of the Social-Democratic Party. In 1906 he was arrested and imprisoned; and it is one of the jokes of fate that sixteen years later, under the soviet régime, he had to spend some time in the same prison, in a cell opening into the same passage. In an autobiographical notice published in 1924 Zamyatin said with great frankness: "Then [in his student years] I was a Bolshevik, now I am not." Zamyatin's first major work appeared in 1911. It was a book of stories called *Uezdnoe (Tales of Provincial Life)* and written under a strong influence of Gogol and Remizov. Its main theme is the meanness and squalor of life in a small provincial town. His next work, *At the World's End*, led to the confiscation of the review in which it was published and to Zamyatin's banishment. In 1916 Zamyatin went to England. For a year he lived at Newcastle supervising the construction of ice-breakers for the Russian Government, including the famous "Alexander Nevsky" (afterwards re-named "Lenin"). He returned to Russia after the outbreak of the Revolution. The outcome of his stay in England consisted of two stories—*The Islanders* and *The Man-Hunter*—

where English middle-class life and morality are treated in terms of a biting satire. During the first years of the Revolution Zamyatin took an active part in the literary life of Petrograd, lecturing in different newly-created studios for workers, soldiers and sailors, serving on various editorial and theatrical committees, helping Gorky in his numerous undertakings and guiding young writers in their literary *débuts*. At the same time he lectured on naval engineering at the Polytechnic Institute. Zamyatin's influence was particularly strong with the group of so-called "Serapion Brothers," many of whom owed to him their early literary training. His own output was not large in quantity, but some of his best short stories were written during this period. A good specimen of his mature manner may be seen in *The Cave*, a translation of which appeared in this review¹ In 1923 Zamyatin took to the theatre and wrote a play, *The Fires of St. Dominic*, which, under an historical disguise—its action is set at the time of the Spanish Inquisition—contained a scathing invective of the Soviet régime and its Cheka. This was followed by some other dramatic works including *The Flea*, a very good adaptation of Leskov's famous story *The Left-Handed Man*, a piece of rich farcical verve in the style of the Italian Commedia dell'Arte, which for many years held the stage in the USSR.

Zamyatin's only long novel, *We*, written in 1922, has the rare distinction of never having been published in the original, though at least three translations of it have appeared (American, French and Czech). This novel, written under some influence of H. G. Wells's scientific romances, is a sharp satire of the ideal "planned" State of the future, and as such was banned in the USSR. Not only in the general underlying idea, but in many of its details, it foreshadows Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, which it preceded by almost ten years (its American edition also appeared some years before Huxley's novel). The publication of a few chapters of *We* in a Russian *émigré* review in Prague (without Zamyatin's knowledge and re-translated from Czech) resulted in a violent campaign against Zamyatin in the Soviet press, which led to his resignation in 1929 from the All-Russian Writers' Association. He came to be known as an "inside *émigré*," but in 1931 was allowed to leave the Soviet Union and became virtually an *émigré*, though keeping more or less aloof from the anti-Bolshevist political emigration. During the last years of his life he was engaged on a novel about Attila. The subject had always attracted him, for in our time he saw a parallel to the age of Attila.

¹ *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 1923, No. 4.

Zamyatin's early stories go back to Russian traditions, to Gogol and Leskov, both directly and through the intermediary of Remizov. From them he has inherited his predilection for verbal effects, for stylistic elaborateness, for ornamentalism of speech. His early manner may be described as Realism with a touch of the grotesque. Later on he developed a style of his own, a peculiar blend of Realism with Symbolism and Imagism, which D. S. Mirsky has aptly compared to Cubism in painting (his mathematical studies, as I have said, may have had something to do with this "geometrical" tendency). Zamyatin himself described his method as Neo-Realism. In one of his critical articles he came forward as an advocate of a broken narrative conducted simultaneously on several planes. He applied this method most thoroughly in one of his most difficult and "obscure" stories—*The Story about What Matters Most* (*Rasskaz o samom glavnom*) which has been denounced by Communist critics as fundamentally anti-revolutionary. There is, however, more continuity and direct simplicity in what is one of Zamyatin's best stories, *The Flood* (1926), a tragic story of love, jealousy and murder, told against the background of a flood in Leningrad.

By nature Zamyatin was a rebel, a heretic, quite unable to toe any line. In 1921, during a period when certain freedom of opinion was allowed in Soviet Russia, Zamyatin expressed the view that Communist Russia would not produce real literature. His reason for thinking so was very typical: "Real literature," he said, "can exist only where it is produced by madmen, hermits, heretics, dreamers, rebels and sceptics, and not by painstaking and well-intentioned officials." It was equally characteristic of Zamyatin that he used to be a Bolshevik before the Revolution of 1917 and ceased to be one when Bolshevism came to power.

In Zamyatin Russian literature has lost a considerable force that was far from spent.

GLEB STRUVE.

DOCUMENTS

ON MISTAKES IN THE PURGE

Concerning mistakes made by the Party organisations in the expulsion of communists from the Party, the formal and bureaucratic attitude adopted towards the appeals of those excluded from the Communists (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union. and the steps to be taken to remove these shortcomings.

Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union.

THE Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union considers it imperative that the attention of Party organisations and their leaders should be drawn to the fact that while carrying out the great work of purging their ranks of the Trotskyist and Right-Wing agents of Fascism, they have in the course of this work committed serious errors and perversions which hinder the work of cleansing the Party from double-dealers, spies and wreckers. Despite the repeated instructions and warnings of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union, the Party organisations have in many cases proceeded to expel communists from the Party in a completely incorrect and criminally thoughtless way.

The Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union has on more than occasion required of the Party organisations and their leaders an attentive and individual method of approach to members of the Party in the settlement of problems connected with expulsions from the Party or the rehabilitation of members of the Party wrongfully expelled from the ranks of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union, in its resolution of 5 March, 1937, on the report of Comrade Stalin "Concerning shortcomings in the Party work and measures for liquidation of Trotskyists and other double-dealers," declared :—

"Certain of our Party leaders show a lack of the necessary attention to men and women, to members of the Party, to the workers. Furthermore, they do not study the workers, know nothing of their aspirations and development, are in general unfamiliar with the people working under them. This is why they fail to adopt an individual method of approach to members of the Party, to the workers of the Party. But an individual method of approach is an essential feature of our work or organisation. And it is just because they fail to adopt this individual method of approach in gauging the worth of members of the Party and Party workers, that they usually proceed at random, either praising them in the mass, without discrimination, or else expelling them from the Party in thousands and hundreds of thousands, also in the mass and without discrimination. Certain of our Party leaders endeavour generally to think in hundreds

of thousands, not bothering about "units," about the individual members of the Party and their lot. They consider the expulsion from the Party of thousands and hundreds of thousands of men and women a matter of little or no importance, consoling themselves with the thought that our Party is big, and that the expulsion of some tens of thousands of members can make no difference to its position. But in fact to approach members of the Party in this way is only possible for men who are fundamentally anti-Party.

As a result of this heartless attitude to men and women, to members of the Party and Party workers, there is artificially created in a section of the Party dissatisfaction and ill-feeling.

It is only natural that the Trotskyist double-dealers should cunningly seize on comrades embittered by action of this sort, and artfully drag them in their train into the bog of Trotskyist wrecking."

In the same resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union occur the following words:—

"The practice of adopting a formal and heartlessly bureaucratic attitude to the question of the fate of individual members of the Party, of expelling members of the Party from its ranks, or of rehabilitating members excluded from the Party, is to be condemned.

Party organisations must be obliged to show the maximum of caution and comradely care in the settlement of the question of expulsion from the Party or the rehabilitation of expelled members."

In its letter of 24 June, 1936 "Concerning mistakes made in the examination of appeals by those expelled from the Party at the time of the verification and exchange of Party documents," the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union drew attention to the frivolous, and in a number of cases, heartlessly bureaucratic attitude adopted by the party organs in the examination of appeals by those expelled from the party.

"Despite the instructions of the Central Committee" (it is stated in this letter), "the appeals of expelled members are examined in an extremely dilatory manner. Many expelled members spend months endeavouring to obtain the examination of the appeals entered by them. A great many appeals have been examined in the absence of the expelled members, without any verification of the truth or otherwise of the declarations made by the appealing members, and without giving them any opportunity to explain in detail the causes of their expulsion from the Party.

In the case of a number of district Party organisations an intolerant arbitrariness has been shown towards those expelled from the Party. Members expelled for concealing their social origin and for passivity, not for any activity hostile to the Party and the Soviet power, have automatically been dismissed from work, deprived of living quarters, and so on.

In this way the leaders of these Party organisations, failing to assimilate as they should have done the instructions of the Party concerning Bolshevik vigilance, have by their formal and bureaucratic attitude in the examination of the appeals of those expelled from the Party during the verification of Party documents, played into the hands of the Party's enemies."

As is clear, there were warning instructions to the local Party organisations.

Nevertheless, in spite of all this, many Party organisations and their leaders have continued to adopt a formal and heartlessly bureaucratic attitude to the fate of individual members of the Party.

A number of cases are known where Party organisations, without any checking of the facts and consequently without any justification, have expelled communists from the Party, deprived them of work, and frequently gone so far as to declare them enemies of the people on no grounds at all, treating members of the Party in an illegal and arbitrary manner.

Thus, for example, the **Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Azerbaydzhan**, at its meeting on 5 November, 1937, mechanically confirmed the expulsion from the party of 279 members, the **Stalingrad Regional Committee** on 26 November confirmed the expulsion of 69 members; the **Novosibirsk Regional Committee** on 28 November mechanically confirmed the decisions of the district committees of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union concerning the expulsion from the Party of 72 members; in the **Ordzhonikidze** territorial Party organisation the Party Collegium of the Commission of Party Control attached to the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union reversed, as incorrect and quite unfounded, decisions concerning the expulsion from the Party of 101 communists out of a total of 160 who had entered an appeal, in the case of the **Novosibirsk** Party organisation it similarly proved necessary to reverse 51 decisions out of 80; in the **Rostov** Party organisation 43 decisions were reversed out of 66; in the **Stalingrad** Party organisation, 58 out of 103; in the **Saratov** Party organisation, 80 out of 134; in the **Kursk** Party organisation, 56 out of 92; in the **Vinnitsa** Party organisation, 164 out of 337, and so on.

In many districts of the region of Harkov there have occurred, under the guise of "vigilance," numerous cases of illegal dismissal from work of members expelled from the Party and non-Party workers, and refusal to provide them with opportunities for other work. In the Zmievo district in October and November, 1937, thirty-six teachers were dismissed for no reason at all, while a further 42 were listed for dismissal. As a result, in the schools of the villages of Taranovka, Samostyazhnoe, Skrypavevka and others, there has been no instruction in history, the Constitution of the Soviet Union, Russian, Ukrainian, and foreign languages.

In the town of Zmievo biology was taught in the secondary school by the teacher Zhurko, born in 1904 and daughter of a *kolkhoznik*, who had eight years' teaching experience and was following the fourth correspondence course of the Pedagogic Institute. There appeared in the local paper a remark describing her brother, who was working in the town of Izyum, as a nationalist. This was sufficient for Comrade Zhurko to be dismissed from her post. In connection with her dismissal it was suggested that her husband too was not politically reliable, and the question of his dismissal was also raised. When the matter was gone into, it became clear that the remark about Zhurko's brother was a calumny, and he was not dismissed from his post.

In the town of Harkov, in connection with the arrest of the Trotskyist Gorskaya by the organs of the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs, a worker on the factory committee of the Tinyakov factory, Einhorn by name was questioned as a witness. She mentioned that she had been summoned to the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs, to the head of the Specialist Department, Semenov, who immediately raised with the Party committee of the factory the question of Einhorn's connections with the Trotskyist Gorskaya. As a result, Einhorn was relieved of her work on the factory committee, and dismissed. Her brother-in-law, employed in the office of the local newspaper, was dismissed because "he had not denounced his sister-in-law's relations with the Trotskyists."

The Kursk regional committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union, without any checking of the facts, and in her absence, expelled from the Party, and obtained the arrest of, the chairman of the factory committee of the Dmitro-Taranovsky Sugar Works, Party member Ivanchenkova, declaring that she had wittingly acted in a counter-revolutionary manner in arranging for the non-Party worker Kulinichenko to speak at a meeting in connection with the elections to the Supreme Council of the USSR. When the matter was gone into, it was established that Ivanchenkova's whole "crime" lay in the fact that at the election meeting the non-Party worker Kulinichenko, after he had told his life-story, lost the thread of his speech and forgot to give the name of the candidate for election to the Supreme Council.

In many districts of the Kuybyshev region a large number of Communists have been expelled from the Party on the ground that they were enemies of the people. Yet the organs of the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs have failed to find any reason to arrest these expelled Party members. For instance, the Greater Chernigov district committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union expelled from the Party, declaring them to be enemies of the people, 50 out of a total of 210 communists grouped in the district Party organisation; whereas the organs of the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs could discover no grounds for arrest in the case of 43 of those expelled. Many Party members, expelled as enemies of the people by the district committees of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union, have appealed to the

Party Collegium of the Commission for Party Control attached to the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union in the Kuybyshev region, demanding either that they should be arrested or that their characters should be cleared.

The Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union has before it data showing that such cases have occurred in other Party organisations as well.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union considers that cases such as these are of common occurrence in the Party organisations, principally because there are in the Communist ranks, not yet discovered and unmasked, **individual career-communists who endeavour to distinguish themselves and push into the limelight on the strength of expulsions from the Party and repressive acts against Party members, and to safeguard themselves against possible accusations of insufficient vigilance by applying wholesale repressive action to members of the Party.**

This sort of career-communist reasons that, once a Party member has been denounced, albeit in an incorrect and even provocative manner, this Party member is a danger to the organisation and must be got rid of with as little delay as possible, so that the careerist may safeguard his reputation for vigilance. He therefore considers it unnecessary to examine objectively the matters laid at the door of the communist in question, and without delay decides on the need for his expulsion from the Party.

This sort of career-communist, anxious for promotion, spreads wild rumours concerning enemies of the people, and is always ready at Party meetings to howl for the expulsion of Party members for some formal reason, or for no reason at all. The Party organisations, for their part, frequently follow the lead of loud-mouthed careerists of the sort.

This sort of career-communist is utterly unconcerned about the fate of Party members, and is ready to expel dozens of members from the Party though he is well aware that such action is quite incorrect, merely in order that he himself may give the appearance of vigilance. He is prepared to expel members from the Party for insignificant faults, simply that he may be able to ascribe to himself the "merit" of having unmasked enemies of the people; and if the superior Party organs rehabilitate those wrongly expelled from the Party he is not at all put out, but adopts the pose of one who is satisfied that he has in any case safeguarded his reputation for vigilance.

The Party organisations and their leaders, instead of tearing the mask of pretended vigilance from "communists" of this sort and bringing their misdeeds to light, have themselves frequently endowed them with haloes as vigilant champions of the purity of the Party ranks.

The time has come to unmask these so-called communists and to brand them as careerists who strive for promotion on the

strength of expulsions from the Party and endeavour to safeguard their reputations by means of repressive acts against the members of the Party.

Further, numerous cases are known where disguised enemies of the people, wreckers and double-dealers, acting as *agents provocateurs*, have organised calumnious denunciations of members of the Party and, under the guise of "developing vigilance," have obtained the expulsion from the ranks of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union of honest and devoted communists, in this way averting the blow from themselves and maintaining themselves in the Party ranks.

The unmasked enemy of the people, the former secretary of the ORPO of the Rostov regional committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union, Shatsky, and his confederates, profiting by the political shortsightedness of the leaders of the Rostov regional committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union, expelled from the Party honest communists, inflicted on the workers penalties which they knew were unjustified, and in every way caused ill-feeling among the communists, at the same time doing everything in their power to maintain in the Party their own body of counter-revolutionary agents.

In the same town of Rostov the former secretary for schools of the Rostov regional committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union, the enemy of the people Shestova, on the instructions of the counter-revolutionary organisation, forced through the Party organisation of the Rostov Pedagogic Institute the expulsion from the Party of some 30 honest communists.

The former secretary of the Kiev regional committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union, the enemy of the people Kudryavtsev, at party meetings invariably addressed communists who were speaking, with the provocative remark: "Well, have you denounced anybody yet?" As a result of this provocative action, politically compromising statements were made in Kiev in respect of half the members of the Party organisation of the town, yet the majority of these statements turned out to be obviously incorrect and even provocative.

The now unmasked enemy leadership of the Barrikada district committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union in the town of Stalingrad expelled provocatively from the Party, and obtained the arrest of, Mokhnatkin, Party member since 1917, a former Red Partisan, and head of one of the largest workshops in the Barrikada factory, on the ground of "anti-Soviet conversations." As subsequently appeared as a result of checking the facts, these "anti-Soviet conversations" amounted to no more than that Comrade Mokhnatkin, when talking with his fellows, had expressed dissatisfaction on account of the heartless attitude adopted by the village Soviet towards the children of the commander of the partisan detachment of which Mokhnatkin had been second in command, who had fallen in action against the Whites

at the time of the Civil War. Comrade Mokhnatkin was rehabilitated as member of the Party only upon the intervention of the Commission for Party Control attached to the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union.

Similar cases of provocative action by enemies of the Party who have wormed their way into the Party organisation have also occurred in the Party organisations of Voronezh, Krasnodar, Chelyabinsk, and other places.

All these cases demonstrate that many of our Party organisations and their leaders have not yet succeeded in seeing through and unmasking **the artfully disguised enemy, who endeavours in the first place by bawling about vigilance to mask his own hostility and to maintain his position in the Party ranks, and secondly by carrying out repressive measures to disorganise our Bolshevik ranks, and to spread throughout them uncertainty and exaggerated suspicion.**

This sort of masked enemy (the worst possible traitor) usually bawls louder than anyone about vigilance, and hastens to do as much "unmasking" as possible, all this with the object of concealing his own crimes against the Party and distracting the attention of the Party organisation from the task of unmasking the real enemies of the people.

This sort of masked enemy (the vile double-dealer) seeks in every way to create in the Party organisations an atmosphere of exaggerated suspicion, in which any Party member standing up in defence of another communist who has been slandered by somebody or other is immediately accused of insufficient vigilance, and of relations with enemies of the people.

This sort of masked enemy (the base *provocateur*), whenever the Party organisation begins to check the truth of an accusation laid against a communist, does all he can to create a provocative atmosphere for this examination, spreads around the communist in question a feeling that he is not politically reliable, and in this way organises, instead of an objective examination of the matter, a fresh flood of denunciations of the communist.

The Party organisations and their leaders, instead of bringing to light and unmasking the provocative work of this sort of disguised enemy, frequently follow his lead, create around him an atmosphere of immunity from the effects of slandering honest communists, and themselves undertake unjustified mass expulsions from the Party, the imposition of undeserved penalties and the like. Furthermore, even after the unmasking of the real enemies who have wormed their way into the Party apparatus and slandered honest communists, our Party leaders frequently neglect to take steps to liquidate the consequences of wrecking-activity in the Party organisations embodied in the unjustified expulsion of communists from the Party.

The time has come for all Party organisations and their leaders to

unmask and finally **to exterminate the disguised enemy** who, worming his way into our ranks, endeavours by bawling about vigilance to conceal his own hostility and to maintain his position in the Party, in order that he may there continue his vile treachery.

What is the explanation of the fact that our Party organisations have still not succeeded in unmasking and branding not only those career-communists who seek to distinguish themselves and push into the lime-light on the strength of expulsions from the Party, but also the masked enemies within the Party who endeavour by bawling about vigilance to conceal their hostility and to maintain their position in the Party, and by carrying out repressive measures to disorganise our ranks and to spread exaggerated suspicion throughout them?

The explanation is to be found in a criminally frivolous attitude towards the lot of Party members.

Everybody knows that many of our Party leaders have proved politically-shortsighted place-holders, who have permitted the enemies of the people and the careerists to circumvent them, and have lightheartedly handed over for settlement by subordinates questions concerning the fate of members of the Party, criminally shirking the task of dealing with such matters themselves.

The regional committees, the territorial committees, the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the various nationalities and their leaders, have not only failed to correct this anti-Party practice, foreign to the spirit of Bolshevism, in the matter of the expulsion of communists from the Party, but have often themselves, by their faulty leadership, inculcated a formal and heartlessly bureaucratic attitude towards members of the Party, and thereby created a favourable soil for career-communists and masked enemies of the people.

In not a single instance have the regional committees, the territorial committees or the Central Committees of the national Communist Parties looked into the matter and condemned the practice of a wholesale mass method of approach to members of the Party, and taken the leaders of the local Party organisations to task for their incorrect and unjustified expulsion of communists from the Party.

The leaders of the Party organisations innocently imagine that the correction of mistakes in the case of members wrongfully expelled from the Party might undermine the authority of the Party and hinder the work of unmasking the enemies of the people, failing to understand that every case of unjustified expulsion from the Party is a trump in the hands of our enemies.

In many regional and territorial organisations a large number of appeals lie about, no steps being taken towards their examination. In the Rostov region more than 2,500 appeals have still to be considered, in the Krasnodar territory 2,000, in the Smolensk region 2,300, in the Voronezh region 1,200, in the Saratov region 500, and so on.

The regional committees, the territorial committees, the Central

Committees of the national Communist Parties, by refusing to consider the appeals of those expelled, have, contrary to the Party statutes, converted the decisions of the local committees of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union on this question into final decisions from which there is no appeal.

All this means that the regional committees, the territorial committees the Central Committees of the national Communist Parties have essentially shirked the task of directing the activities of the local Party organisations in a most important and burning question, the question of the fate of members of the Party, leaving this question to settle itself, often in a quite arbitrary manner.

The regional committees, the territorial committees, the Central Committees of the national Communist Parties have themselves encouraged the practice of wholesale, mass expulsions from the Party by leaving unpunished those Party leaders who permit an arbitrary procedure with respect to communists.

The time has come to put an end to this formal and heartlessly bureaucratic attitude to men and women, to members of the Party, which is quite foreign to the spirit of Bolshevism.

The time has come to understand that :

“The Party has become a very big and serious thing to the member of the Party, and membership or expulsion from the ranks means much in a man's life.”

The time has come to understand that :

“For the rank and file, membership of the Party or expulsion from it is a question of life and death.” (Stalin.)

The time has come to understand that Bolshevik vigilance lies essentially in the ability to unmask the enemy, however cunning and resourceful he may be, whatever garb he may wear, and not in expulsion from the Party in tens and hundreds, without any study of the matter or “just in case,” of the first that come to hand.

The time has come to understand that Bolshevik vigilance not only does not exclude, but on the contrary implies, ability to show the maximum of caution and comradely care in the settlement of questions concerned with expulsion from the Party or the rehabilitation of expelled members.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union requires of all Party organisations and their leaders an increase by every possible means of Bolshevik vigilance in the mass of Party members, and the unmasking and final eradication of all conscious and unconscious enemies of the Party.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union considers that an essential condition for the successful solution of this problem is the utter liquidation of the anti-Party practice of a mass, non-individual, wholesale method of approach to men and women, to members of the Party.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union **resolves** :

1. That the regional committees, the territorial committees, the Central Committees of the national Communist Parties be obliged to put an end once and for all to the system of wholesale, mass expulsions from the Party, and to institute an individual, differentiated method of approach to the settlement of questions concerning expulsion from the Party or rehabilitation of those expelled.

2. That the regional committees, the territorial committees, the Central Committees of the national Communist Parties be obliged to remove from their posts in the Party, and to subject to Party discipline, those Party leaders who fail to carry out the directions of the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union by expelling from the Party members of and candidates for the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union without a painstaking study of all the materials, and by permitting arbitrary action with respect to members of the Party.

3. That the regional committees, the territorial committees, the Central Committees of the national Communist Parties and the party Collegia of the Commission for Party Control attached to the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union be summoned to complete within the space of three months the examination of the appeals of all those expelled from the Party.

4. That all Party committees be obliged to state clearly and exactly in their resolutions concerning the expulsion of communists from the Party the reasons for such action, in order that the superior Party organs may be in a position to check the accuracy of such resolutions; and that every resolution of the kind passed by a district committee, town committee, regional committee or the Central Committee of a national Communist Party must be published in the press.

5. That it be established that Party organs, when rehabilitating Party members wrongfully expelled by the local Party organisations, are obliged in their resolutions to state clearly which district committee or town committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union is to issue to the rehabilitated member his Party documents.

6. That the district committees and town committees of the Party be obliged to issue immediately their Party documents to rehabilitated members, to draw them into Party work, and to explain to all members of the primary Party organisations that they are responsible for the Bolshevik training of those restored to the ranks of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union.

7. That Party organisations be obliged to subject to Party discipline all persons guilty of slandering members of the Party, fully to rehabilitate such Party members, and to publish their resolutions in the press in all cases when the press previously published the material serving to discredit the member in question.

8. That Party organisations be forbidden to enter on the membership-card of a communist the fact that he has been expelled from the Party, before the examination of his appeal and the reaching of a final decision concerning his expulsion.

9. That the incorrect and harmful practice, whereby members expelled from the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union are immediately removed from the positions occupied by them, be forbidden.

That it be established, in all cases where it appears necessary, as a result of his expulsion from the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union, to relieve a worker from the position occupied by him, that such action may only be taken after he has been provided with an opportunity for other work.

10. That the regional committees, the territorial committees, the Central Committees of the national Communist Parties be obliged, not later than 15 February, 1938, to guarantee through the appropriate Soviet and economic organs the taking up of work by those expelled from the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union, and that they shall not in future allow a position to arise whereby those expelled from the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union remain deprived of work.

LETTER OF STALIN

On the external tasks of Communism

I. LETTER OF IVANOV TO STALIN.

Dear Comrade Stalin, I ask you urgently to elucidate for me the following question. Here on the spot, and even in the regional committee of the Young Communist League, there is a twofold conception of the final victory of Socialism in our country—that is, people confuse the first group of contradictions with the second. In your works on the destinies of Socialism in the Soviet Union there is question of two groups of contradictions, internal and external.

As regards the first group of contradictions, it is clear that we have solved them—Socialism within the country has conquered.

I should like to have an answer about the second group of contradictions, that is, as between the country of Socialism and (those of) Capitalism. You point out that the final victory of Socialism means the solution of external contradictions and gives complete security from intervention, and consequently from the restoration of Capitalism. This group of contradictions can only be solved by the efforts of the workers of all countries.

Yes, comrade Lenin also taught us that “to achieve final victory is only possible on an international scale, only by the joint efforts of the workers of all countries.”

While in the seminar for staff propagandists in the regional committee of the Young Communist League, I said, basing myself on your works,

that the final victory of Socialism can only be on a world scale, but the regional committee workers—Urozhenko (first secretary of the regional committee) and Kazelkov (propaganda instructor)—treat my statement as a Trotskyist sortie.

I began quoting to them your works on this subject, but Urozhenko suggested that I should shut the three-volume edition, saying that "comrade Stalin was speaking in 1926, whereas we are now in 1938; then we did not have the final victory, but now we have, and there is no need at all for us to think about intervention and restoration;" he said further that "now we have the final victory of Socialism and complete security from intervention and the restoration of Capitalism." Thus I have been held up as a supporter of Trotskyism and dismissed from propaganda work, and the question of my remaining in the Young Communist League has been raised.

I ask you, comrade Stalin, to explain to me: Have we, or have we not yet, the complete victory of Socialism? Perhaps I have not yet discovered the additional contemporary material on this problem, in view of the changes in the situation.

I also regard as anti-Bolshevist comrade Urozhenko's statement to the effect that comrade Stalin's works on this subject have become somewhat obsolete. And were the regional committee workers right in holding me for a Trotskyist? That is for me a great insult and injury.

I ask you, comrade Stalin, to accede to my request and to send your answer to Ivan Filippovich Ivanov, 1st Zasemsky Village Soviet, Manturovo District, Kursk Region.

18.1.38.

I. IVANOV.

2. STALIN'S REPLY TO IVANOV.

You are, of course, right, comrade Ivanov, and your opponents, that is comrades Urozhenko and Kazelkov, are wrong.

And here are the reasons.

There is no doubt that the question of the victory of Socialism in one country—in this particular case in our country—has two different aspects.

The first aspect of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country concerns the problem of the mutual relations of classes within our country. That is the domain of *internal* relations. Can the working class of our country overcome its contradictions with our peasantry and establish an alliance and co-operation with it? Can the working class of our country, in alliance with our peasantry, defeat the bourgeoisie of our country, take away its land, factories, mines, etc., and build up by its own forces a new classless society, a thoroughgoing Socialist society?

Such are the problems involved in the first aspect of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

Leninism gives an affirmative answer to those problems. Lenin teaches that "we have all that is necessary for building up a thorough-

going Socialist society". This means that we can and must, by our own forces, defeat our bourgeoisie and build up a Socialist society. Trotsky, Zinovyev, Kamenev and other gentlemen, who afterwards became the spies and agents of fascism, denied the possibility of building up Socialism in our country without a preliminary victory of Socialist revolution in other countries, in capitalist countries. These gentlemen in fact wanted to turn our country back, on the path of bourgeois development, covering their apostasy by false references to the "victory of the revolution" in other countries. This was the subject of the controversy between our party and those gentlemen. The further course of development of our country showed that the party was right and Trotsky and Co. were wrong. For during this period of time we have succeeded in liquidating our bourgeoisie, in establishing brotherly co-operation with our peasantry and in building up, in the main, a Socialist society, despite the fact that there has been no victory of Socialist revolution in other countries.

That is how the matter stands as regards the first aspect of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

I think, comrade Ivanov, that your controversy with comrades Urozhenko and Kazelkov, does not concern this aspect of the question.

The second aspect of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country concerns the problem of the mutual relations of our country with other countries, with capitalist countries, the problem of the mutual relations of the working class of our country with the bourgeoisie of other countries. This is the domain of *external, international* relations. Can the victorious Socialism of one country, which has for its environment a number of strong capitalist countries, regard itself as absolutely secure from the danger of military aggression (intervention) and, consequently, from attempts to re-establish capitalism in our country? Can our working class and our peasantry, by their own forces, without serious help from the working class of the capitalist countries, defeat the bourgeoisie of other countries just as they defeated their own? In other words, is it possible to regard the victory of Socialism in our country as final, that is, as secure from the danger of a military aggression and of attempts to re-establish capitalism, provided the victory of Socialism has been achieved in one single country and the capitalist surroundings still continue to exist?

Such are the problems involved in the second aspect of the question of the victory of Socialism in our country.

Leninism gives a negative answer to these problems. Leninism teaches that "the final victory of Socialism, in the sense of complete security from the restoration of bourgeois conditions, is possible only on an international scale" (see the well-known resolution of the 14th Conference of the All-Union Communist Party). This means that the serious help of the international proletariat is that force without which the problem of the final victory of Socialism in one country cannot be solved. This does not, of course, imply that we must sit with our arms folded

and await help from outside. On the contrary, the help on the part of the international proletariat must be combined with our efforts towards reinforcing the defences of our country, reinforcing the Red Army and the Red Navy, and mobilising the whole country in the struggle against military aggression and attempts at restoring bourgeois conditions.

This is what Lenin says on the subject :

" We live not only in a State, but in a system of States, and the existence of the Soviet Republic next to a number of imperialist States for a long time is unthinkable. In the end either the one or the other will have the better of it. Until that end comes, a series of most terrible conflicts between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois States is inevitable. This means that the ruling class, the proletariat, if it wants to and will rule, must prove this also by its military organisation." (Vol. XXIV, p. 122.)

And further :

" We are surrounded by people, classes and governments which openly express their hatred for us. It must be remembered that all the time a hair's breadth divides us from an invasion " (Vol. XXVII, p. 117.)

This is put tartly and strongly, but honestly and truthfully, without ornaments, as was Lenin's way.

On the basis of these premisses it was said in Stalin's *Problems of Leninism* :

" The final victory of Socialism means complete security from any attempts at intervention and therefore at restoration, for no serious attempt at restoration can have place unless with serious help from outside, with the help of international capital. Therefore the support of our revolution on the part of the workers of all countries, and still more the victory of those workers in at least some countries, is an indispensable condition of the complete security of the first victorious country from attempts at intervention and restoration, an indispensable condition of the final victory of Socialism." (*Problems of Leninism*, 1937, p. 134.)

Indeed, it would be absurd and ridiculous to shut one's eyes to the fact of the capitalist environment and to think that our enemies, for instance the Fascists, will not take the opportunity of a military attack against the USSR. Only blind braggarts can think so, or hidden enemies wishing to lull the people. It would be no less ridiculous to deny that in the event of the slightest success of military intervention the interventionists will try to overthrow the Soviet régime in the territories occupied by them and to restore the bourgeois régime. Did not Denikin and Kolchak restore the bourgeois régime in the territories occupied by them? Are the Fascists any better than Denikin or Kolchak? Only bunglers or hidden enemies, wishing to cover their hostility by boasting and trying to demobilise the people, can deny the danger of a military intervention and of attempts at restoration, given the existence of a capitalist environment. But is it possible to regard the victory of Socialism in one

country as final if that country has a capitalist environment and if it is not completely secure from the danger of intervention and restoration? Evidently not.

That is how it stands with the question of the victory of Socialism in one country.

It follows that this question comprises two different problems : (a) the problem of the *internal* relations of our country, that is the problem of overcoming our own bourgeoisie and building up thoroughgoing Socialism , and (b) the problem of the *external* relations of our country, that is the problem of the complete security of our country from the dangers of military intervention and restoration. The first problem has already been solved by us, because our bourgeoisie has already been liquidated and Socialism has already been built in essentials. We call this the victory of Socialism or, to be more exact, the victory of socialist construction in one country. We could say that this victory was final if our country were situated on an island and had not been surrounded by a number of other, capitalist, countries. But since we live not on an island but in a "system of States," a considerable number of which are hostile to the country of Socialism, thus creating a danger of intervention and restoration, we say openly and honestly that the victory of Socialism in our country is not yet complete. From this it follows, however, that the second problem is not yet solved and will have to be solved. Moreover, the second problem cannot be solved in the same way in which the first problem was solved, that is, by the unaided efforts of our country alone. The second problem can be solved only by combining a serious effort of the international proletariat with a still more serious effort of the whole of our Soviet people. It is necessary to strengthen and consolidate the international proletarian ties between the working class of the USSR and the working class of the bourgeois countries ; it is necessary to organise the political aid of the working class of the bourgeois countries to the working class of our country in the event of a military aggression against our country, just as to organise all kind of help on the part of the working class of our country to the working class of the bourgeois countries ; it is necessary to do our utmost to fortify and consolidate our Red Army, Red Navy, Red Air Force, and Chemical and Air Defence (Osoaviakhim). It is necessary to keep our entire people in a state of mobilised readiness in the face of the danger of a military aggression, so that no "chance" and no tricks on the part of our external enemies could take us unawares.

From your letter it is evident that comrade Urozhenko professes different views which are not exactly Lenin's. He appears to assert that "we have now the final victory of Socialism and a complete security from intervention and restoration of capitalism." There can be no doubt that comrade Urozhenko is radically wrong. Such an assertion on the part of comrade Urozhenko can only be explained by a misunderstanding of the surrounding reality and by an ignorance of the elementary principles of Leninism, or else by the empty boasting of a

conceited young official. If it is true that "we have complete security from intervention and restoration of capitalism," do we then need a strong Red Army, Red Navy, Red Air Force, or a strong Osoaviakhim, do we need the strengthening and consolidation of the international proletarian ties? Would it not be better to turn the milliards spent on the reinforcement of the Red Army to some other purpose while reducing the Red Army to a minimum or disbanding it altogether? Such people as comrade Urozhenko, even if they are subjectively loyal to our cause, are, objectively speaking, dangerous to it, because by their boasting, willingly or unwillingly (this does not matter!) they lull our people, demobilise workers and peasants, and help our enemies to take us unawares in case of international complications.

As regards the fact that you, comrade Ivanov, have been dismissed from propaganda work and that the question of your membership of the Young Communist League has been raised, you need have no fears on this score. If the people from the regional committee of the Young Communist League really want to be like Chekhov's Pribisheyev, there can be no doubt that they will lose the game. Our country has no use for Pribisheys.

Now you can judge whether a certain passage from the *Problems of Leninism* on the subject of the victory of Socialism in one country has become obsolete. I myself should very much like to see it become obsolete and to see such unpleasant things as capitalist surroundings, the danger of military aggression, the danger of restoration of capitalism, etc., disappear from the world. But unfortunately those unpleasant things still exist.

12 February, 1938.

(Sgd.) I. STALIN.

CHRONICLE

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

The Soviet General Elections.

The first general elections under the new Soviet Constitution were held on 12 December, 1937, when 569 deputies for the Soviet of the Union and 574 deputies for the Soviet of Nationalities were balloted and elected. The two Soviets together will constitute the new Supreme Soviet, with a total membership of 1,143 deputies. Each deputy in the Soviet of the Union represents 300,000 of the population; the Soviet of Nationalities consists of 25 deputies for each Union Republic, 11 for each autonomous republic, five for each autonomous district and one for each national district.

The elections unquestionably constituted the big event of the year, even overshadowing the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution. While differing from elections in countries where the party system operates, the Soviet elections nevertheless offered opportunity for the

population to express themselves for or against the single list of unopposed candidates which stood before the country, of course under the conditions of political dictatorship. In two districts only were there more than one candidate, and here the candidates declared themselves as not opposing each other, but as all standing for the Stalin socialist programme. All candidates represented the "Party and non-Party Block."

Voting began at 6 a.m. and closed at 12 midnight. Having in mind that a large proportion of these voting stations were situated far from railway and even telegraph or telephone communications, the election results became known strangely soon. First reports, nearly complete, appeared in the Moscow dailies for 15 December. Final reports were published on the 17th, *five days* after the elections.

All persons of sane mind, 18 years or older, were entitled to vote. Out of the total population of 169,000,000 there were 94,138,159 who registered as voters, and 91,113,153 who actually voted, viz 96 per cent. Of this number 89,844,271 (98.6 per cent.) voted for candidates in the Soviet of the Union, and 89,003,169 (97.8 per cent.) for candidates in the Soviet of Nationalities. First reports stated that faulty ballots numbered 61,784, and that ballots with names scratched totalled 134,914; later the number of scratched ballots was reported to be 1,334,124, and more than 2,000,000 votes were invalidated in other ways. Of the 1,143 deputies, 855 are members of the Communist Party, 288 are non-Party. 184 are women.

The Supreme Council.

The first session of the Supreme Council, consisting of the deputies elected on 12 December, 1937, began on 12 January in Moscow. In spite of its historic significance, as the first congress under the new Constitution, there was no ostentatious opening ceremony. On the 13th, three permanent commissions were elected: on New Legislation D. M. Yevtuchenko, President; Budget, I. I. Siderov, President; Foreign Affairs, A. A. Zhdanov, President.

In addition to material published at the time of the elections, the following statistics were published. In the Union Soviet there were 247 workers, 130 peasants, 169 office workers or soviet intelligentsia; in the Soviet of Nationalities, 218 workers, 200 peasants, 156 office workers and intelligentsia. Taking the two houses together, 908 out of the 1,145 deputies were persons holding official positions in the government apparatus, 235 were not in government service; 870 were members of the Communist Party. Of the 569 deputies in the Union Soviet, only 183 were 41 years or older; in the other house, only 129 were 41 or older.

The first joint session took place on the 15th, when changes in the Constitution were voted. Articles 22, 23, 26, 28 and 29 were altered to adjust administrative divisions in the territory of the USSR. There were added, art. 49, giving to the Praesidium, viz., the permanent organ, the right to "declare martial law in separate districts or in the whole

USSR to preserve public order and the safety of the state"; art. 77, to establish three new state commissariats, viz, Machine Construction, Navy and Grain Collection, constituted since the adoption of the Constitution, articles 70, 78 and 83, to make adjustments in the structure of the executive organ of government

On the 17th followed the long-awaited election of the President, Vice-Presidents and members of the Praesidium of the Supreme Council. Contrary to some expectations, Kalnin was elected President, and Stalin simply elected one of the 24 members. At this session, Molotov, as President of the Soviet of People's Commissaries, presented the resignation of this body, in accordance with art. 70, to permit the election of the new Sov. Nar. Kom. by the Supreme Council. Thereupon followed three significant speeches criticising the work of certain of the resigning commissaries, after which the Council gave a vote of confidence in Molotov and instructed him to propose the membership of a new government, to be approved by the Council.

The speeches of Zhdanov, Bagirov and Kossior were the only points in the whole Congress upon which a difference of opinion among the deputies might have developed, and even here the criticisms so plainly reflected the present general mood that no parliamentary debate could be expected.

The only danger spot was foreign affairs, and probably Soviet citizens, as well as the world abroad, wondered if Litvinov would survive the criticism, coming as it did so soon after the purge in his Commissariat, which cost a number of diplomats and high officials their lives or their posts. Consequently, when Molotov took the floor at the joint session on the 19th to present his cabinet list, interest was especially high. He admitted that the Government had not adequately dealt with the matter of consulates until just recently. With astonishing baldness, he declared that "several foreign consuls have been occupied with inadmissible affairs of hostile, anti-Soviet espionage, and of a wrecking character," and named consulates which had been closed or were proposed for closing. As regards Manchukuo, he more diplomatically stated that "we shall certainly carry through the measures required of us." Similarly, regarding France, he contented himself with giving an assurance that "the necessary instructions would be given to the Commissary for Foreign Affairs." The other criticisms were easily dealt with, by an intimation of a change of the officials in charge. Thus ended the interpellation, and the only "debate" of the Congress. Molotov thereupon presented his list of People's Commissaries, the names being unanimously approved as read by show of hands, the manner of voting used throughout the Congress.

The presiding officer announced that all items on the agenda had been dealt with, and declared the First Session of the Supreme Council adjourned. Some peculiarities of the Council session may be noted. First, there were no parties in the usual sense, or "fractions," as at the

Soviet meetings of 1917-18. Neither was there any spontaneous speaking to measures under debate or to points of order. Possibly at a subsequent session deputies will feel more at home and take greater advantage of the rules, the principal features of which are the following: (1) any group of 50 deputies may have its spokesman, (2) personal declarations and comments may be presented in writing to be read by the President, (3) special questions presented in writing are to be read out immediately by the President. The resolutions actually presented in this session came in the name of "a group of deputies from Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Tashkent," or "a group of delegates of the R.S.F.S.R., Ukraine, Belorussia," etc., and of an unexplained body, "the Soviet of elders of both houses," which may have been the steering committee, though such a body is not mentioned either in the constitution or in the rules of the Council. Second, if one is to judge from the first Session, the deputies came to Moscow not so much for the purpose of proposing legislation as for instruction. This seems the more likely when one bears in mind that 870 were members of the Party and thus subject to discipline, and that 908 out of the 1,143 were already a part of the government apparatus before election. Furthermore, the monthly expense allowances of Rs. 100, with free rail and water transport, were made explicitly in order to enable the members to be deputies to the people as well as of the people. Third, the Session brought into being a renovated central governing apparatus, with a notable number of new personalities, which indicates that the old cliques are to a considerable extent removed at the centre as throughout the country. Twenty of the 27 members of the Council of Peoples Commissaries are new to this body. Fourth, the fact that foreign affairs occupied the leading place in the "debate" shows that the nation is further being impressed with the dangers threatening a unique socialist country in the midst of its capitalistic environment, regardless of its achievements at home.

The power and authority of the Supreme Council cannot yet be considered equivalent to its exalted name. No reports on any of the great national problems were presented to it, whereas on the 18th, when there was no regular sitting of the congress, there was a meeting of the Plenum of the Communist Party at which the outgoing, but re-elected, Commissary for Agriculture, Eiche, made a detailed report on the agricultural situation (published in *Izvestia*, 22 January, three days after the closing of the session of the Council). A bulletin regarding this "regular session" of the Party Plenum states that the "Plenum reviewed the questions before the Supreme Council and took the necessary decisions." Also it "reviewed a number of economic questions and took the necessary decisions." On the other hand, the new Praesidium of the Council, meeting on 24 January, busied itself chiefly with decisions to print the reports of the Session, to establish an official journal, and similar routine matters. Coming months will reveal the measure in which the Soviet of People's Commissaries, as the executive body elected

by the Council, will exercise its function under the direction of the Praesidium of the Council, and how far under the Plenum of the Party.

Closing Consulates.

The agitation for closing consulates in the USSR reflected by Zhdanov's speech at the Supreme Council, has resulted in a great reduction in their number, apparently twenty. By 15 January Japanese consulates were closed in Novosibirsk and Odessa, Polish in Harkov and Tiflis; German in Leningrad, Harkov, Odessa, Tiflis and Vladivostok, Turkish consulates in Odessa, Baku, Erivan and Leninakane will be closed on 31 March. Two Afghan consulates have been closed, and those of Italy, Iran and Latvia reduced in number. The British Consulate in Leningrad will be closed, according to a Foreign Office announcement on 14 February; but it is made clear that this decision has been taken under protest to the Soviet authorities.

Commissariat for Naval Affairs.

Further recognition of the necessity of building up adequate defence of the country is found in the decree of 31 December, 1937, establishing a People's Commissariat for Naval Affairs, under P. A. Smirnov. There is evidence that the Soviet Union intends to rapidly increase its naval strength, and will use Leningrad and the neighbouring island of Kronstadt as an important base for construction and fortification.

Prisoners released.

A decree of 19 December, 1937, announces rewards for those who have constructed the newly completed second track of the railway line from Karym to Habarovsk, in Far Eastern Siberia, including the release of ten thousand prisoners of the Commissariat of the Interior, who are to be assisted in finding voluntary labour and given railway tickets and from Rs. 100 to Rs. 500 each, in cash.

Agriculture.

The condition of Soviet agriculture may be considered fairly satisfactory at the turn of the year. Throughout January the press continued a campaign for speeding up the repair of tractors, combines, etc., and for the cleaning, sorting and proper distribution of seed grain throughout the provinces. While it is emphasised that hardly anywhere is the work up to plan, and in some places far behind, yet the report of the Commissary of Agriculture, Eiche, on 18 January, gives on the whole a favourable impression. Two important factors are (1) actual facilities for repairs, and (2) the status of personnel—kolhoz directors and qualified technicians. Facilities for repair are inadequate; of the 6,819 Machine Tractor Stations, only 3,731 have repair shops. The total number of repair benches is 18,337, which, Eiche said, means that each bench must do all the repairs on five tractors, 15 autos or trucks, 14 combines and 13 threshing machines. The directors of the MTS have been sending

in more and more tractors for complete overhauling instead of for repair jobs, for the reason that overhauling is done at the cost of the state budget, whereas repair is on the account of the MTS. This has led to a government decision (6 February) whereby the state budget covers all MTS expenses. As regards personnel, the situation in places is bad, thus in Belorussia, only 144 out of the 200 MTS possess regularly appointed directors. Engineers or trained technicians sent out are frequently diverted to other posts than the ones for which they were summoned. Frequently bad housing and conditions of work have been responsible for loss of personnel. It is now proposed that the repair shop personnel should work in two or three shifts in order to catch up with the plan, which on 13 February, *Pravda* declared to be only fulfilled up to 59 per cent. by the 5th of that month.

The total sown area in 1938 will be 2,967,500 hectares less than in 1937, but more intensive farming is expected to maintain the grain crop at 7-8 milliard of puds. Technical crops will be reduced, except cotton, which will have an increased planting of 1,991,200 hectares. A livestock census was inaugurated in January, for the whole of the USSR.

New Year Celebration.

The tendency in recent years to make New Year's Day a festive occasion reached its highest point thus far with 1 January, 1938. Public and private celebrations were more numerous and more elaborate than ever before. The Soviet press reports many such at points all the way from Novaya Zemlya, where there was a costume ball with a radio programme from Moscow, to Uzbekistan, where a full granary in 1937 was the occasion for celebrations by collective farmers. In Kiev, special parties and cinemas were arranged for children. At Dnepropetrovsk, 2,000 persons attended a New Year's dance. One special feature of the celebration this year was the giving of gifts and the use of Christmas trees. The great squares of Moscow each had a brilliantly decorated Christmas Tree. The use of trees by private families was encouraged, and there was much talk of "Grandfather Frost," the bringer of gifts. By a coincidence, intentional or not, the pictures and shop window decorations of Grandfather Frost bore a striking resemblance to the famous polar explorer, Otto Schmidt. Many children are reported as confusing the two characters, since both are popular heroes, both come from the Far North, and both wear luxurious beards.

Large Families.

One object of the decree making abortion a crime, after years of officially aided birth-control, was an increase in the birth rate. Moscow reports that during 1937 135,000 children were born in the city, as contrasted with 71,000 in 1936. Recent reports indicate other encouragements, to large families, in the form of financial aid to parents and large increases in the number of lying-in homes and crèches.

Heavy Industry.

In November the Commissary for Heavy Industry, Kaganovich, stated that for the first nine months of 1937 the operations of heavy industry had been unsatisfactory. Metallurgy in its various branches is cited as typical, where production both in quantity and quality lags behind the plan. There are frequent stoppages of machines, a large number of breakdowns and a large percentage of defective products. Among the reasons for these conditions he cites lack of technical supervision, carelessness in operation, poorly organised supply and careless repairs. The measures which he proposes to remedy the situation are given in great detail and are quite elementary.

Payments to Italy.

On 29 January *Komsomolskaya Pravda* published a statement to the effect that the Government's decision to suspend all payments to Italian institutions or business concerns was taken because of non-payment by the Italian Navy and Italian firms for goods supplied them by the Soviet Union. The statement puts the sum involved at £185,000, and calls attention to the regular payment of vastly larger amounts to other nations with which Russia trades.

Religion.

The purge which affected the Party, government apparatus and institutions, touched the Union of Militant Godless as well. During the autumn of 1937 its provincial and district soviets and even the Central Soviet and staff were given a severe overhauling; and a great many leaders were dismissed, including Lukachevsky, who, although he has been responsible for training the godless ranks, was found to have recruited "adventurers, political suspects, Trotskyist bandits." After the purge came a period of reconstruction, during which inspectors reconstituted local and district organs, and the Central Soviet carried through a series of planning conferences, culminating in a Plenum held on 1 to 4 February, 1938. A national Conference is planned for September. The Party and government have played a larger and more direct role in the anti-religious campaign, especially during the elections and by using the organs in which instructions are given to Party agitators and organisers. In various parts of the Union, bishops and priests, as well as Lutheran pastors, sectarian leaders, and Moslems, have been arrested on charges of participating in groups engaged in espionage and wrecking, and such groups have been "liquidated." The main effort is now to draw believers away from their leaders, and to discredit the latter by causing them to appear disloyal or unworthy of esteem. Reports that Metropolitan Sergius, Locum Tenens of the Patriarchal Throne, had been put on trial, proved to be erroneous, and were probably based on the fact that his name also appeared in articles in which attempts were made to discredit leading bishops.

The Theatre.

The Meyerhold Theatre was liquidated on 8 January, and the players distributed among other theatres, for failure to maintain its *repertoire* and artistic spirit in line with Soviet politics. On the other hand on 16 January, Stanislavsky and the Moscow Art Theatre were accorded special acclaim and honour.

The Home Commissariat.

Celebrations were staged throughout the Soviet Union on 20 December in honour of the twentieth anniversary of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (*Narkomvnutel*). Organised originally as the Extraordinary Commission for Struggle against Counter-revolution (*Cheka*), it was later transformed into the General State Political Administration (OGPU), and recently made into a national commissariat. At the meeting in Moscow, most of the party and government leaders were present. On the same day, the Moscow press stated that on 16 December a secret session of the Military Commission of the Supreme Court had dealt with the charges of treason, terrorist activity and espionage in the interest of a foreign power, against Enukidze, Karakhan, Orachelashvili, Shimbelayev, Larin, Metzhelev, Zuckermann and Steiger. The first two have held high government posts, Karakhan having been an ambassador in the foreign service and later first assistant to Litvinov. Enukidze was one of Stalin's most effective immediate aides. All are reported to have confessed to the crimes with which they were charged. They were found guilty and executed by shooting.

On 18 January the Central Committee of the Party passed a resolution entitled as follows: "On the mistakes of Party Organisations in expelling members of the Party, on the formal bureaucratic attitude toward appeals from persons expelled, and on measures for eliminating these errors." This extensive document¹ emphasises the need for an individual approach to each case, humane consideration of persons, and due caution before inflicting upon any member the effective punishment of expulsion from the Party. Many examples are cited of hasty or even malicious decisions. All Party organisations are instructed to "put an end to mass expulsion . . . and to practise an individual approach in deciding either expulsion or reinstatement on appeal. . . . To prohibit the incorrect and harmful practice of immediately removing persons expelled from the Party from the posts they occupy."

League of Nations.

In two speeches at meetings of the League Council (27 January and 1 February), Litvinov reiterated the Soviet's firm adherence to the League Covenant. Despite the fact that the Soviet Union did not participate in the founding of the League, Litvinov declared it had never shirked either at Geneva or in other parts of the world its full responsibility as a

¹ Printed in full on p. 703.

member of the League. There is no danger of the League's becoming an "ideological bloc," except as it represents the ideology of respect for the independence and inviolability of all existing States, the repudiation of war as a means of settling international disputes, the recognition of the equality of all peoples. Art. XVI should be retained unaltered. Even if it is not fully realisable at present, it is an asset, and should be kept as such on the books of the League.

The Latest Trial.

On 2 March began in Moscow one of the largest group trials, embracing both the Right Wing and Trotsky groups, where the accused represented the greatest variety of careers and occupations. Among them were many men of the first eminence in Soviet history: an ex-Prime Minister, Rykov; an ex-head of the OGPU, Yagoda; an ex-editor of *Izvestiya*, Bukharin, who was also the author of the classic "A.B.C. of Communism," and the distinguished ex-Ambassadors, Rakovsky and Krestinsky (the later was actually at one time General Secretary of the Communist Party). Charges have been freely distributed of terrorism, wrecking, and espionage on behalf of the most various foreign governments, including the British, and the practically unanimous confessions have also covered the most various grounds. All but three of the accused were condemned to death. Rakovsky, Pletnev and Bezsonov received various terms of imprisonment.

REVIEWS

Michael Bakunin. By E. H. Carr, Wilson Professor of International Politics in the University College of Wales. (Studies in Modern History under the general editorship of Professor L. B. Namier.) Macmillan & Co., London, 1937. x + 501 pp. 25s.

THERE is only one full-length biography of Bakunin—a four-volume one, written by the well-known Russian Communist Steklov-Nakhamkes. As Professor Carr remarks, "This is not an inspired work. It is frequently deficient in sympathy and understanding; and the canons of Soviet orthodoxy compel the author to take sides against Bakunin with Marx on every issue between them" (p. 491). Professor Carr's own book, which combines the qualities of scholarship, understanding and eminent readability, is therefore particularly welcome. Its great merit is the balance, which the author succeeds in preserving throughout, between the portrait of the man and the story of his ideological evolution and his political ventures. In tracing Bakunin's career, from his youthful romantic enthusiasm first for Fichte and then for Hegel to the thorough-going anarchism of his old age, Professor Carr never allows us to forget for a moment that behind all the issues with which Bakunin's name was associated, lay the sheer infectious force of his weird, incalculable personality. Bakunin's outstanding characteristic, both as a man and

as a political thinker, was his childlike irresponsibility. From his early days at Pryamukhino to the tragi-comic episode of Baronata, Bakunin remained an incorrigible dreamer. The whole episode of his relations with Nechayev, the fantastic story of his friendship with Roman-Postnikov, an *agent provocateur* posing as a retired colonel of revolutionary sympathies and "executant" of Bakunin's secret errands, and the interminable pathetic tale of Bakunin's financial "transactions," consisting mainly of borrowings both on a large and petty scale—are so many instances of his political and human irresponsibility. And yet this irresponsible dreamer not only exercised a powerful influence on the destinies of the revolutionary movement in the world during his lifetime, but has also left a very tangible posthumous trace.

Throughout his book Professor Carr is wary of generalisations and seems deliberately to shun the issue of Bakunin's relation to the "Marxist" experiment which has been going on in Russia since 1917, although he gives a detailed and lucid exposition of the controversy between Bakunin and Marx which ended in the disruption of the first International. He may be, however, erring on the side of cautiousness when he says: "Bakunin's influence on subsequent history has been incomparably weaker than that of Marx, and is difficult to assess with any precision" (p. 439). A little further he says: "An ingenious political theorist might trace a curious affinity between the Fascist State and the 'rational' but 'iron' dictatorship which Bakunin attributed to Muravyev in Siberia, and argue that the modern clash of proletarian and Fascist dictatorships is the latest expression of the historical struggle between Karl Marx and Michael Bakunin" (p. 439). It would be, however, much more plausible to argue that important elements of "Bakuninism," in its pure essence, and of a vintage subsequent to Bakunin's "cult" of Muravyev, went to the making of the proletarian dictatorship as embodied in the Lenin-Stalin régime. Bakunin and Marx, between whom no real love was ever lost, ended by becoming bitter enemies; but this did not prevent Marx's Russian disciples from incorporating some of Bakunin's practical precepts in their realisation of Marx's theories. Professor Carr himself implies this obvious conclusion when he says (p. 438): "Bakunin is known to the world as one of the founders of anarchism. It is less often remembered that he was the first originator of the conception of a select and closely organised revolutionary party, bound together not only by common ideals, but by the tie of implicit obedience to an absolute revolutionary dictator." It was, in fact Bakunin's (and Nechayev's) conception that guided Lenin, good Marxist though he was, in the building up of his Bolshevik party. To that conception the Soviet régime owed a great deal of its initial success, and by that conception it is still guided in its dealings with its enemies. All of which does not impair the fact that had Bakunin been alive in our days, he would have probably been among those enemies. For, as Professor Carr points out in summarising Bakunin's quarrel with Marx, "Bakunin

was, in theory, the most fanatical advocate of freedom, and the most complete individualist, who ever lived" (p. 435).

Professor Carr's book is a valuable addition to his earlier works in the field of Russian studies. It is a masterly biography of one of the most picturesque figures in 19th-century Europe, who played a large part in its destinies and whose path was crossed by several other important figures; it forms, therefore, also an interesting chapter in European political history. Certain points in Professor Carr's graphic and exciting account may receive further elucidation from new documents; but, as far as we can know it at present, the story is complete: an enormous wealth of material has been brought together by the author and presented to the reader in a scholarly, lucid and attractive form.

One of the minor inaccuracies noted by the present reviewer is the transcription of the name of the well-known Russian painter Ge, the friend of Tolstoy: if the original French transcription he adhered to, it should be "Gay" and not "Gué."

GLEB STRUVE.

Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadiae gestarum. Edited by E. Szentpetery. Vol. I, Budapest (Ac. Litt. Hung. & Soc. Hist. Hung.) 2 vols., 75 pengő.

THE appearance of a new edition of the old Hungarian Chronicles is an important event for historians of Central and Eastern Europe. The various Hungarian Chronicles, Lives of Saints, etc., constitute no mean body of literature, and are an essential source for the history, not only of Hungary itself, but also, in a lesser degree, of many of its neighbours. Yet many of them have been available hitherto only in the edition of Endlicher, now nearly a century old, or that of Florian, not so very much younger. Some have still to be extricated from such collections as Pertz or the *Acta Sanctorum*. Endlicher is entirely devoid of any notes, and is disfigured by many misprints; Florianus is only a degree better.

The Hungarian Academy and Historical Society have now undertaken the great task of producing a complete new edition, embodying all the results of recent research, of all Chronicles, etc., of the Arpad era. There are to be two volumes; this, the first, contains the famous "Gesta" of the Anonymous Notary, the three extensive narrative Chronicles (Kezai, the *Chronicon Budense* and the *Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense*), the shorter Zagreb and Varad Chronicles, and the fragmentary *Annales Posonienses*. Each text is preceded by an introduction, in Latin, and accompanied by critical and a few exegetical notes in the same tongue.

The careful collation of the texts and the provision of a full *apparatus criticus* is most valuable. Particularly to be welcomed is Professor Domanovsky's study of the texts of the longer Chronicles, which fully justifies him in the bold step of printing the *Budense* and *Vindobonense*

in parallel columns, as constituting essentially two versions of a single narrative. It would have made for greater clarity still, although the arrangement would have been awkward, if Kezai's text could have been given in a third parallel.

The historical and exegetical notes, whether supplied in the form of introductions or below the texts, do not always rise to the same level as the textual criticism. Professor Pais' geographical and etymological notes on Anonymus are often most useful, but where he ventures beyond this limited field, his explanations are often too daring to command ready acceptance; particularly in the passages where he feels bound to explain away Anonymus' tactless mention of Vlachs. We sorely miss any sort of explanation of Anonymus' methods or appreciation of his trustworthiness as a historical source. Dr. Deer's essay on the original "Gesta" and the date of Anonymus completely misses what are for the ordinary student the main points, and do not even leave him very clear on those points which appear especially to interest its writer. Similarly, some attempt to show the sources and estimate the reliability of the longer narrative Chronicles is sorely needed; the occasional references to Jordanes or Regino are quite insufficient. In this respect, however, the level is uneven, rather than uniformly low; there are portions of the text which are liberally annotated, others are left almost virgin.

There are a considerable number of minor errors in the notes and cross-references; on pp. 182-3 alone I counted three. These are not as a rule very important, and will presumably be corrected in a later edition. On p. 135 Professor Domanovsky, in his introduction to Kezai, commits the astonishing slip of alleging that Anonymus does not mention Attila. On the next page the same writer seems to misinterpret the views of his predecessor in criticism, Kaindl. To conclude the grumbles, one feels that a book issued at this substantial price might have been bound in cloth.

For all these minor defects, however, this work is an extremely valuable one. We look forward with warm interest to the appearance of the second volume; and repeat, that the whole enterprise renders a very great service to all students in this restricted but highly interesting field.

C. A. MACARTNEY.

Wladyslaw Reymont—Twórca i Dzieło. (Władysław Reymont—*The Author and His Work.*) By Professor J. Krzyżanowski. Lwow, 1937. Pp. 212.

PROFESSOR KRZYŻANOWSKI, whose lectures on Polish literature in the University of London are gratefully remembered by those who had the privilege of attending them, has now given us a very interesting study on the novelist Reymont. Reymont's career was a remarkable one. Of peasant birth, his childhood was one of physical and mental misery. He ran away from every school. He tramped. He joined a

provincial travelling theatrical company. He entered 'a religious novitiate. He worked on the railway. Finally, with three roubles in his pocket, he went to Warsaw, and through years of great hardship supported himself by his pen, eventually becoming one of the finest of Poland's novelists.

Professor Krzyżanowski treats his subject with close and critical scrutiny, invaluable to the student of Polish literature. As he points out, Reymont differs from the other Polish novelists of his day and of the preceding generation in that his works have no definite national or moral purpose. Reymont is not psychological, and he characterises the general type rather than the individual. His masterpiece is of course, *The Peasants*, a saga in four parts corresponding to the four seasons, which was crowned by the Nobel prize. In it every phase of village life and of Nature, which is not merely the integral background, but a chief actor in the tale, is pictured from the peasant standpoint. Professor Krzyżanowski gives the most detailed criticism in his book to this work. Our only wish is that he had elucidated the disputed question as to whether Reymont's peasants are true to type. Here, as in his other great novel, *The Promised Land*, depicting the grim struggle of the manufacturing town Łódź, Reymont proves that extraordinary power of description and of imparting atmosphere which, as our own author notes, he owes to the fact that, possessing a phenomenal sharpness of observation, he portrays only what he had seen with his own eyes. Thus, although he was more at home in the country than in the town, he excels in the drama of movement and crowd, and this is the saving quality of his not very successful historical trilogy. This trilogy, the less well-known novels, and the short stories are all dealt with by Professor Krzyżanowski in a spirit of sound criticism supported by numerous excerpts. An especially attractive feature of the book is the attention that the author devotes to the fascinating subject of Reymont's language and style.

M. M. GARDNER.

Dzieje Polski Nowożytnej (The History of Modern Poland). By Władysław Konopczyński. Warsaw, 1936. 2 vols., pp. 437 and 459, with bibliography and index.

FOR many years a "new" History of Poland for the use of mature students, as well as for the educated reader, has been greatly desired. Bobrzynski's two volumes are now sixty, Szujski's one volume nearly fifty years old. They could no longer meet the need of our time, or of the greatly changed conditions. For this reason, the appearance of Professor Konopczyński's book is most timely.

In its author we have both the careful scholar, and the experienced teacher. We also have the Chief Editor of the now appearing Dictionary of National Biography. He has long since staked out a claim to write the story of Poland's good and evil fortunes from the end of the Jagiel-

lonian line in 1572 to the Partitions, by his special researches in two quite distinct fields. On the one hand he has become known as a student of Poland's relations with her Baltic neighbours, notably with Sweden; on the other, he is a first-class authority on the workings of the disastrous *Liberum Veto*—the principle of unanimity which from 1652 onwards made the Polish Diet the laughing-stock of Europe. Whether then in the realm of international relations, which bulked so largely in the years leading up to the Thirty Years' War—with its Swedish hero, or on the constitutional issues that disturbed the peace of mind of all serious patriots until order was achieved out of chaos in the reign of Stanislas "the Last," we have in Konopczyński a wise and sure guide. No issues are evaded, no fear or favour is shown in treating of either kings or commoners. The reviewer found particular satisfaction in the closing chapter of Vol. I, in which a survey is given of the transition period of Sigismund III, covering every phase of public and private living. It is an essay of which any cultural historian might be proud.

One is pulled up short by the realisation that, before the rise of Prussia and the entry on the scene of Peter the Great, it was Poland and Sweden that were rivals for controlling influence in the Baltic. The axis ran north-south. Later it changed, and ran west-east. But there is one abiding factor, the presence of the Hansa towns—chief among them Dantzic—which stood to win or lose most of all by the change. Curiously enough, history is repeating itself in this respect in our own day.

It was to be expected that Professor Konopczyński should give less attention to Poland's relations with her southern neighbours. The struggle with Chmielnicki gets brilliant, though brief treatment; the year 1683 scarcely more. But the sham and the reality of the succeeding Saxon Age are set out in full. Poland, as has been said, ceased to play a part; she was no longer "subject," but became "object"—a pawn in others' games. Swiftly drifting into helplessness, she endured the limits of humiliation; but out of the collapse of the State came the birth of a nation. On all this the author of *Mrok i Swit* (1911), and *Liberum Veto* (1918) is surely a very competent authority. The blame for the dismemberment of Poland is squarely apportioned—both within and without the country.

It is surely a pity that so fine a piece of writing should have to be done in a language few others than Poles will ever read. True, there are at last some who give themselves the trouble to master a difficult tongue—at least to the point of reading; and not only in the countries bordering on Poland. This is a hopeful sign. All the same it would be a boon to many if this valuable work could be translated into either French or English, in order that a far wider circle of students could form a new contact, and with a very live mind.

W. J. ROSE.

Die Polnische Kunst von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart. By Alfred Kuhn. Berlin, 1937 (Klinkhart and Biermann).

THIS is the second edition of a work published in 1930, which gives a most informing account of the progress of the fine arts in Poland during four generations. Not only has the text been enlarged and improved, but the number of illustrations also, and they are very well done indeed. No better handbook to painting and sculpture, in modest dimensions, could be imagined.

After a brief glance at the earlier artists of the 17th and 18th centuries, including, of course, foreigners working in Poland, like Canaletto and Le Brun, the author gives us a fuller account of the work of Orłowski and his successors, going on to Gerson and his school, to Kossak, and then to Chelmonski and the wonderful Matejko. But what interests him far more is the Young Poland group, formed in Cracow in 1897: a "secession," in which Dr. Kuhn finds much that contributed to the national regeneration, and to the vital forces to be seen at work in the new State. These men, notably Fałat, Wyspianski, Malczewski and Wyczółkowski, rejected the use of the arts for national purposes, but made their art a contribution to the national heritage *per se*. If Dr. Kuhn is right, then the years 1897-1901 were indeed critical ones for the national cause and Cracow can claim an even larger place in the rebuilding of Polish traditions than is usually conceded.

A chapter is devoted to Engraving, a field in which the Poles have won special distinction—the names of Skoczylas and the still young Mroczewski occur to one at once; and another to sculpture. It is significant how much there can be found of the influence of the medieval folk wood-cutting (mostly for church uses), in even the newest Polish "plastik." Finally we learn something about the Polish kilim, which is only now being discovered by western Europe. There is a good bibliography, and a useful list of errata corrects a number of unfortunate slips in spelling in the text. We commend this little book to all readers of German.

W. J. ROSE.

Germany Pushes South East. By Dr. Gerhard Schacher. London (Hurst and Blackett), 1938. 7s. 6d. net. 256 pages.

SELDOM has a book appeared at so opportune a moment as Dr. Schacher's latest study of Pan-German doctrine and practice. Unhappily his warning came too late, and it can now only be read under the overwhelming impression of Hitler's sudden and bloodless conquest of Austria—an event which history will probably rank as comparable to that other no less sudden but less bloodless assault upon Austria by Frederick the Great just under 200 years ago. Indignation at the event and at the treacherous methods employed since 1934 against Austria, must not blind us to the fact that Hitler has behind him a force which Frederick lacked: for while Frederick was the expression of a militant Prussia

in the making, his action was none the less one of naked dynastic aggrandisement, based on a conscript rather than a national army, whereas today the yearning for the completion of German national unity at all costs gave Hitler support in many quarters which had little or no sympathy for the man or his crude political theories, but saw in him a dynamic personality, sticking at nothing, and capable of achieving a great aim, and for its sake were ready to condone almost any crime. This is not to deny that the majority of the Austrian population were solidly opposed to the Reich régime, and therefore to "Anschluss for the duration of that régime" but these opposing forces were not united, and the minority which set unity above régime derived infinite élan and "drive" from the ruthless backing of the Reich forces.

Dr. Schacher's book illuminates the background of the Austrian tragedy, showing in the first instance that the Pan-Germanic programme, which played its part in the Germany of William II, had in no way been scotched by the outcome of the Great War, but had resumed its course even under the Weimar Republic, only to find in Adolf Hitler a far more untrammelled leader and a far astuter tactician than William II. It is highly characteristic that the same circles which stressed Germany's complete innocence in the controversy as to war guilt should be the advocates of a new expansive creed, resting at one and the same time on the need for more "space" (Raum) and on the expansive rights of race (Volkstum).

The early chapters bring out very clearly the extent to which East and West are inseparable, the capital part played by propaganda as an instrument of victory, and accepts the argument (supported by more than one passage in *Mein Kampf*) that Pan-German aims in East Europe can only be fully realised after the final destruction of French military power.

Not the least interesting section is that in which he surveys the steady trend of feeling towards the economic consolidation of the three northern Danubian states—a process which has now been violently arrested, with consequences which only fools would as yet attempt to prophesy.

A second edition of the book discusses German policy towards Vienna, Prague, the Little and Balkan Ententes, and a third (even more enlightening for the British reader) "German Economic Strategy in the South East," including a survey of the raw materials and foodstuff obtainable for the Danubian and Balkan countries, and the various ingenious methods of payment adopted by "the big customer."

This leads logically to an account of the numerous German minorities scattered over south-east Europe, their relations with National Socialism and the role assigned to them by Berlin in the Drang nach Sudosten (through various Fascist and semi-Swastika organisations in Hungary, the Iron Guard in Roumania, etc.). The closing chapters are a realist consideration of the strategic aspect involved, and an attempt to show that the Berlin-Rome axis is formed by States whose entire structure

and existing régimes induce to found their hopes on expansion and the adventure of war. This is emphatically a book of the moment, and a danger-signal for which British opinion should be duly grateful.

What emerges so clearly from this book, but is not yet clearly visualised by the British public, is the extent to which all the Danubian and Balkan countries stand or fall together. The significance of Austria's downfall can be calculated in terms of iron ore and of strategy no less than of culture and historical tradition. Once let Czechoslovakia fall before a German onslaught, and the Reich will almost instantly control the whole area between the Eger or Tetschen and the Aegean and Black Sea. Then, too late, the West will learn whether this concerns the British Empire or not.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

Na Wysokiej Poloninie (On the Upper Pastures). By Dr Stanislas Vincenz. Warszawa, 1936. Pp. 719

IN this tremendous prose poem, of which a second volume is to follow, we have what a well-known Swiss critic has called the *Kalevala* of the Hootzool people—that branch of the Ukrainian nation that lives in the Eastern Carpathians, and are said to be the only Highlanders in the world who ride on horseback. Dwelling in a wondrously beautiful world of rolling, forest-clad mountains and valleys, this people has created during the centuries a distinct civilisation of its own—one that visitors are beginning to gather from the ends of the earth to see.

Dr. Vincenz has a name that betrays non-Polish origin, but his family has trodden for a hundred years these uplands, his aged father being a partner with Szczepanowski in the opening up of the first oil borings in the province of Galicia half-a-century or more ago. Critics of his book admit that he has achieved what the gentry of Poland were thought never to be able to do: he has not condescended to study the life of the peasants about him, but has really come to share it. (The guest from abroad who goes among these simple people in his company sees at once how they treat him as one of themselves.) The fruit of decades of the closest connections, whether at work or at play, whether in respect of things material or spiritual, is gathered in these pages.

We are shown the shepherd-farmers, who till their fields in the broad or narrower valleys, living in their homesteads of which many are miniature fortresses in wood, but pasture their flocks high up on the slopes during the long days of summer, and know the lore of the mountains from alpha to omega. Such an one was Foka Szumej, who had heard from his fathers and fully believed that his line was sprung from the giants of the forest they all so loved. But we pass on at once to hear of the famous figures of less law-abiding days, the ranging bandits and smugglers, the idolised bandit-benefactor Dobosz being the first among them all. Known as Janosik in the High Tatras and as Ondraszek in the Beskids farther west, the figure of Dobosz, as Dr. Vincenz portrays

it, moves our admiration, if not affection. He did rob the rich, but always to give his booty to the needy poor.

The body of the book bears the title *History of Sloboda*, one that is not to be taken literally. Yet it is just that: an absorbing series of pictures of the life of this highland community, in which we make close friends with all concerned. We hear the roar of the waters of Czeremosz and Pruth, we are caught in mountain storms in winter and summer, we are lulled to sleep by the sighing of the winds in the beech or fir forests. Everything is here, proverb and folk-tale, song and legend, the round of the seasons, and the joys and sorrows of those whose life is governed by it. Truly a book that deserves the widest public.

W. J. ROSE.

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